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Richard Beswick
June 15th 1852

Wyrliffe.

MARTYROLOGIA;

OR,

RECORDS OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION:

BEING

A NEW AND COMPREHENSIVE

BOOK OF MARTYRS,

OF ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES.

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*(The names of martyrs, or the words indicating martyrdoms when the names are not given, are in italics. An asterisk * is placed before the numbers, in the margin of dates, which fall out of the regular order.)*

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MARTYROLOGIA,

&c.

PROTESTANT MARTYRS.

CHAPTER I.

Providential Succession in the Church of God—John Huss—Jerome of Prague—The Hussites—The Bohemian Brethren and Unitas Fratrum—The Inquisition reinforced—The Invention of Printing and Revival of Literature—Geographical Discoveries—Persons and Events precursory of Separation from the Papal Church.

THERE is a succession in the church of God. Not *hereditary* succession, for that was wrecked with the genealogies of the Hebrew people. Not *official*, because the givers and receivers of designation to the ministerial office may be destitute, and, for many ages, were generally destitute, of divine grace and sanction; and as a succession of this kind does not appear in history, neither, as we think, was it promised by Christ, or contemplated by his Apostles. A just and scriptural regard to ecclesiastical order, and an original idea of pure discipline, imperceptibly degenerated into the notion of such a succession. But in the church of God,—comprehending, under our description of a church, both Ministers and people, having evangelical doctrine, discipline, and worship, with holy living,—there is *a providential succession*. Even in the darkest age there were living witnesses and confessors martyred for the faith of Christ. The practice of persecuting ripened into system. An apparatus for the extirpation of heresy, according to ritual forms, under authoritative decrees, and by tribunals established in a fallen Church, was sufficient to attest, even had there not been direct historical evidence, the presence of another set of persons in the world,—the persons who suffered persecution. But we possess their history, and, on examining it, find that many, if not most, of them held evangelical doctrines, and persevered in holy conduct. They, if no others, were the church of the living God. Their life was hid with Christ in God, and therefore could not be destroyed. The gates of hell could not prevail against them. They were found in every generation, and were perpetuated in spite of every human effort to destroy. As *death* for confessing Christ came to be the law of an antichristian hierarchy, and as civil statutes and inquisitorial canons multiplied and were enforced with increasing rigour, the *life* of this body of confessors became more

vigorous, and the interpositions of Divine Providence in behalf of this immortal cause more signal. "The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church." *And this is providential succession.* Let us endeavour to trace its continuity from the Lollards to the Protestants.

The civil and ecclesiastical authorities were united in England against Wycliffe and his followers, and the strength of Lollardism, as they called it, gradually declined until it was nearly extinct when Henry VIII. ascended the throne. But in eastern Europe relative positions were different. In the remote kingdom of Bohemia the more powerful nobility, supported by many of the people, for many years maintained a most arduous, but not unsuccessful, struggle with Romish ascendency. When Wycliffe was buried, his books condemned, and while the inquisitors of heresy were cleansing Oxford from his writings, and the high Clergy contriving how to make profession of his doctrine a capital offence in England, they could not suspect that students in Oxford were learning from those very books how to prepare Christendom for a general reformation, and that their own Queen was unconsciously opening the way for a successful mission of those youth to her own country. Yet so it was. Anne, sister of the Emperor Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, "the good Queen Anne," read the Bible in German, Latin, and Bohemian, had heard from childhood doctrines opposed to those of Rome, lived under the influence of the truth she learned from the sacred volume, and was extolled for her veneration for the word of God even by the sanguinary Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury. By her means England was in communication with Bohemia; some Bohemians prosecuted their studies at Oxford, and some Englishmen went over to Bohemia. Jerome of Prague was an Oxford student, and on his return to that city took with him the works of Wycliffe. Peter Payne, an Englishman, and a Lollard too, went over to Prague, and took other copies. Perhaps he expected more religious liberty there: certainly he was zealous in propagating Wycliffe's doctrine, became a Minister in the national Church, associated with the seceders from Romanism, and remained in that connexion until old age. Others returned to Bohemia when their sojourn in England was completed; and some went thither from time to time after the martyrdom of Sautre, to avoid a like fate, and found multitudes willing to receive them and profess their doctrine. For in that country worship had been solemnized in the vernacular language, and the sacrament of the eucharist administered in bread and wine, ("sub utraque specie," as they say, whence the term "utraquists,") from the introduction of Christianity, five hundred years before, and was formally allowed by Boniface IX., so late as the year 1390. The arrogance of the Popes had always been resisted, and would have been still powerless, had not Italian and other foreign Priests supplanted natives in the parishes. The Bohemian patriot, therefore, gave ready hearing to the prayer offered in Sclavonic, and powerful nobles, actuated by a feeling of nationality, preserved primitive worship and maintained better preaching on their estates. The University, too, enjoyed a slight degree of independence; and, profiting by the distance of its head the Pope, often set at nought the pleasure of the

John Huss.

Bishops, and, when Wycliffe's books were brought from England, freely admitted them, while some of his pieces were translated into Bohemian, and circulated among the people.

Just then (A.D. 1400) a young Priest,* of energetic eloquence, was invited to minister in the new church of Bethlehem in Prague, which had been founded by a Prior of the Teutonic Order, and a merchant of the city, for the sake of preserving worship in the language of the people, together with preaching, which was so generally neglected, that a sermon was seldom to be heard. This was John Huss. Jerome put Wycliffe's books into his hands, and, as one already devoted to the instruction of the people by means of their own language, he translated them into Bohemian. The translator imbibed the spirit of the author, enriched his discourses by an infusion of their contents, soon gained eminence as a Preacher, and acquired great influence over the public. For some years nothing occurred to interrupt his ministrations. He was Confessor to the Queen, was extensively learned for the age, and, far from being thought heretical, was appointed to preach (A.D. 1405) before a provincial Synod, with the Prelate at their head. But he openly commended Wycliffe, encouraged English refugees, and, with increasing knowledge, zeal, and eloquence, encroached so far on the patience of Sbinko, the Archbishop, and of the priesthood, that they made an attack on the writings of the Englishman, and thus opened a breach that Papal ingenuity could never close. Not the University of Prague, as some have written, but a select company of Priests, employed by the Bishop, condemned the works of Wycliffe; and this being done, (May 24th, 1408,) Sbinko made, or pretended to make, an inquisition of his province, convened a Synod, (July 17th,) and there reported that he had found the province free from heresy. The favourable report was forwarded to Rome, to the credit, as the Archbishop might have thought, of his pastoral vigilance. But "heresy" could not be concealed; and the very next year we find the Pope writing a letter to the Archbishop condemnatory of the followers of Wycliffe in Bohemia and Moravia.† Of all these Huss was the chief; but the missive of an Antipope could not reach him, and, on the separation of the Germans, as foreigners, from the government of the University, his appointment by the Bohemians, who alone remained, to the dignity of Rector, enabled him to take the lead in efforts to restore the religious independence of his country.

Sbinko, on the other side, began the usual work of persecution. The German members of the University, before their departure, Jean Gerson, Chancellor of Paris, Andrew of Broda, a papistical Bohemian, and the ultramontane Clergy generally, had urged him to collect and burn the obnoxious books. By dint of active perquisition, many copies were taken from their owners, and twice did the Prelate commit the spoil to burning in his palace-yard. The second time, not fewer than two hundred volumes, bound in wood, covered with rich stuffs, and heavy with bosses and clasps of silver, and even of gold, were heaped on the fire, the sumptuousness of the books showing how highly they must have been valued by persons in the highest circles of society.

* Then about twenty-seven years of age. † Raynaldus, an. 1409, num. 89.

The University regarded this interference as an infringement on their authority, and appealed from the Prelate to the Pope, real or pretended,—for whether John XXIII. was Pope or not was then a question,—and His Holiness cited the zealous expurgator to answer for himself. Sbinko, however, made a private communication which fully satisfied the Papal court of his loyalty to them; and his messengers brought back a Bull condemning the books, requiring four persons who were accused of retaining copies, to give them up within six days, forbidding all Priests and Ecclesiastics to preach in particular places, in privileged chapels, (so including Bethlehem,) in cathedral and parochial churches, or in monasteries, under pain of deposition, excommunication, imprisonment, and even *severer punishment*. Against this Bull, which would have silenced every voice, and obliterated every sentence of religious truth, Huss appealed, as he had done before. In his church of Bethlehem, (June 25th, 1410) before seven witnesses, deputed by those of the nobility and University who adhered to him, and by the hand of a Notary Public, he represented to the Pope that the sentence empowering the Archbishop to act against the University was a breach of privilege: that Huss, and a multitude of other Preachers in Bohemia, Moravia, and other provinces, had been falsely charged with heresy, and that by means of a secret cabal in the court of Rome: that orders like those of John XXIII. and Sbinko were scandalous, contrary to common right and public good, and especially contrary to the Gospel, and therefore ought not to be obeyed: that Sbinko had already acknowledged Bohemia to be free from heresy: that even were it not so, the proceedings against Wycliffe's writings, having been taken on orders received from Alexander V., since deceased, were canonically null: that many of the books condemned were scientific treatises, and, as such, not susceptible of heresy: that the Pope's sentence to burn them was against the honour of the kingdom of Bohemia, the marquisate of Moravia, and the other provinces, as well as against the honour of the University, which had solemnly determined to appeal against the outrage committed by Sbinko on its liberties.

The Pope answered this appeal by excommunicating Huss, (A.D. 1411,) and placing Prague under interdict until he should have left the city. Foreseeing that resistance would cause a tumult, he retired to his native town Hussinets, where he was hospitably entertained by a relative, Nicholas of Hussinets, lord of the place; and, making a circuit of the neighbouring towns and villages, often preached in the open air to immense congregations, notwithstanding the excommunication. At Hussinets he wrote a paper in the form of an appeal to God, the Pope having failed to do him justice, and justified that recourse by the example of Christ himself, followed by Chrysostom, Andrew, a former Archbishop of Bohemia, who died in exile, and Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, who had committed their causes to the Sovereign Judge of the universe. During this retreat he also wrote a defence of Wycliffe's books, in reply to Stokes, an Englishman, and maintained that even heretical writings should be read and refuted, but not burnt. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Prague entreated him to return, and Sbinko

saw fit to go into Hungary, where he soon died. Some unfriendly historians have said that the Hussites poisoned him; but this is one of those after-thoughts that serve to fill up narratives compiled to serve a purpose, and is triumphantly disproved by the evidence of the hostile, but contemporary, authority quoted by the Romish biographer himself.*

Huss returned to Prague, and was met by new personages, Legates from John XXIII., bearing two Bulls, one addressed to all Christendom, and the other to the dioceses of Passau, Saltzburg, Prague, and Magdeburg, calling on all persons to unite in cursing Ladislaus, King of Sicily, with whom John was at war, but likely to be beaten, and inviting them to a crusade against Ladislaus and his supporters. It did seem to the people of Prague that, for a Pope to excite Christians to murder one another merely on his own account, and to offer them plenary absolution and eternal life for such a service, was a scandalous and monstrous thing. Wenceslaus, the King, being an enemy of Ladislaus, was well pleased with the project of crusade, and the clerical partisans of the Pope gave their full support to the Preacher of indulgences. But Huss, who had studied the subject in Wycliffe's books, reproduced the arguments against crusades in public, and, from his pulpit in Bethlehem, exhorted the people not to waste their blood for the Pope, who ought not to seek defence for the Church in carnal weapons. The Legates summoned him to appear in their presence, and answer to the new Archbishop Albicus, whether he would obey the Pope and preach the crusade. He promptly appeared, and told them that he would most heartily obey the apostolic precepts. "You see, now, Sir Archbishop," said the Legates, "that he is willing to obey the Pope." For, in the style of the court of Rome, "papal" and "apostolical" are terms equivalent. Not so thought Huss. He told them plainly that between the commandments of Popes and those of Apostles there was the utmost difference, and that he would rather be burnt than obey the former in violation of the latter. Being thus committed to the controversy, he determined to persevere, and forthwith caused the following *programme* to be affixed to the doors of all the churches and monasteries in Prague, with a challenge to all Doctors, Priests, Monks and Scholars, to come forward and dispute against the theses he had already published. The question was stated thus:—"According to the law of Jesus Christ, can Christians, with a good conscience, approve the crusade ordered by the Pope against Ladislaus and his accomplices; and can such a crusade tend to the glory of God, to the salvation of Christian people, and to the welfare of the kingdom of Bohemia?" On the day appointed for the disputation all sorts of people crowded into the collegiate hall to hear or to take part. The Rector of the academy, alarmed at the concourse, and fearing tumult, exhorted the people to retire. Speaking in Bohemian, he said, "I pray you, friends, withdraw for a little. This

* L'Enfant, Histoire du Concile de Pise, tom. ii., p. 74—76, quotes the original authority at length from Cochlœus, the bitter enemy of Huss, which explicitly declares that Sbinko died a natural death, "by the mercy of God," who deigned to take him to his rest in heaven. Later writers introduced the poison-tale, but without naming one adequate authority.

business does not concern you, and very few of you will understand us." But this exhortation only provoked to impatient curiosity, and caused such confusion that Huss was obliged to interfere; and having allayed the uproar with difficulty, he suggested that those who could not understand their language, (Latin,) should withdraw. The disputation began. A Doctor of canon law argued for the Pope. A Doctor in civil right contended that the Pope had violated the rights of the Emperor and Princes. When the contest had run high, an aged Doctor arose and remonstrated with Huss: "All the academy is astonished that you, young as you are,* should entertain such high designs. Do you think that you are wiser than all others? Certainly there are men here far abler than you, but not one of them ventures on questions so subtle and profound. Consider the judgment of the Doctors and of all the academy, and you will see that your enterprise contains nothing but the seed of seditions and intestine wars. What! would you oppose the Roman Pontiff? Go to Rome. Go, and tell him to his face what you say here; for it is most unfair to trouble people who do not understand you, and know not how to answer. Besides, being Priest, as you are, whence have you your priesthood? 'From the Bishop,' you will say; but the Bishop, whence has he his? From the Pope. So you must come to the Pope, who is your spiritual father, after all. Bad birds are they that forsake their own nest, and cursed was Ham who uncovered the nakedness of his father." The rude audience, who sided with Huss, answered the Doctor with a shout, and would have stoned him could they have torn up the pavement. They were again hushed into silence by the Preacher of Bethlehem. Then Jerome of Prague stood forth, and, rushing at that moment into the heat of a battle in which he soon should fall, made a long and very eloquent discourse, ending in these words: "Let them who are on our side follow us. John Huss and I will go to the palace† to expose the vanity of indulgences." This was received with a cry of, "Well said! That is true." The two reformers, however, yielding to the entreaty of some who feared greater tumult, separated. The students followed Jerome, as the more learned, and the people went with Huss to his church. Next day there was a great meeting of the people, who resolved to give no quarter to the Preachers of indulgences. A barbarian resolution, no doubt; but we must bear in mind that what would be intolerable in the present state of society, and especially in England, was a matter of course in the fifteenth century. The Rector of the academy, fearing for his life, sent for Huss and Jerome, and implored them in the name of God and all saints to use their credit and influence with the people to prevent revolt and massacre. The Doctors joined their entreaties, and even tears were shed. They readily promised to do their best, yet maintaining their opposition to crusade and indulgences, and really succeeded in pacifying the people. But the Preachers, on the other side, observed no prudence. One Sunday, a Preacher of indulgences, not satisfied with recommending his wares, launched an invective against John Huss. A shoemaker in the congregation denied the

* Thirty-eight years of age. † Maison de Ville, "Court-house."

calumny aloud. In another church an equally intemperate Preacher was interrupted by a man, who exclaimed that the Pope was Antichrist, because he shed Christian blood. They were both Poles. A third, a Bohemian, contradicted a Friar during sermon in his monastery. The three were imprisoned. Huss, with a company of students, went to the palace to demand their release, which was promised; but the promise was not fulfilled. The Senate secretly caused an executioner to behead them in the night within that building, and the murder was discovered early in the morning by a stream of blood that ran out under the door. The people broke in, took away the bodies, and buried them with great solemnity. And Huss, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Senate, afterwards made reference to the murder in his sermons, and continued to preach, in spite of excommunication, and the efforts of his enemies to put him to silence, and committed to writing refutations of the principal errors of Romanism. Not the least important of those productions was a defence of the articles of Wycliffe. Eight theologians, it is related, endeavoured to vanquish him in argument; and he not only persisted in a literary contest, but challenged them all to meet him in an ordeal by fire. *One* had courage enough to accept the challenge; but he replied that, after having been attacked by *eight* men, and defended himself singly, he expected them all to go into the fire as readily as they had got into the fight. That, however, was more than their courage or their prudence would dare to hazard; and they set their hearts on bringing him, not to a fiery trial, but to a fiery death.* We must now follow him to Constance.†

* L'Enfant, "Histoire du Concile de Pise," gives a mass of copious and carefully-authenticated information of Huss, especially relating to the years 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412. The English reader will find notices of this Reformer's earlier history in Foxe, but ill arranged; and there are cursory sentences in most ecclesiastical histories. Fleury and his continuator give the facts, but distort them; and the Romish Annalists, of course, treat him as a criminal. L'Enfant, who quotes at length from the original authorities, Cochlœus, Æneas Silvius, the Bohemian historians, and the works of Huss, is by far the best narrator of these events that the author has yet seen.

† Observing by the way that, partly in consequence of an edict of pacification, given by the Princes and the King's Counsel, between the late Archbishop Sbinko, on the one part, and the Rector of the University and John Huss, on the other, Huss had a legal position secured to him at Prague, previously to his excommunication; that even afterwards, the Papal sentence not being universally admitted, the King being favourable to Huss, a large number of Priests, known as *Evangelical Clergy*, and described as *his Clergy*, constituted a distinct and formidable party. When Conrad, Administrator of the archbishopric, (A.D. 1413,) called a provincial Council, Huss assembled his Clergy also, and the two companies drew up opposite "counsels;" the one for the extirpation of heresy, and the other "for the honour of God and the free preaching of his Gospel; to re-establish the renown of the kingdom of Bohemia, the marquisate of Moravia, the city and the university of Prague; to restore peace and union between the Clergy and the Academy." The King then condescended to rescind the edict of pacification; but the Hussite Clergy being far in the majority, the pulpits of Prague resounded with remonstrance; and the controversy concerning the adverse claims of Papal authority, (for there were then three persons claiming the triple crown,) and of divine authority, occupied every mind; and the higher Clergy could not subdue the disobedience of their Priests and the revolt of the people. Again the King endeavoured to satisfy both parties, by a measure of external reform, depriving notoriously wicked Priests of their tithes and other income. This gave a great advantage to the Hussites, and lowered the crest of their enemies. Conrad met this humiliation by laying an interdict on Prague. Huss retired again to Hussinets, or, rather, continued there, without visiting Prague, as he had been wont to do since his first retreat: but the pro-

For healing the schism of the Papacy, which the Council of Pisa had ineffectually attempted, and also for the suppression of heresy in Bohemia, a Council was convened at Constance, a town on the border of the Grand Duchy of Baden, and on the lake of its own name. To heal the schism was the object contemplated by Sigismund, Emperor of Germany. To suppress heresy was that of John XXIII., Pope "concurrent," who summoned the Council, and went thither with trembling.* Mounted on horseback, and followed by a long train of Cardinals, Prelates, and courtiers, he entered the town (October 28th, 1414). A procession of Clergy, bearing relics of saints, real or artificial, met him on the way; four chief Magistrates received him under a canopy of cloth of gold; two Counts took the bridle; and he, thus canopied and led, amidst a multitude of sight-seekers, went to the Episcopal palace, preceded by the host, carried on a cushion. There he reposed, and, with seeming promptitude, but meditated delay, convened, and then again prorogued, the dreaded Council. John Huss had been summoned to appear at that tribunal. Without delay he prepared for the journey, first asking for a hearing in a provincial Synod then assembled at Prague, but without obtaining one. He then affixed papers to the church and palace doors of the city, inviting his accusers to meet him at Constance, and to convict him, if they could, of heresy. Strange to tell, he received certificates of orthodoxy from Conrad, Administrator of the archbishopric of Prague, and from Nicholas, Bishop of Nazareth, *Inquisitor* of Bohemia. From the King he obtained a safe-conduct to Constance. Thus furnished, he crossed the present kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemburg, at each town causing challenges to his accusers to be posted in public places. At Nuremberg the announcement was as follows:—"Master John Huss is going to Constance, there to make declaration of the faith which he always held, which he still embraces, and which, by the grace of God, he will adhere to until death. Therefore, as he has given public notice, throughout the whole kingdom of Bohemia, that he was willing, before his departure, to give an account of his faith in a general Synod of the Archbishop of Prague, and to answer all things that might be laid to his charge, he gives the same notice to the imperial city of Nuremberg, that if any person has any error or heresy to reproach him with, he need only repair to the Council of Constance, because he is ready there to give an account of his faith." Yet, amidst this confidence, he secretly foreboded a cruel death, as appears

hibition to *preach* was evaded at Bethlehem, by the *reading* of his treatise on the Church; a crude composition, as to theology, erroneous in many points, but in others calculated to keep the public mind awake to points at issue. Until his departure for Constance he indefatigably plied the pen. This note is necessary, to account for the interval not noticed in the text, because not affording material so appropriate to the design of this work. ("Concile de Pise," liv. viii.)

* Popes have not been the most fortunate riders, except on the necks of Princes. As John XXIII. was being jolted over an eminence of the Voralberg, his clumsy carriage turned over with him. Stretched on the ground, he grumbled out a pettish jest, too coarse to be translated: "Jaceo hic in nomine diaboli." Soon afterwards, on getting the first view of Constance in the distance, he greeted the unwelcome object with, "There is the ditch where they catch foxes." Which did he mean, Antipopes or heretics? (L'Enfant, Hist. Coun. Constance, English edit., i., 18.)

from letters written before setting out. His reception was everywhere respectful, and in some places cordial, even to enthusiasm. Attended by three Bohemian Lords, John of Chlum, Henry of Latzenbock, and Wenceslaus of Duba, to whose care the Emperor and the King had confided him, with their train, Huss entered Constance six days after the Pope, and was entertained at the house of a well-disposed widow. Next day two of them waited on the Pope, to announce the arrival of Huss, and inform him that he had received, while on his way, at Nuremberg, a safe-conduct from the Emperor, in addition to that given by the King of Bohemia. John protested that, even if Huss had killed his own brother, he would use all his power to prevent any injustice being done him while he should stay at Constance. The following day (November 4th) the Pope announced his arrival in the consistory of Cardinals, and was so kind as to revoke the sentence of excommunication. After a general congregation,* this famous Council was opened with great solemnity and pomp, November 16th, 1414; and a contest began between the "concurrents," John XXIII. and Gregory XII., which it is beside our present purpose to narrate.†

Two inveterate enemies of Huss were now arrived at Constance, Stephen Paletz, Professor of Theology at Prague, and Michael de Causis, a parish Priest of doubtful reputation. These men, after the fashion of their times, posted up bills, and distributed papers, in Constance, denouncing Huss as a heretic; and the Pope, when appealed to for the protection he had promised, declared himself unable to afford it. They also complained that he celebrated mass daily, and conversed on religious subjects with undue freedom. Having thus marked their victim, the leading members of the Council assembled in congregation at the Pope's apartments, and sent two Bishops to call him into their presence. They delivered the summons with great courtesy, yet taking care to have a body of soldiers in the street ready to enforce it, if the Bohemians should resist; and Huss, accompanied by his faithful friend, John of Chlum, proceeded with the Bishops, to answer for himself. He denied the charge of heresy, and professed willingness to submit, if it could be proved that he was in any error. The Cardinals professed to be satisfied, and retired to dinner, but left him and his friend under arrest until their return, when they placed him in close custody, without any further ceremony. At first he was confined to a private house; while Chlum laboured to obtain redress from the Pope, and demanded his liberty, according to the terms of the imperial safe-conduct. But it was determined to crush the Bohemian Preacher; and therefore, at the end of a week, he was incarcerated in the Dominican monastery. The two persecutors presented a paper to the Pope, containing several articles of offensive doctrine;—such as, that the eucharist should be administered in both kinds, and not by Priests living in mortal sin; that the Church does not consist of the Clergy only, and that Church property may be confiscated to the state; that endowments and Episcopacy

* A congregation is an assemblage of Ecclesiastics to prepare business for the Council at the ensuing session.

† The schism of the Papacy is described in the preceding volume, book v. chap. 5.

are unscriptural, sinful men incapable of holding the priestly office, and their acts of excommunication unworthy of respect. They also charged him with circulating the doctrines of Wycliffe, and with being followed by none but heretics. Hence they inferred that, if he were not put out of the way, he would do more harm to the Church than any other heretic had done from the days of Constantine; and prayed that Commissioners might be appointed to examine the case. Meanwhile Huss fell sick, and was attended by the Pope's Physicians, sent, as it has been thought, to keep him alive, that he might not die a natural death. A Patriarch and two Bishops went to his prison, read the charges, and required him to answer. He pleaded sickness as a reason for indulgence, and desired that he might be allowed an advocate to plead his cause; but they told him that the canon law prohibited espousing or pleading the cause of a person even suspected of heresy. Yet men who had been principally irritated by his preaching at Prague, were brought to Constance as witnesses against him; and, while he languished in prison, no one was suffered to act on his behalf. Besides those deputies, a numerous commission of high dignitaries was appointed to examine and condemn his doctrine. Meanwhile Chlum had written to the Emperor, who sent a peremptory requisition for the release of Huss, and ordered that, if necessary, the prison should be broken open. But the order was not executed. Sigismund himself came to the Council on Christmas-day; but, dazzled by the splendour of the scene, and overcome by the arts of the Ecclesiastics, he gave up the man whom he was bound in honour to protect, and allowed the Council to do with him as they pleased; being superior to himself, he said, in spirituals, and not bounden to keep faith with heretics; personal liberty and life, in his estimation, being rightly abandoned to the guile of the Priest, rather than intrusted to the care of the Prince. Moreover, Sigismund put off his imperial robe, and, in the simple habit of a Deacon, read the Gospel for the day,* at first mass; which Gospel, remarkably enough, begins with these words: "At that time there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed;" an evil augury for the Fathers of Constance. The intelligence of their perfidy reached Prague, and the Bohemian nobility wrote to Sigismund, desiring the liberation of Huss, and wrote again; but he was deaf to all but those who taught him that he was not to keep faith with heretics. John XXIII., whom he had patronized, shamefully fled from Constance, disguised as a groom, to avoid the importunity of the Council, who wished to get rid of all three pretenders to the Pontificate; and Huss was transferred, by the Bishop of Constance, to another place of durance, the castle of Gotleben, where he suffered extreme anxiety. Jerome, his friend, having promised that, if he should be ill treated at Constance, he would come thither to plead for him, fulfilled the promise, and, contrary to the entreaty of Huss, ventured to appear in Prague, (April 4th, 1415,) with only one companion; but, hearing that there was some design to deprive him also of liberty, withdrew to

* According to the order of the Missale Romanum, where the same Gospel stands for the first mass on Christmas-day.

Uberlingen, and thence applied to the Emperor for a safe-conduct, which he obtained, after great difficulty; but only to go to Constance, not to return to Bohemia: neither was the passport from the Emperor, but from the Council; and was, in fact, an order to appear before them within a fortnight, with an express reservation in favour of the demands of "justice and the orthodox faith." It is not certain that he received a copy of that document, which, however, was published at Constance; but, on some pretext, he was arrested, and brought in custody to the Council, laden with chains. After a tumultuary sentence of the congregation to which they carried him, he was thrown into prison, subjected to extremely cruel treatment, and remained in that condition until his death by fire, more than a year afterwards.

After Huss had lain in the fortress of Gotleben about two months, an assembly of nations * was held to consider his case, where the Bohemians, supported by Sigismund, at last succeeded in obtaining a reluctant promise that he should have a public hearing. But to avoid such a procedure, if possible, the Council appointed a deputation to visit him in prison, and endeavour to extort a retractation. Those visits were frequent, and the deputies employed the most insolent and threatening language, in order to overcome his constancy. "Michael de Causis," says Huss himself, in a letter describing one of those visits, "was there, holding a paper in his hand, and stirring up the Patriarch of Constantinople to oblige me to answer to every article. He is contriving fresh mischief every day. God has, for my sins, permitted him and Paletz to rise up against me. Michael examines all my letters and words, with the air of an inquisitor; and Paletz has set down all the conversations we have had together for many years. The Patriarch says aloud that I have a great deal of money. An Archbishop said to me, in the hearing of all, that I had seventy thousand florins. 'Ha! ha!' said Paletz to me, 'what's become of that robe so lined with florins?' I have this day suffered great vexation." As if to avoid owning that their labour had been spent in vain, the Commissioners circulated a report that he was willing to submit to the judgment of the Council; but, agreeably to his constant profession, both before and afterwards, and to his language in private correspondence, there is every reason to believe that he only expressed a willingness to yield when it should be proved that he was in error. Many errors, no doubt, were contained in his writings; but they were chiefly errors of the Romish Church, points of agreement with his persecutors, not of difference. His faith in God stood unshaken.

From Gotleben he was taken to Constance again, with promise of a public hearing, and placed in the Franciscan monastery, where almost all the Cardinals, Prelates, and other Clergy assembled, for the examination of the articles extracted from his books; and were proceeding to condemn him unheard, when a Hussite Notary, who was present, hurried away to inform his friends, Duba and

* The members of this Council were classified according to their countries. Those of the same nation sometimes sat separately; at other times "the nations" met, as above, in a general assembly.

Chlum, who instantly obtained from Sigismund an injunction to stay proceedings until further examination. He was then called into the assembly, (June 5th,) but treated with boisterous derision when he attempted to answer for himself. Again he was permitted to appear, the Emperor being present, at the desire of the Bohemians, to enforce order; and the entire time of the session was that day spent in endeavouring to force on him heretical opinions that he had never entertained, and to prove him guilty of offences at Prague that he had not committed; and, after all, the feeble Emperor gave him to understand that, notwithstanding the safe-conduct he had given him, he should abandon him to the decision of the Council, which would be assuredly fatal, unless he would submit. But to have submitted would have involved a retractation of propositions he had never maintained; or of truths, in regard to the corruptions of the Clergy, and the exorbitant pretensions of the Popes, that he could not conscientiously deny; and the Archbishop of Riga reconducted him to his cell in the monastery. A third public examination (June 8th) was conducted in a similar manner, and with the like result. New accusations were brought, menaces and entreaties were tried; but he resisted all, and, attended by his noble friend, John of Chlum, and laden with irons, was carried back to prison. Thither a form of abjuration was sent him, which he might have signed, as the terms were general, and even the same as he had himself employed; but he knew that by such an abjuration he would seem to have swerved from strict integrity, and therefore humbly, but steadfastly, refused. Efforts to subdue his constancy were incessantly repeated. The Council wished, at least, to humble him into the condition of a self-convicted penitent, while Sigismund faltered in giving up a man who had come to the Council under the faith of his own safe-conduct; and, although he had said that he would readily bring the fire to burn him with his own hand, still hesitated. After some weeks had passed thus, the Archbishop of Riga came to the prison, (July 6th,) and required him to appear again before the Council. A Cardinal presided. The Emperor and all the Princes of the empire were there, with an immense multitude of spectators. As Huss reached the church-door they were singing mass, and he was made to wait on the outside until the mysteries were over, lest they should be profaned by the presence of a heretic. In the body of the church was a high table, on which were laid a suit of Priest's habits, and behind it a lofty stool, on which the obstinate Bohemian was to be seated. He took the seat, exposed to the gaze of the vast congregation, bowed his head, and offered silent prayer. As he thus cast himself into the hands of the Lord Jesus, supreme Judge, the Bishop of Lodi mounted the pulpit; and, taking for his text the words of St. Paul, "That the body of sin might be destroyed," began with describing the evils of the schism of the Church by Antipopes; advanced to those of heresy, as a consequence of schism; and then, addressing the Emperor, and pointing to Huss, said, "Destroy heresies and errors, but chiefly *that obstinate heretic.*" Sermon being ended, the Bishop of Concordia arose, and read a decree of the Council, commanding all present, even

Emperor, Kings, Cardinals, and Bishops, to keep perfect silence during the ceremony to follow, under penalty of imprisonment. Several articles, said to be taken from Wycliffe's writings, were then recited, and declared heretical; and others, attributed to Huss, were treated in the same manner. He endeavoured to disclaim some of them, but was silenced; and, neither being permitted to address his Judges nor the assembled multitude, fell on his knees, raised his hands towards heaven, and in a loud voice repeated his appeal to Jesus Christ, the sovereign Judge of all. The Council and the spectators were mute, in fear of the punishment denounced on any who should speak or break silence by any movement of hand or foot, a few, perhaps, excepted, who endeavoured to enforce the prohibition upon him. But he would not keep silence. He prayed fervently to Christ; and then, standing up, briefly justified himself in answer to a reproach for having preached at Prague when under excommunication, complained of the contempt and violence inflicted on his Proctors, whom he had sent to Rome to answer in his cause, and declared that he had freely come to that Council, because *under the safe-conduct of the Emperor there present;* on whom, speaking thus, he fixed his eyes. Sigismund could not conceal a blush; and the incident was not forgotten when, a century afterwards, Luther stood before Charles V. at Worms. Solicited to give up Luther to the vengeance of his enemies, Charles replied, "I do not care to blush with my predecessor, Sigismund." The Proctor of the Council then called on the Bishop of Concordia, who read two sentences; one condemning the books of Huss to be burned, and the other himself to be degraded. A company of Bishops were appointed to carry the degradation into effect forthwith. He was, therefore, robed and unrobed, according to the form prescribed. Throughout the whole process he neither betrayed fear nor kept silence, but made every objectionable sentence, and each ceremonial act, a subject of observation. From degradation the Council proceeded to deliver him over to the secular arm, as his soul had been already, to use their words, "committed to the devils." Sigismund received him accordingly, as Advocate and Protector of the Church; and commanded the Elector Palatine, as Vicar of the empire, to deliver him into the hands of justice. The Elector handed him over to the Magistrates of Constance; and the city Sergeants and executioner were ready to do their work. With this began a new ceremony. Four Sergeants placed him between them, and moved out of the church. The Princes of the empire followed, and after them a large body of armed men. The procession passed slowly through a dense mass of spectators, taking the episcopal palace in their way, that Huss might see there a bonfire of his books. He did see the fire, but could not forbear smiling at the impotence of a persecution that was wreaking its vengeance on parchment and paper, after the truths thereon written had gone forth into the world. But, mindful of his nearness to the divine tribunal, he approached the place of execution with solemnity, knelt down, recited some passages from the penitential psalms, and said, "Lord Jesus, have mercy on me! into thy hands I commit my spirit."

Having expressed a desire to confess, a Priest came to him, and desired that he should first recant, as, according to canon law, a heretic can neither administer nor receive a sacrament. But that was to him impossible. Once more he called on the Saviour: "Lord Jesus, I humbly suffer this cruel death for thy sake; and I pray thee to forgive all my enemies." He was then bound to the stake, with many marks of ignominy, which he meekly suffered; and the wood was piled round him. At that moment the Elector Palatine and the Marshal of the empire came forward, and exhorted him to retract, and save his life. But he declared that what he had written and taught was only to rescue souls from the power of the devil, and deliver them from the tyranny of sin; and that he was glad to seal his doctrine with his blood. The Elector withdrew, the wood was kindled, and John Huss, suffocated in the flames, quickly ceased to suffer.

They say that the Hussites gathered earth from the spot, and carried it to Prague; and that a Cardinal, on the other hand, caused a dead mule to be buried there.* Those expressions of malice and veneration were equally trivial; and whether or not this victim of Papistical hatred should be associated with martyrs to Gospel truth, is still a question. His doctrine, as his works show, was not in all points evangelical; and he was rather eminent as an antagonist of ecclesiastical wickedness than as a preacher of saving truth. Heresy, indeed, is the name of every offence committed against Rome, and it was therefore applied to him; but he faithfully acted up to what he knew, and chose to die rather than break the law of God. His real offences appear to have been these: Approving of the writings of Wycliffe, although he never adopted all Wycliffe's doctrine; offending the Germans in a quarrel between them and the Bohemians in the University of Prague; being a *realist*, whereas the Clergy at Constance were principally *nominalists*, and the Doctors of those philosophical sects hated each other with bitterest aversion. And it has been affirmed, that the higher Clergy, mortified at the effects of his preaching at Prague in promotion of the ancient usages of the Bohemian church, and to the discredit of the foreign Priests, employed bribery and intrigue to obtain the concurrence of those who might otherwise have exerted themselves to save his life; while his firmness was regarded as obstinacy, and irritated even those who otherwise would have been willing to pronounce a milder sentence.† Yet the event of his death, and that of his friend Jerome, was so influential on the subsequent state of Europe, that a distinct narration of their sufferings could not be omitted.

We pause for a moment to mark an impression which constantly characterized the mind of Huss. He felt that he had still much to learn; believed that Gospel truth would yet be better understood; and, while in custody at Constance, writing to Prague, expressed a hope that, if spared to return home, he might be favoured with grace to attain to greater knowledge of the doctrine of Christ, in

* L'Enfant, Council of Constance, books i., ii., iii.
† Mosheim, Eccles. History, cent. xv., part 2.

order that he might destroy that of Antichrist. This idea possessed his mind, was produced in letters and in conversation, until his persecutors feared to leave him at large, lest he should commit further innovations, and, as a cherished hope that occupied the imagination, appeared to himself in dreams. One night, either at Constance or Gotleben, he dreamt that he was in his church of Bethlehem, painting on the wall a representation of Jesus Christ. While admiring the figure, some one came and defaced it; but next day other painters came, far more skilful than he, and covered the walls with pictures of the Saviour, far surpassing his: a crowd of Bishops and Priests came in, and bade those also be defaced; but the artists defied the Clerks, the people applauded, the paintings remained, and Christ was exhibited at Bethlehem in spite of them. During the last hours of his life, when appealing from the iniquitous sentence of the Council to that of Christ, he appears to have said many things under the influence of this hope. Those sentences were not prophetic, in the proper acceptation of the word, but, dictated by a strong persuasion that a reformation was at hand, were remembered by some who heard them, were repeated in Bohemia, and one was thought remarkable enough to be perpetuated on a medal struck to commemorate his martyrdom. The medal is, or was, in the cabinet of the King of Prussia, with a portrait of Huss on one side, his name, (Joa. Hus.,) and a legend on the margin, "Credo unam ecclesiam sanctam catolicam," "I believe one holy catholic church;" and on the reverse, Huss at the stake, with an inscription, "Jo. Hus. anno a Christo nato 1415 condemnatur," "John Huss is condemned in the year 1415 from the birth of Christ." And a legend, "Centum revolutis annis Deo respondebitis et mihi:" "When a hundred years are past, ye shall answer to God and to me." A hundred years afterwards, or little more, (A.D. 1517,) Luther appeared, like Huss, as the antagonist of Tetzel, a seller of indulgences; and so striking is the coincidence, that some Romanists have disputed the authenticity of the medal with the same argument as that which Porphyry levelled at the book of Daniel: "It is so exactly true, that the prediction must have been written after the event." But numismatists allow that the medal is of the *fifteenth* century; and, therefore, whenever struck, at whatever time during the Hussite war, it was anterior to the event, and earlier than any indication of the rise of Luther.* From such facts as these our conclusion is, that Huss and his contemporaries did not regard their own affairs as distinct from a general renovation of the Church, nor their labours as independent of the agency of God.

We now return to Jerome. Five months had elapsed from the time of his arrest on the way towards Constance. During this period of sickness and imprisonment he had been subjected to several examinations and innumerable visits, for the sake of extorting a confession of heresy, and gathering materials to justify a condemnatory sentence. The burning of his friend, too, whom he came at first to defend, was enough to convince him that his death was desired. Thus, when every

* L'Enfant, Council of Constance, i., 446—449; Gerdesii Historia Reformationis, i., 51, 52.

thing conspired to overcome him, he was taken before a public congregation (Sept. 11th) in St. Paul's church, and induced to sign a writing condemnatory of the forty-five articles of Wycliffe, and the thirty articles of Huss. But he added some limitations that spoiled the triumph of the fathers. Encouraged, however, by so great a concession, they redoubled their efforts to weary or frighten him into a retractation of whatever heterodoxy in religion or scholasticism had been laid to his charge; and by the next session of the Council, (Sept. 23d,) a form of retractation was prepared. First, the Cardinal of Cambray, one of the Commissioners appointed to confer with him, read the document in full Council; and then Jerome himself read it aloud, anathematizing all heresies, especially those of Wycliffe; the doctrine which he had learned at Oxford, and sedulously promoted in Bohemia and in many other countries; and that of his martyred friend, whose cause he had vowed never to desert. None of the usual terms of detestation were wanting, nor any profession of obedience to the Church. But, after all, instead of receiving solemn absolution and reconciliation to the Church, he was remanded to prison, and merely allowed a little mitigation of severity, with permission to move about within the walls. And his worst forebodings were to be realized. Michael de Causis and Stephen Paletz, the two chief enemies of Huss, had been collecting new charges, and demanded, together with the Carmelites of Prague, that he should be tried again. The Cardinal Commissioners, who thought they had conducted the negotiation to a satisfactory issue, objected to the trial of one whom the Council had admitted to reconciliation; but the accusers pressed for a second hearing; some one remonstrated with them on their reluctance to try so notorious a disturber of the Church, and even uttered a suspicion that they had been bribed to intercede for him by the King of Bohemia, or by the Hussites. The Cardinals, indignant at the imputation of complicity with heretics, resigned their commission, and others were immediately appointed to act in their stead. In addition to mere dogmatizing, the Carmelites accused him of monstrous offences against God and man, outrages of humanity and decency, which, notwithstanding the length of time that had passed since the alleged perpetration of no less crimes than sacrilege, incest, and even murder, had not been thought of until then. But it was enough. The accusation was gravely admitted by the Council, and Jerome was again set before them (May 23d, 1416). But he seemed to be another man. Disgusted at their conduct, and repentant of his fall, he had refused to be examined on oath by the new Commissioners; and refused also to be sworn before the Council, unless they would previously allow him perfect liberty of speech. That was refused, and the matter adjourned to an early day, when he was brought to a congregation, and, still without submitting to be sworn, briefly denied the charges, recapitulated their proceedings towards him from the first, and closed by making public confession of his cowardice. "Nothing," said he, "but the fear of punishment by fire made me consent basely, and against my conscience, to the condemnation of the doctrine of Wycliffe and John Huss." And he described his

recantation as the greatest crime he had ever been guilty of. Nothing therefore remained for his enemies to do but to condemn him to the stake. The sentence was read in the next session of the Council, (May 30th,) when the Bishop of Lodi, who had officiated in the same way at the degradation of Huss, preached a sermon. Jerome stood on a bench and made a speech that still remains as reported by Poggio of Florence, who acknowledged that all present were deeply affected by his resistless eloquence ; and it is certain that some, even then, compassionately entreated him to recant again. But he was not to be moved. The Patriarch of Constantinople read the sentence of "the sacred Synod," casting him out as a withered branch, a heretic relapsed, excommunicated, and accursed. They forthwith delivered him to the secular power, with a charge that, whatever they might do with him, he should be treated with *humanity*, and not insulted. Being a layman, there was no ceremony of degradation ; a paper cap or mitre was put on his head, like that which Huss had worn, with devils painted on it ; the Sergeants laid hold on him, and led him away to the place of burning. He walked steadily, singing hymns as he went, and the Apostles' Creed. At the stake, he knelt down and made a long prayer, but in a low voice, and was then bound, and faggots heaped round him to the chin. While they were arranging the wood, he sang the Paschal hymn,

"Salve, festa dies toto venerabilis ævo,
Quà Deus infernum vicit, et astra tenens."

"Hail! happy day, and ever be adored,
When hell was conquer'd by great heaven's Lord."

He told the people that as he had sung so he believed ; but that he suffered there because he would not consent to the counsel of the Priests who had condemned John Huss, an upright and holy man, a true Preacher of the law and the Gospel of Jesus Christ. For about a quarter of an hour he struggled with the pain of martyrdom, praying in Bohemian as long as he could articulate. Æneas Sylvius (afterwards Pope) wrote of these martyrs, that "they suffered death with very great constancy, and went to the fire as if it had been to a feast, without complaint. While the fire was kindling about them, they sang a hymn, which neither the flame nor the crackling of the burning faggots interrupted. We do not find that any of the philosophers suffered death with so much courage as theirs amidst the fire." * In the same session of this Council, when Jerome was condemned, the notorious declaration was made, that faith is not to be kept with heretics ; † a doctrine which it is easy for Romanists to dis-

* L'Enfant, Council of Constance, books iii., iv.

† Such a declaration was, doubtless, made, and the understanding that faith was not to be kept with heretics, must have been general among the clerical part of the great assemblage at Constance, and acquiesced in by the laymen,—the Bohemians and Poles excepted. But the fathers were not so imprudent as to embody the principle of perfidy in so many written words. The decree relating to this subject is to be found in the printed Acts of the Council, and is thus literally translated : "The present holy Synod declares, that no safe-conduct whatsoever, granted by Emperor, Kings, and other secular Princes to heretics, or to persons under the infamy of heresy, thinking (that is, the grantors of safe-conduct thinking) to recall the same from their errors, by what-

own, but which their Church has not yet relinquished. Their chief business, the healing of the schism, was completed in the enthronement of Martin V.; but the disastrous consequences of burning the two Bohemians extended through the century, yet attended with other results of a very different kind, of which the existence, at this day, of the United Brethren, or Moravians, is a triumphant evidence. As for Constance, it was ruined by the Council, and has not recovered to this day. The Hussite war, as it is called, and the rise of the Bohemian Brethren, are, therefore, the two great events that now demand attention.

Between the Bohemian nobles and others at Prague, representatives of Bohemia at Constance, and the Council, there had been much correspondence; but their countrymen were sacrificed to sectarian malignity, in spite of every remonstrance. Passing by the laity as if they were not entitled to any consideration, the Council sent a letter to the Archbishop, Chapter, and Clergy of Prague, a few days after the execution of Huss, to inform them that, after long patience and innumerable efforts to retrieve him from the unutterable and detestable heresy of Wycliffe, and hearing unexceptionable evidence that he had laboured to subvert the foundations of the Christian faith, and to engage the people in his damnable doctrine, they had been compelled to condemn him as a notorious heretic, degrade him from the priesthood, and deliver him to the secular arm for final punishment. They then exhorted the Bohemians to be animated with the like zeal for the extirpation of heresy, and to excite their King to do the same; but enjoined the Clergy to use all diligence in that holy work, under pain of excommunication, deprivation of their benefices, and degradation.

ever obligation (*quocunque vinculo*) they may bind themselves, either can or ought to cause any prejudice to Catholic faith, or obstruction to ecclesiastical jurisdiction; but that it is lawful, notwithstanding, to a competent and ecclesiastical Judge, to inquire concerning the errors of this kind of persons, and otherwise to proceed duly against them, and punish them, as far as justice shall require, (*suadebit,*) if they pertinaciously refuse to retract their errors, even if, trusting in a safe-conduct, they come to the place of judgment, which otherwise they would not have done. (And the Synod declares that) neither does the (Prince) so promising, when they shall have done as is herein expressed, any longer remain under any obligation. Which statute, or ordinance, having been read, the same statute was approved by the Lord Bishops in the name of the four nations, and by the most reverend father, the Lord Cardinal, Bishop of Ostia, in the name of the College of Cardinals, by the word *Placet.*" (Binii Conc. Gen. et Provinc., tom. iii., pars 2: Conc. Const. Sessio. XIX.) The truth is, that the Church ignores the authority of Princes to protect their subjects, or themselves either, from penalties inflicted by the ecclesiastical Judge. Not only does the decree mean that faith is not to be *kept* with heretics, but that it is to be withheld from them; that the heretic, real or even *reputed,* is outlawed, *ipso facto;* that when a man is *hæreseos imputatus*, under the imputation of heresy, though that imputation be never so false and malicious, he is at once withdrawn from secular to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Faith is not kept, because, in such cases, faith is out of the question. The decree is, in form, a simple assertion of ecclesiastical superiority over all earthly tribunals; but, in reality, is all that the most partial Protestant expositor could represent it to be. But we must not overlook an important fact, that the "Placet," or affirmative vote, was only given by Cardinals and Bishops; and that the cowardice and perfidy of Sigismund towards John Huss did not suffice to raise this outrage on common justice and humanity by their hands, into an acknowledged precedent. At the diet of Worms, Charles V. refused to blush with his predecessor, Sigismund, rightly considered the imperial sword to be better, in such a case, than the crozier, and protected Luther, in spite of solicitations to give him up to the inquisitors of heresy. It is the *pretension* that shows the *spirit* of the Latin Church, whatever be its power or its weakness.

On hearing of this letter, about sixty chief persons, being the most powerful of the Bohemian nobility, and not fewer than four hundred others, assembled in the church of Bethlehem, (Sept. 5th, 1415,) decreed the honours of martyrdom to John Huss, and to his friend Jerome, whom they supposed to have been already executed. They unanimously gave the fathers of Constance the titles of murderers and hangmen, and declared their sentence to be nothing less than an insult to the Sovereign and to the nation of Bohemia. A letter, previously written, and therefore conveying their deliberate judgment, was read again, received their signatures, and was intrusted to a faithful messenger. They therein told the Council that the reverend master John Huss, Bachelor of Divinity and Preacher of the Gospel, had been condemned and put to a cruel death as a heretic, without having been convicted of any error or heresy, on the false accusation of his enemies, and those of the kingdom, by the instigation of traitors, and to the eternal scandal of Bohemia and Moravia. That this had been already said in a writing sent through Sigismund the Emperor, and successor to the throne of Bohemia, which writing, instead of being read in Council, was contemptuously burnt. They therefore protested, with heart and voice, that Huss was a most honest, just, and catholic man, long known and honoured by them, and his writings still held in high esteem. Not content with this, the Council, they complained, had proceeded against Jerome, and, probably, put him also to death; and, as if those outrages were too little, had admitted slanderous accusations of heresy against the King and people. Therefore, by those presents, they solemnly made known, that whosoever had affirmed that heresy was propagated in Bohemia and Moravia, lied capitally, and was himself guilty of villany, treason, and heresy; excepting, however, Sigismund, whom they believed to be innocent of calumniating them. They left the guilty to the judgment of God; reserved the right of appeal to the Pope, when there should be a Pope over all the Church; but prayed that effectual remedies might be applied to the evils of the kingdom, and declared themselves ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of the law of Christ, and of his faithful Preachers, who expounded that law with zeal, humility, and constancy, notwithstanding any human constitutions to the contrary. And they passed some resolutions in the same assembly, amounting to a withdrawal of their national Church from foreign jurisdiction, leaving the appointment of Pastors to the secular authority, and the administration of orders and internal discipline to the Bohemian episcopate alone. A most important determination, indicative of the doctrine of episcopal independence; a doctrine constantly repeated all over Popedom, and, ever since, threatening the disintegration of the Papal system.

On the receipt of the remonstrance, the fathers thought it desirable to appease the indignation of the writers, if that could be done by sparing Jerome, who was still languishing under disease and anxiety in his prison, and therefore made extraordinary efforts to extort from him a recantation; but, as we know, without ultimate success: for the zealots, by intemperance, frustrated the

endeavour of the more sagacious, whose prudence was only momentary. The Council issued an edict, (Feb. 23d, 1416,) to be affixed to all the church-doors of Constance, reciting the proceedings of the heresiarchs, or ministers of damnation, as they chose to call them, who had set themselves up above the hierarchy of the Church militant, and were followed by increasing multitudes in Bohemia and Moravia. "Adding iniquity to iniquity," said they, "they write defamatory letters, sealed with their seals, in which they undertake the vindication and praise of John Huss, who was burnt by the just judgment of God and our sentence." They spurned the men who had presumed audaciously to address the sacred Council; resolved to smother and crush the spreading doctrine; declared all the signers of the letter, who were none other than the flower and strength of the Bohemian nobility, to be publicly defamed, and suspected of heresy; and, as they could not be come at with safety in their dwellings, summoned them to appear before the high tribunal at Constance.

No more appears to have been done until four or five months afterwards, except deliberation in the congregations, until the edict was read in Council; and the Patriarch of Constantinople, already honoured with the office of Inquisitor extraordinary, was appointed to examine any Hussites who might make their appearance, and report. But one only, and he a political conformist, was the trophy won by the perseverance of the sacred Synod. Henry of Latzenbock, a man distinguished in high office, and once a friend of Huss, abjured his doctrine; but, unlike most renegades, was very lukewarm in the bad cause of persecution. They next wrote to Sigismund, soliciting his help to resist a persecution which, they said, the Catholic Church was suffering in Bohemia, where, in fact, the declamations of their adherent Clergy provoked reprisals from those who had seceded, and aroused the anger of a rude and often furious population. Wenceslaus, the King, was, no doubt, mortified at seeing the Council lay his kingdom under excommunication, or a charge of prevailing heresy, which was almost equivalent with interdict, and perplexed at finding his brother Sigismund subservient to the Council. He could neither suppress the tumult, nor assume a position hostile to the Church.

But there were two nobles whose courage and patriotism urged them to head a revolt against the alien oppressors. One was Nicholas of Hussinetz, already mentioned as a relative and prote tor of Huss. The other was John of Trocznou, "the formidable Ziska."* He had served as a General in foreign war, received many wounds, and won the respect of his countrymen and the favour of his Sovereign. He despised the licentious priesthood; and the dishonour of a sister had deepened his contempt into hatred of the monastic orders. But Huss he had revered as the great Doctor and advocate of his country. Just after the intelligence of the death

* They who understand Bohemian say, that Ziska means "one-eyed," John of Trocznou having lost an eye in battle.

of Huss had reached Prague, he was walking thoughtfully in the court-yard of the royal palace, absorbed in sad reflection on the wrongs inflicted on Bohemia. Wenceslaus was near, but unobserved, and, walking over to the veteran, pleasantly asked what he was thinking about. "I was thinking," said he, "of the insult inflicted on Bohemia by the execution of John Huss." "Neither you nor I," said the King, "have power to help ourselves. But, if you know how to do it, take courage, and avenge your countrymen." No more was said; but from that moment Ziska thought of nothing else. He retired from Prague, and, attended by Coranda, a zealous Preacher, laboured to instruct people in the doctrine of Huss. Hussinetz, unlike him, was dreaded by the King, and disliked Wenceslaus in return. Assembling a large body of men, he encamped on a hill near Prague, afterwards called Tabor, gathered multitudes of the citizens, and had the eucharist administered to them in both kinds, not so much in memory of the great sacrifice, as in token of opposition to Rome, and defiance of the Council. In a short time, surrounded by forty thousand armed followers, he meditated insurrection, and proposed that another King should be elected, which would probably have been done, had not the Priest just mentioned, as the associate of Ziska, suggested, that as they had one who allowed them to do as they pleased, a change might be for the worse.

Carnal weapons were thus raised for the overthrow of Antichrist; but being carnal, they were powerless for the higher service by which alone Antichrist can be overthrown. The party then raised, and afterwards largely multiplied, were the Taborites of the Hussite war. All over the kingdom the communion was celebrated in both kinds (March 17th, 1417). The University published their approbation of the practice; and Peter of Wintzov, a Professor of Divinity, who had hitherto opposed Huss, now made a public profession of adherence to the doctrine. Wenceslaus shut himself up in a fortress, gave no one audience, and left Bohemia without an earthly governor. Lords followed the new worship; Priests did the same; and churches, with permission of the King, were taken into the exclusive possession of the Hussites, constituting a formal secession from Rome at that time unprecedented. The residuary Clergy were the minority. Their followers were few; their churches few; their revenue diminished. Wenceslaus, who had been persuaded to return to his residence at Prague, sanctioned all by feeble assent, but supported nothing. Law was set at nought by both parties. The cities were scenes of petty warfare, and the highways infested with robbers. Sigismund wrote a letter of expostulation and threatening, (Sept. 3d, 1417,) addressed to a town called Launy, where the defection appears to have been general; but his language was too lofty, and aggravated the strife. He sent a general safe-conduct to those who had been cited to the Council; but, even if they had been disposed to go, the decree cited on a former page must have deterred every one from going to Constance, where no faith was to be kept with heretics. And the Council displayed that impotence and blindness which so frequently, in their acts, remind us of the infatuation of Ahithophel,

by the enactment of a set of articles,* to the effect, that the timorous Wenceslaus should swear to protect the Church in its liberties and revenues; that every Hussite should abjure, or suffer the utmost penalty, as if the majority of the Bohemians could be burnt; that the Clergy should be reinstated, and the Church property restored; that the University of Prague should be reformed, and all the Wycliffites, that is to say, almost every member, be turned out; that the leading heretics should appear at Rome; and that several other things, equally impossible, should be done. Martin V.—for by this time the Council had beaten off the Antipopes, except one, of whom death disembarrassed them, and created a Pontiff so designated—Martin V. followed this up by a Bull, too insignificant to be recited, and wrote a letter to the nobles, charged with the usual amount of threatening, (March, 1418,) and only remarkable for allegations, probably true, that images were broken, trampled under foot, and burnt; and that laymen intruded on the priestly office. One or two persons now again abjured Hussitism; and in this terminates the sorry contest of the Council of Constance with the insurgents of Bohemia (April 13th, 1418).†

About sixteen months after the dissolution of the Council, (April 22d, 1418,) the King of Bohemia died, and Sigismund, Emperor of Germany, succeeded to the throne. A few days (July 30th, 1419) before the death of the King, there was a great tumult at Prague. To counteract the proceedings of the City-Council, which was altogether Hussite, and had received his sanction, he foolishly created another Council, which was to supersede the old one. No measure could have been more certainly calculated to produce a civil war; and if the King intended this, his intention was fully answered. The new Council imprisoned two Hussites. Ziska, it is said, assembled the people, walked in procession at their head, carrying the sacramental cup; and, on arriving in front of the Council-house, demanded the liberation of some Hussite prisoners. The Council refused, and the mob broke in, and flung thirteen of the new Councillors out at the windows, who were caught on the points of lances, and butchered on the spot. The death of the King, (August 16th,) smothered by his attendants, was the signal for a general insurrection. The monasteries were entered; the churches not already occupied by the Hussites were stripped of their idolatrous decorations; and a zealous Priest dispensed bread and wine to the promiscuous mob, from a rude table in the open street. The wealthier citizens, dreading utter ruin, sent to Sigismund, now their Sovereign, for succour; while Ziska called the neighbouring peasantry to arms, who flocked into the city, armed with flails and other rustic implements, and besieged the royal castle, whence, however, the widow-Queen had fled. Ziska was now at the head of the insurrection; and the Taborites ranged Bohemia at pleasure. The chief men, Hussites though they were, could not restrain the fury of the armed population, and, therefore, sent a deputation to the Emperor, entreating him, as King of Bohe-

* Binii, tom. iii., pars 2; Damnat. Errorum Wicl. et Husz.

† L'Enfant, Council of Constance, books iv., v.

mia, to interpose for the pacification of the country, not to suppress the new worship, but to allow liberty to both parties. Sigismund, with characteristic pride and indecision, kept them kneeling for a long time, and at last refused their proposals, which would have saved the bloodshed of a protracted war: he insulted all, both nobles and peasantry, and left things to take their course. Meanwhile, Hussites who crossed the frontiers were persecuted, and even burnt. Acts of that kind provoked horrible reprisals, in which Ziska was not guiltless; and a warfare, barbarous as ever disgraced humanity, raged throughout the land. Nor was this all. The Hussites, with Ziska at their head, swore never to acknowledge Sigismund as King of Bohemia; and, in order to abolish Monkery altogether, began to pull down the monasteries and commit other acts, which might have been rightly enough performed under legal or juridical sanction, but were utterly unjustifiable as the effect of tumultuary violence. Then Sigismund, instead of coming as an acknowledged and invited King, prepared to invade Bohemia as an enemy. The Queen's General, Schwamberg, sent to open the campaign, came up with Ziska at Pilsen, but was discomfited by a singular stratagem of that ingenious soldier. He directed the women of Pilsen to spread their gowns and veils on the ground; the horses got their feet entangled, many of them fell, the cavalry were beaten, and, for a moment, Ziska was victorious. Sigismund then joined the Queen in Silesia; and Bohemia was invaded with as complete strategy as the soldiers of those times could exhibit.*

Having marked the first stage of this war with sufficient distinctness to show that it was provoked by the murder of Huss and Jerome, and the insolence of the Council of Constance; encouraged by the imbecility of Wenceslaus, who even gave the first hint to Ziska, and raised Hussitism by sanctions, valid, although given with reluctance; aggravated by the intemperance of the Popish Preachers, and by many acts of overt persecution; and embittered by the contempt of Sigismund; we must now pass over the details of the war, merely noticing the more characteristic incidents.

The Hussites were by no means alone in sacrilegious and profane excesses. To destroy an idol, certainly, is not sacrilege, or, if it were, the mawmets of Popery should have been receiving public veneration in our own country to the present hour. To administer the emblems of our Saviour's passion to ungodly multitudes, and that in the camp and in the street, during the heat of insurrection, is so nearly profane, that we should revolt from participation in such a procedure; but the error at Prague arose out of passing from a religious controversy into a political strife. Yet that was the prevailing error of Christendom from the days of Constantine, and is the constant error of Popery. It was forced on the Bohemians by their oppressors. On the other side, nothing could be more wantonly extreme than the sacrilege of Papists. In the beginning of this war, (Dec. 26th, 1420,) an imperial Captain broke into the church of Kerczin during divine service, ordered some of the worshippers to be massacred, and others

* Menzel, History of Germany, chap. 185.

to be taken prisoners; taking a chalice full of wine from the communion-table, he drank health to his horse, and then, putting the sacred vessel to the brute's mouth, declared that his horse, too, was a utraquist. A party of horse, belonging to Albert of Austria, in the service of Sigismund, seized a village Curate, with his Chaplain, three peasants, and four children, the eldest of whom was only eleven years old. The Priest had administered the sacrament in both kinds; the others had partaken of it. The commanding officer sent them to the Bishop, who required the Curate to promise that he would never give his people the cup again; and threatened him with flames if he would not submit. The good man quoted Scripture and the Missal in defence of that mode of administration, at which, in the Bishop's presence, a soldier struck him with his fist so violently, that his face was covered with blood; and the Bishop, notwithstanding his doctrine of priestly sanctity, kept the Priest and the others in custody, mocked them the whole night, and next morning, that being the Lord's day, took them to the stake, made the Priest sit there with the children tied on his knees, and burnt the entire company in one fire, looking on until the work was done. The murder of a man created in the image of God, the destruction of human life, sacred as it is, and guarded, from the creation of the world, by a distinct law of judicial retribution, may not be sacrilege in the estimation of those who say that they kill the body for the good of the soul; but such persons can understand us when we speak of the barbarian Bishop who burned a Presbyter, not ceremonially degraded, and so committed sacrilege, his own Church being judge, and therefore should have incurred the guilt of heresy in her eyes.

"At Leitmeritz," says a German historian, "the Burgomaster Pichel, a cruel and deceitful man, seized in one night twenty-four respectable citizens, among whom was his own son-in-law, and threw them into a deep dungeon near St. Michael's gate. When they were half dead from cold and hunger, he, assisted by some of the imperial officers, had them taken out, under a guard, and pronounced upon them the sentence of death.* They were then chained upon waggons, and conveyed to the banks of the Elbe, to be thrown into the water. A multitude of people assembled, with the wives and children of the prisoners, making great lamentation. The Burgomaster's daughter came also. She was his only child, and with clasped hands threw herself at his feet, interceding for the life of her husband. But the father, harder than a stone, said, 'Spare your tears, you know not what you desire. Cannot you have a more worthy husband than he?' Finding her father thus inexorable, she arose, and said, 'Father, you shall not give me in marriage again!' Smiting her breast, and tearing her hair, she followed her husband with the rest. When the martyrs had arrived at the bank of the Elbe, they were thrown from the waggons; and while the boats were preparing, they raised their voices, calling heaven and earth to witness that they were innocent; then, bidding their wives and children and friends farewell, they exhorted

* We have already seen the municipal authorities at Prague exercising the exorbitant prerogative of pronouncing and inflicting capital punishment at their pleasure.

them to constancy and zeal, and obedience to the word of God, rather than the commandments of man. Finally, they prayed for their enemies, and commended their souls to God. Their hands being bound to their feet, they were conveyed in boats to the middle of the river, and then thrown into the stream. The banks were lined with executioners, provided with pikes, who took care that none should escape; for when any came floating near the shore, although half dead, they were stabbed, and forced back to the middle of the river. The Burgomaster's daughter, fixing her eyes upon her husband, sprang into the river, and, embracing him, strove hard to draw him from the water. But as it was too deep for her to get a firm footing, and she was unable to loosen his bands, they both sank. The following day they were found clasped in each other's arms, and were buried in one grave. This was done on the 30th of May, 1421." *

Perish the fairest works of human art; let the fanes of saint-worship be all violated; let the grandest fabrics of ecclesiastical antiquity be demolished; let every charm of ancient hierarchies die and be forgotten; rather than that the fell demon of priestly hate should go to and fro in the world, to perpetrate sacrilege on every humane sentiment and holy right; to make Christianity herself suspected by the Heathen, in whose eyes her counterfeit is hateful. As for charging the Hussites with cruelty, and the Protestants with Vandalism, the reader of such horrible narratives as these must pass by the complaint as beneath ridicule.

In the same year, beside the massacre of multitudes by the sword of Sigismund, and burnings and drownings in all directions, several thousands of Taborites were thrown into the old mines of Kuttenberg. There were precipitated 1,700 into one pit, 1,308 into another, and 1,321 into another. They were prisoners of war, no doubt, of that holy warfare in which there is neither truce nor quarter. For two centuries a solemn yearly meeting was held on the ground, where a place of worship stood, in memory of the sad event. Some of the Romish nobles displayed their zeal by murdering whomsoever they could. We hear of two who, with a band of their men, set part of a town on fire, went into a church and killed a Minister as he was officiating at the Lord's table. A person who had been seen to turn his back on the host, was put into a barrel and burnt. A Utraquist Priest, who had succeeded in escaping into Moravia, was seized there, with another, and both of them, Martin Loquis and Procopius Jednook, were laden with irons and condemned to die; then reprieved from death for a time by a Priest of the old communion, who hoped to extort a recantation from them; but he, failing, cast them into a dungeon, where they were kept for two months, and tortured by the application of fire to their bodies, until their bowels burst out. They were then put into a barrel and burnt (August 21st, 1421).

Horrified at those barbarities, and convinced that his Church was hostile to Christianity, the Archbishop of Prague himself, Conrad of

* The Reformation and Anti-Reformation in Bohemia: from the German, vol. i., pp. 14—16. A work bearing every mark of accuracy.

Westphalia, although Primate of the kingdom, Prince of the empire, and Papal Legate, surrendered his dignities. Hazarding his life by that act, he declared himself a Utraquist, offered himself as their chief, and associated some of their Ministers as administrators of a consistory. That consistory survived the persecution, and even received the sanction of Sigismund; and the archiepiscopal see was vacated for one hundred and forty years. Conrad died in exile. One of those administrators, Zeliveus, perhaps improperly, busied himself in endeavouring to persuade the people of Prague to change the Town Council, which was unfriendly to the Hussites. For this offence a full measure of vengeance was dealt out. The Governor of the city decoyed him and twelve others into the town-hall, where they were instantly seized and beheaded. But, again, as once before, a stream of blood, overflowing the threshold, betrayed the deed; the citizens burst the door, brought away the bodies for interment; and Gaudentius, a Priest, laying the head of Zeliveus on a dish, carried it through the city, and called aloud for vengeance. The multitude, infuriated, plundered the Colleges, and killed some of the Senators. But it is time to turn away from scenes like these. Let it, therefore, suffice to say, that the Hussites could not be conquered by foreign military force or domestic persecution.

Although divided by a party-distinction that we must hasten to notice, they all united when expecting an attack from Sigismund; and at last, a Council being assembled at Basil, (A.D. 1433,) it was found that the way of force being impracticable, that of conciliation must be tried. Three hundred Bohemian delegates appeared at Basil; and the Clerks, seeing that the Emperor himself was compelled to respect their valour, and unable to subdue their spirit, submitted to sanction heresy, the heresy for which so many thousands had already been slaughtered, and accepted four articles, called *compactates*, as the terms of reconciliation with Bohemia,—terms, as those brave men said, which were either to be granted, or they would fight for them. They were these: 1. That the communion of the most divine eucharist, useful and salutary under both kinds, that is, of bread and wine, should be freely ministered by the Priests to all believers in Christ in Bohemia, Moravia, &c. 2. That all mortal sins, and especially public ones, should be restrained, corrected, and put away by those whom it concerned to do so, reasonably, and according to the law of God. 3. That the word of God should be freely and faithfully preached by Ministers duly qualified. 4. That it is not lawful for the Clergy, under the law of grace, to have temporal dominion over worldly goods.* One of the Hussite Priests, Rokyzan, was called Archbishop of Prague. Legates from the Council went to Bohemia to tell them that they were again dear children of the Church, and to exhort both parties not to hinder or fight with one another. Rokyzan was, for a time, half melted by showers of Papal and imperial honour, and occasionally seemed to temporize; but he continued to be a stern Calixtine, went to the full extent of the *compactates*, and again promoted scriptural doctrine as far as he understood it. For a

* Binii, tom. iv., Conc. Basil. Appendix, p. 153.

time, too, Bohemia had some rest; and at last the Hussites succeeded in placing one on the throne, (Podiebrad,) who protected them from persecution. The Latin Church, however, soon resumed its naturally hostile position. After Podiebrad had governed Bohemia well for twenty-seven years, the Council of Florence having revoked the concessions made at Basil, Pope Paul II. (very unlike the *first* Paul) anathematized him, and pretended to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, and many of the nobles and cities of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia relapsed into Popery again. Bands of crusaders, fortified with the Pope's blessing, ravaged the country, and killed those defenceless heretics, whom a predecessor had called dear children of the Church. Their crusade was remarkably distinguished by child-murder, as if Divine Providence had suffered them to provide an historical monument of their own cowardice. They used to cut off infants' heads, pile them in heaps, and toss them as balls.*

This national testimony to a part of evangelical truth, and to the principle of religious liberty, was not lost on Europe, and no doubt pointed out to other states the way of religious independence in which they followed in the next century; for Bohemian liberties were vindicated down to the days of Luther and Zuinglius. But the most satisfactory issue of this protracted struggle still appears in the Church of the United Brethren. Their predecessors were *the Brethren of Bohemia*. The Calixtines,† persecuted by the Papists, naturally began to think of some way of escape from Papal jurisdiction. The *compactate* articles had been granted by the Council of Basil; and although those articles were still acted on, and the Archbishop Rokyzan was persecuted as a heretic, and Bohemia was anathematized and bleeding under a crusade, they had not utterly renounced the authority of the Church of Rome. It was obviously desirable to do so, and a Diet of the Calixtine states, assembled at Prague, (A.D. 1450,) attempted the first step of a secession by sending an embassage to Constantinople to seek ordination for their Ministers. Had not the Greek Church been falling, or had it been purer, such an alliance might have been effected. On the article of the cup, however, they were united; in hatred or envy or fear of Romanism they agreed; and the Calixtine envoys were received by the Greek Bishops with the utmost cordiality. But the Greeks were negotiating for union with Rome, Constantinople was trembling before the Turk, and the Hussite ambassadors had not long left the city of Constantine, when the Crescent supplanted the Cross under the dominion of Mahomet II.

Another way of escape was prepared for those who were willing to separate themselves from the world for Christ's sake. During the crusade just mentioned, while Legates from Rome were secretly, and but too successfully, endeavouring to beguile the more political and less earnest of the Calixtine Clergy, and while these were diverging into two parties more distinctly hostile to each other,—the moderate Calixtines, and the fanatical Taborites; a third party, not neutral, but

* The Reformation, &c., in Bohemia, chap. i.; Clarke's Martyrology, chap. xxv.

† From *calix*, "cup," or "chalice," those who contended for the administration of the eucharist in both kinds, were called *Calixtines*.

more profoundly earnest than either of them, emerged out of the confusion. They did not fight for the cup: their first object was not ecclesiastical reform. They desired personal salvation, loathed party strife, repudiated sectarian badges, longed for peace, not reconciliation with Pope or Patriarch, but peace with God. Some of them preached with unwonted spirituality and power, and their holy zeal was quickened as the horrors of the crusade multiplied. Several persons, actuated by this desire, conceived the idea of uniting themselves into a Christian fellowship, and petitioned Podiebrad, the moderate King of Bohemia, for permission to form a settlement remote from the scenes of controversy, that they might there dwell in Christian peace. The petition was favourably heard, and Podiebrad allowed them to occupy a tract of land in the lordship of Lititz in the mountain-country bordering on Silesia (A.D. 1451). This was the rallying-point for others of like mind, and (A.D. 1453) several pious nobles and learned men, quitting the tumult of the metropolis, joined them there. At first they attended the ministry established according to the Calixtine form; and one of the Ministers, Bradacz, no longer timorously following the *compactates*, gratified the settlers by abolishing many superstitious ceremonies, excluding unworthy communicants, and maintaining strict Christian discipline. His brethren, well-meaning men, it might be, but *mere* Calixtines, disapproved of his proceedings, and complained against him to the Consistory as an innovator. The Consistory forbade Bradacz to preach. He appealed to Rokyzan, as Archbishop, and to his suffragan, Lupacz. Rokyzan was not the man to peril himself by espousing a novel cause, and therefore gave no redress: but Lupacz advised him and his flock to prosecute their work with confidence and firmness; to learn from obstacles thrown in their way that they should not expect help from others; to form an ecclesiastical constitution of their own, following the primitive church, both in doctrine and discipline. He told them that they would inevitably exasperate the hatred of the Romanizing party and their chiefs; but exhorted them to fulfil the will of God, and see to their own salvation, emulating the holiness, fidelity, and patience of the primitive confessors. Others gave them similar advice.

The advice was taken. Bradacz removed from his former church of Zamberg to Kunewalde, where the settlers were most numerous, and invited the more pious Calixtine Clergy of the adjacent villages to meet him there for conference. Gregory, nephew of the Archbishop, was there, and long after proved his sincere devotion, by suffered persecution for the love of Christ. They agreed on fundamental principles of action,*

* Nearly three hundred years later, a Conference was holden in London by the Rev. John Wesley, who, like Bradacz, invited a few pious brethren to meet him, not to form a distinct ecclesiastical system, which was not as yet contemplated, although it really grew out of that Conference, but to consider "how to save their own souls, and them that heard them." The one Holy Spirit, who works all grace in all men, taught both those initiators of Christian churches the supremacy of truth over conscience. The latter asked this question: "Can a Christian submit any farther than this" (saving his conscience) "to any man, or number of men upon earth?" The answer was: "It is undeniable, he cannot; either to Council, Bishop, or Convocation. And this is that grand principle of private judgment, on which all the Reformers proceeded: 'Every man must judge for himself; because every man must give an account for himself to God.'" (Mi-

not gathered from human rules and traditions, but from the law of God. Like the first Christians, they took no private name, but, addressing each other as "brethren and sisters," they described their communion by the simple appellation of UNITAS FRATRUM, "Unity of Brethren;" and themselves as FRATRES LEGIS CHRISTI, "Brethren of the Law of Christ." Perceiving that some persons misunderstood the distinction implied by the words "Legis Christi," they dropped them, and preferred to be only known as "Brethren." The law of Christ was to them, according to the doctrine of Wycliffe and Huss, the New Testament, the only infallible rule for the guidance of Christians; all regulations not enjoined by the word of God, or fairly deducible from it, being mere matters of expediency, and to be altered according to circumstances. They then elected three Elders for the general superintendence of their concerns; Gregory, Procopius, and Clenovius. They drew up a plan of strict discipline, to be administered without respect of persons, and resolved to suffer all for conscience' sake, *not to use arms in defence of religion*, but to seek protection from the violence of enemies in prayer to God, and in dispassionate remonstrance. This little society was indeed a new creation, and the determination, so proper for a Christian church, to refrain from the use of arms, at once marked them as belonging to that King for whom his servants do not fight. And their avowal of strength in God was the beginning of the new kingdom of reformed and resuscitated Christianity that cometh not with observation. The more distant precursors of the Reformation of the sixteenth century deserve great honour; but these pacific reformers, as a collective body, a nascent Church, are especially worthy of remembrance, and the Conference of Kunewalde will be gladly imitated by those men of God who do not strive, nor cry, nor lift up their voice in the street. The infant Church was instantly established, and rapidly enlarged by the addition of spiritually-minded persons. Other congregations were formed in Bohemia and Moravia, and joined the UNITY.

Their fundamental principles were soon tested by persecution. The lukewarm Calixtines, to whom the cup was more than He who gave it, joined the Papists, who could yield the cup to the layman on an emergency, but could never suffer the innovations of true piety. They were accused of being leagued with the Taborites, and of plotting sedition in their retreats. They were cited to appear, by deputies, at the Consistory of Prague. Rokyżan presided; and he, although his nephew was one of their leaders, and although he had tacitly allowed, perhaps even approved of, their procedure, then censured them as imprudent and dangerous people. Podiebrad was reminded that at his coronation he had sworn to be willing and *obedient* to the Roman Catholic Church, *and to the Popes*, like other Catholic Christian Kings, and, in the unity of the orthodox faith, to protect and *defend* that faith with all his power; and, God helping, to recall his people from all errors, sects, and heresies militating against that holy Roman Church, and to bring

nutes of the Methodist Conferences, vol. i., p. 4.) This is a first principle of true reform, where God and conscience are indeed the guides; the first element of Methodistical polity, and of a free Christian communion.

them back to the obedience, agreement, unity, and worship of the same Church, using all diligence to that end. Reminded of this oath, and intimidated by menaces implied, if not loudly uttered, he refused to protect the Brethren. They were immediately outlawed. In one moment they found themselves deprived of country and property, and exposed to the utmost peril. Most of their settlements were broken up. Even the sick and infirm were driven from their dwellings, and many of them perished with cold and hunger in the fields. Others were thrown into dungeons, starved, racked, quartered, or burnt alive. Their enemies hoped to rack them into confession of conspiracy or of some other crime; for even those who could think it reasonable to fight or suffer for the cup, could not apprehend the possibility of any man's suffering for the sake of Christ alone.

The Brethren in Lititz, however, were less persecuted than others, and they sent messengers to travel over Bohemia and Moravia to seek out and comfort the sufferers. "On one of these visits Gregory came to Prague. A number of the Brethren were assembled in a house for the purpose of celebrating the Lord's supper. While thus engaged, a Magistrate, who secretly favoured them, sent and advised them to separate. Gregory, considering it to be the duty of Christians not needlessly to expose themselves to danger, admonished the assembly to seek for safety in instant flight. (Matt. x. 23.) Others, however, were of a different opinion, and said, 'No; he that believeth shall not make haste.* Let us take our meal in peace, and await the consequences.' Some young students, in particular, boasted that tortures and the stake were considered as trifles by them." † But their conversation was interrupted by the appearance of a Justice and a party of men sent to apprehend them. He, too, quoted Scripture: "It is written," said he, "that all that will live godly must suffer persecution; therefore, follow me." They were taken away, and put to the torture. Most of the boasters denied their faith; but Gregory was not intimidated. He fainted on the rack, they thought him dead; and his uncle, Rokyzan, vanquished for the time, hasted to the prison, bent over the wounded, or, as it seemed, dead, body of the confessor, and exclaimed, weeping, "O my dear Gregory, would to God I were where thou now art!" But Gregory revived, was set at liberty, and lived to advanced age, a laborious and venerated leader of the Unity of Brethren. Encouraged, by the momentary relenting of Rokyzan, to hope that he might yet befriend them, the Brethren reminded him that he had at first taught them from the writings of the Apostles and from examples of the primitive church, and then advised them to attend the ministry of Chelezitius, whose discourses had conveyed clearer instruction in Christian truth; that in obeying the Gospel they had only acted on the responsibility he had himself so freely recognised; and that their separation from other Hussites was not on account of any question of ceremonial or discipline, but because of the evil and corrupt doctrine retained among them. But the courtier Priest could

* Isai. xxviii. 16: The Bohemian translation is, "He that believeth does not flee."

† History of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren, by the Rev. John Holmes, vol. I., pp. 46, 47.

not suffer affliction with the people of God. He shrank from the thought of infamy and suffering, and repelled their advances. With disappointment and indignation they closed the correspondence in a bitter sentence: "Thou art of the world, and wilt perish with the world."

This indiscretion was terribly repaid. The Archbishop, mortified at the reproof, meditated revenge, and easily obtained it in an edict from the King, ordaining that "those dangerous people should no longer be suffered to remain in Bohemia and Moravia." To how great lengths both Calixtines and Papists would have carried their violence, if unchecked, may easily be conjectured; but God so overruled Rosenberg, Romish Bishop of Breslaw, that he interposed his influence in fear, rather than pity, for the protection of the former brethren of the angry Rokyzan. He represented to Podiebrad that the blood of martyrs would but increase the number of heretics.* Their lives were spared; but they were compelled to quit the country, and leave their possessions to be confiscated. "They sought an asylum in the mountains, the thickest forests, and the clifts and recesses of rocks, far removed from the society of other men. They kindled fires only in the night, lest their places of retreat should be discovered by the smoke. And, during the winter, when snow lay on the ground, they used the precaution, when going out, to walk one after the other, the last person dragging a bush after him to erase the marks of their feet." † By day their chief cares were for gathering rude sustenance, and to watch against surprise. By night they often congregated in caverns or in woods, and around their fires held spiritual converse, and poured out their joint complaint, through the Divine Comforter, before the mercy-seat of Christ; outcasts, indeed, yet dwelling in the paradise of a good conscience. When for about three years (from 1461 to 1464) the Brethren had remained in the mountains, and the terror of persecution was somewhat abated, they began to consider how to preserve, by discipline, the purity of their brotherhood. It was evidently impossible for them to reform either Popery or Calixtinism, and, for the preservation of the truth for which so many had surrendered property, country, and even life, it was necessary that they should follow the indications of Divine Providence, and constitute themselves a visible church, by assuming a form of discipline. A numerous assembly was therefore convened in the Riesen-Gebirge, a chain of hills between Bohemia and Silesia, and in the neighbourhood of Reichenau, where a few fundamental rules of conduct were unanimously adopted, and some principles of church government discussed. "Before all other things" they agreed to preserve to themselves the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ in purity, and to confirm it in righteousness which is of God, abiding together in love, and putting their trust in the living God,—manifesting that trust in word and deed. Faithfully assisting each other in love, with a blameless life, humility, submission, meekness, continence, and pati-

* But couched the sentiment under a coarse comparison: "Maggots breed in meat half roasted."—Cranz, History of the United Brethren, part ii., (ancient,) sect. 10.

† Holmes, i., 49.

ence, they were to give proof of faith, hope, and love. They bound themselves to mutual submission in obedience to the word of God, each receiving from the others instruction, warning, exhortation, and correction, thereby to keep the covenant already made with God through the Lord Jesus Christ in the Spirit. They agreed willingly to undertake and do, according to the measure of divine grace imparted to each, whatever should be judged conducive to edification and improvement; but especially to observe Christian obedience, even in the deepest poverty and want acknowledging one another. They were to submit to correction with godly fear, if overtaken in sin, and penitentially confess their guilt before God and man. They also declared with sorrow, that if any should be unfaithful, and refuse to keep the covenant made with God and his brethren, they "could not insure such an one of his salvation," * but should withdraw from him, and exclude him from their communion in divine service. Neither could a grievous heretic or sinner be re-admitted until he had given proof of entire amendment. The Priests and teachers, in particular, were to set a good example, in word and deed, that punishment and reproof might be avoided.†

That was, indeed, a lovely spectacle. A multitude of confessors, poor, out-cast, and hunted down, rallying around their spiritual Head, in the absence of earthly Pastors, a few only excepted, and even they, by being separated from the Church that had commissioned them, divested, in their own estimation, of all human authority to exercise their ministry. These people were entering on a new ecclesiastical career under the sole sanction of Him who had called them from darkness into light. For the present, however, they were content with the bond of brotherhood, and prayerfully awaited guidance for the establishment of complete church order. Podiebrad, perhaps admiring their peaceable deportment, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between them and the Calixtines (A.D. 1465). But the effort was unavailing, and only served to hasten his own ruin; for the Popish Lords, incited by the court of Rome, revolted, and he was anathematized as a favourer of heretics, and deprived of his kingdom (A.D. 1467). Yet at this very time, the Brethren, inured to a state of excommunication, and indifferent to the quarrels of their persecutors, proceeded to complete their work. The order of divine service and of temporal government had been framed in successive Synods, and a few Waldensian refugees, already mingled with them, brought intelligence of that people who were dispersed and hidden in various parts of Europe. In the village of Lhota, and in the house of a person named Duchek, about seventy persons were assembled. Ministers,—yet no longer acknowledging the validity of their Romish or Calixtine ordination,—noblemen, scholars, citizens, and peasants, deputed from various parts of their own settlements, and by their brethren, congregated in distant places throughout Bohemia and Moravia, met to consider how to maintain a regular succession of spiritual teachers. After fasting, the Synod was opened with

* Meaning, of course, that they could not hold out to such an one any hope of salvation.

† The Reformation and Anti-Reformation in Bohemia, vol. i,, chap. 1.

reading the holy Scriptures and with prayer. Deliberation followed; and it was unanimously determined, according to advice long before given by Lupacz, to elect Ministers from among themselves. And following the example of the eleven who elected Matthias by lot, they, in like manner, committed the ultimate decision to the Lord. *Twenty* men were first nominated, as qualified by their divine knowledge and experimental piety, displayed in blameless conversation, to be Ministers of Christ. Out of these *nine* were chosen; and of the nine they determined that *three* should be elected by lot. On nine slips of paper was written the word *non* (he is not); and on three others, precisely similar, the word *est* (he is). They then prayed that God would appoint them three, two, one, or none, to that office, causing, if it so pleased him, that not even one should receive the affirmative lot. A little boy was called in to distribute the folded papers, promiscuously thrown together, to the nine persons. The surplus three that remained in his hand were NON; and Matthias of Kunewalde, Thomas of Prschelauz, and Elias of Krschenow, on opening their billets, found them inscribed with EST. The Brethren sang a hymn of praise, hailed them as chosen of God, promised them obedience, and gave them the kiss of peace. So ended the famous Synod of Lhota, and so began the humble hierarchy of the United Brethren.*

In another Synod, holden shortly afterwards, the question between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy was discussed: the decision was in favour of the latter, not as essential, but as expedient, in order to deprive their adversaries of a new pretext for hostility; and as it was known that the Waldenses had still one Bishop surviving, named Stephen, three persons, formerly ordained as Priests, but otherwise approved, were sent into Austria to solicit consecration to the Episcopate, which they received, returned to Bohemia, and consecrated the three Elders, already chosen by lot, with some others. From that time the church of the United Brethren has been Episcopal. The lot, it may be observed, as in the apostolic church, was only resorted to on an extraordinary emergency, and did not come into general use until nearly three hundred years later.†

The example and influence of the Bohemians encouraged the Austrian Waldenses to throw off the disguise under which they had lain concealed; their boldness attracted persecution; and Stephen, the last surviving Bishop just mentioned, was burnt alive, with many others (A.D. 1480). This, however, led to a strengthening of the holy cause, now identified, almost alone, with the church of the United Brethren, whose numbers were suddenly increased by the accession of a multitude of Waldensian refugees. Rokyzan, enraged on hearing of Bishops in the wilds of the Riesenberge, excited a renewed and sanguinary persecution against them, in which Michael, their first Bishop, was imprisoned until the death of Rokyzan, who departed this life in a state of horrible despair, as if God had ratified the hasty imprecation of the Brethren whom he had abandoned; and the Bohemian confessors again came forth from the rocks in which, for a second time, they had hidden themselves.

* Cranz, *ut supra*, sect. 11.

† In the year 1741. Holmes, i., 288.

They were then marked with the derisory appellation *grübenheimer*, "dwellers in pits." Harassed by a succession of persecutions, and at last expelled from the Bohemian and Moravian territories, they migrated into Moldavia (A.D. 1481). Some alternations of fortune are noted by the historians, but the records become increasingly obscure. A few incidents, however, suffice to show that their church flourished more and more. In the beginning of the sixteenth century they counted two hundred congregations in the very countries whence they had been expelled. They had the Bible in Bohemian, printed at Venice, when, as yet, but one other nation of Europe had used the press for the multiplication of copies of the vernacular Scriptures;* and they had on record the conclusion of a Synod, (A.D. 1489,) that "if God should, anywhere in the world, awaken genuine Ministers and reformers of the church, they would make common cause with them." Occasion for such an evangelical alliance soon occurred.†

Bohemia was regarded at Rome as an infected district of Christendom, and all possible care was taken to prevent the spread of heretical contagion into other parts of the world. But as the expedients of quarantine, lazaretto, and *cordon* are insufficient to retard the march of pestilence, when it pleases God to scourge offending nations, so, when he sends forth his saving health, the barriers of intolerance cannot frustrate his work of mercy, which is as free as the wind of heaven. The Inquisition, now reorganized or reinforced everywhere, was employed to check the progress of the Bohemian heresy, which, nevertheless, spread over the Continent.

Of Poland, only, we shall now speak in evidence of this fact, as there the effect of Wycliffe's doctrine was, after Bohemia, most conspicuous. After the death of Huss and Jerome at Constance, and the consequent excitement in their native country, Synods were convoked in Cracow, (A.D. 1416 and 1423,) and strong resolutions taken against the Bohemian heresy, already apparent in the country. The Priests were commanded to imprison suspected persons. No Bohemian was to be allowed to teach in a Polish school, and, if possible, all intercourse between the two countries was to be prevented. No children were to be sent thither for education. The books possessed by parish Priests were to be inspected, and as some of them were imbibing heretical doctrines by reading Wycliffe's works, the more literate and zealous of their brethren circulated manuscripts to counteract the mischief. That was fair. Not so a proclamation of the King (A.D. 1424) that confirmed the acts of the Synods, and declared heresy to be high treason. Political sanctions were appealed to on both sides; the Bohemians offered their crown to a Polish Prince, the offer was accepted; and while German warriors marched into Bohemia to fight for Sigismund and the Church, Poles invaded the country to fight under the sign of the cup, together with the Hussites, and, in the battle of Aussig on the Elbe, they (A.D. 1426) won the day. But we rather stay to notice a contest with other weapons. Despite the

* A rude translation of the Vulgate into German was printed by Fust, in the year 1462. The Bohemian Bible was printed in Venice, in 1470.

† Cranz, Ancient History of the Brethren, part ii., sect. 12—23.

inquisitorial restrictions, some Taborites from Prague go over to Cracow, (A.D. 1427,) and challenge the Romanists to public disputation. Attention is thereby drawn to the points in controversy, and after a few years, when interest in such matters has deepened in the bosoms of the people, a solemn disputation takes place in the capital of Poland. The Senate are assembled, and the King himself presides. To meet the sacerdotal advocates of Popery, we see Calixtines, Taborites, and Orphans, Bohemian dissidents of every shade, united, and among them Peter Payne, our countryman.* The Conference lasted several days; the language chiefly used was Polish; and although a Romish historian pronounces that the heretics were beaten, he gives no details of the Conference, and we are free to note that the men of Cracow must have heard earnest exposition of truths fatal to the credit of the dominant religion. Still the ruinous mixture of politics marred the work, and half justified the zeal of Inquisitors, whose efforts, however, were almost altogether frustrated. The laws of Poland had not been moulded at the pleasure of Ecclesiastics; and the only act of burning was perpetrated (A.D. 1439) by a military Bishop who besieged a town with nine hundred horsemen, compelled the inhabitants to deliver up five Hussite Preachers, and cast them into the flames.

The reformed doctrine still found favour. Ten years after that burning at Zbonszyn, a Master of Arts in the University of Cracow expounded from his chair the works of Wycliffe. Others did the same. The Master wrote a hymn in honour of the English Confessor. We are indebted to the pen of Count Valerian Krasinski for a translation, and find the opening stanza conveying a tribute of earnest praise to the first Reformer. "Ye Poles, Germans, and all nations! Wycliffe speaks the truth! Heathendom and Christendom had never a greater man than he, and never will have one." The last stanza is a prayer that soon was answered. "O Christ! for the sake of thy wounds, send us such Priests as may guide us towards the truth, and may bury the Antichrist." The poet was driven from Cracow, but found refuge at the court of Boleslav V., Prince of Oppeln, in Silesia, himself a Hussite. And after another decade, an eminent Pole, John Ostrorog, submitted propositions to the national Diet (A.D. 1459) for the emancipation of Poland from the domination of Rome. He maintained that the King should not render obedience to the Pope, because he had no superior but God. He thought humility from a temporal Sovereign towards a Pope to be rather a sin than a virtue, and would have the Clergy to bear public burdens as well as others. He would rather leave the Clergy to an independent administration of their own affairs, without any interference of the civil power; but as the Clergy were not yet spiritual, he deemed it necessary that the King should elect the best of them to high offices in the church. And it is an interesting fact, that while these advances towards reformation were taking place in Cracow, the Bohemian

* Peter Payne was a native of Lincolnshire. His birth-place is said to be Hough, a few miles from Grantham. His name is in the list of the Principals of Edmund Hall, Oxford, from 1410 to 1415.

Brethren had a flourishing high-school at Goldberg in Silesia, frequented also by Polish students from the first families. And yet again, (A.D. 1469,) Casimir, King of Poland, having already refused the crown of Bohemia, offered to him by the Romish party on condition of helping them to put down the Hussites, prohibited in his dominions the preaching of a crusade against them. At last, when printing was invented, the first printer in Cracow was found to be a Hussite (A.D. 1491); and before Luther was known in the world, from that press issued a treatise "concerning the true worship of God," and another "concerning the marriage of Priests." Another Polish author taught that the Gospel only ought to be believed, and human ordinances dispensed with.*

Before entering on the period of Protestant Reformation, we inquire whether there were yet to be found in the eastern world any witnesses for Christ, worthy to be regarded as successors of those who, in Arabia, Palestine, and Northern Africa, suffered true martyrdom. But we search in vain. The world retains what Tertullian called "hatred of the name;" but Christianity in the Eastern churches is a name, and nothing more. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Christians, within the vast circle of Mohammedan dominion, were depressed beneath the view of history, except that now and then a scanty register or a popular tradition preserved mention of monasteries and churches invaded, spoiled, pulled down, or converted into mosques; of Priests, Monks, and virgins insulted or put to death; of entire populations compelled to abandon Christ for the false Prophet, or crowds of Nazareans seeking shelter among Pagans in the furthest regions of the Eastern hemisphere. In China, the first race of Christians had become extinct; but a few refugees from Tartar persecution were indistinctly reported to have succeeded in their place; and in India, too, the vestiges of Nestorianism were but perceptible enough to show the Heathen that Christianity was no longer able to dispute possession even of a single village. In central Asia it had greater numerical strength, and could send a few Bishops to keep up the shadow of a church here and there, but nothing more. Yet even there, and to the shores of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, mongrel sects, half pagan, marked the general absorption of Christianity. The Greek empire, too, was absorbed in Turkey; and the Sultans of Constantinople seized the churches and abolished Christian worship wherever they had taken possession by the sword. To those who capitulated they allowed the forms of worship, but with every mark of social degradation. Except in those European states that had been a part of the Roman empire, or had been conquered from Paganism during the decline of the empire, and held fast by their spurious Christianity as part of a political or social system, the votaries of Islamism and Pagan idolatry possessed the world. The pontifical religion that had been paraded in Asia by Crusaders, and recommended to feeble Christian or half-Christian sects by pompous embassies, was seen to be a failure, and in that failure, despite any subsequent appearances to the contrary, we have it demonstrated that Popery is devoid of the spirit-

* Krasinski, Reformation in Poland, vol. i., pp. 64—111.

ual energy which can alone convert mankind. Nay, Popery gives way within its own domains before the religion of the martyrs; the religion professed almost alone by the poor Bohemian Brethren, of whom the world is not worthy.

So far were the most zealous propagators of Christianity from understanding how the kingdom of Christ can be extended, that when a Lisbon ship touched on the newly discovered shore of Brazil on its way to India, (A.D. 1500,) having several Priests on board, the Captain obtained the applause of the fathers by turning on shore two Spanish convicts who were under sentence of death for crimes committed, but allowed to live, if they could, that they might learn the language of the savages, and help future Missionaries to propagate Christianity among them. Grave annalists record the fact with complacency: * they say that one of the convicts died of grief; and whatever the other might have done, it is certain that Brazilian Christianity retains exact resemblance to its first apostle.

The great instrument for maintaining that sort of religion was "the Holy Inquisition;" and as this establishment for torturing mankind into submission was invested with new power, we must here mark its renovation, in order to understand the attitude assumed by Romanism in the time of Luther.

In the latter years of the *fifteenth* century, and before Luther was born, this institution was undergoing a remarkable revival. To comprehend its position in relation to Europe in general,—it is too soon to speak of America and Asia,—we must briefly observe: *First*, That in England, the Netherlands, Portugal, Lombardy, Naples, and, generally, in those parts of the north of Europe not in communion with the Greek Church, the Bishops performed the part of Inquisitors, aided by the civil power, the laws being, in various degrees, subservient to the pleasure of the Church. In those countries it was necessary for priestly zealots to exert themselves, in order to keep up a persecution; and, even so, the Popes and Prelates conceived their interests to be imperfectly assured. *Secondly*, The Prince or the Republic usually interfered to mitigate the horrors of the Inquisition where their courage, sagacity, or intelligence was insufficient to resist its establishment; and, in some places, they succeeded in reducing it to an almost nominal existence. Thus, in Venice, the authorities of the Republic took part, it is true, in inquisitorial persecution; but the Venetians were thereby saved from many of the worst practices of priestly Inquisitors. In some provinces of Germany and France, there were Inquisitors acting under Papal instructions, and supported by persecuting laws; but from the acknowledged absence of heresy, or from general disaffection to the Papacy, they could seldom act. In Poland the Inquisition had become extinct. But, *thirdly*, In Central Italy and in the Spanish kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia, this horrible tribunal was newly organized, and received great additional force, about the middle of the fifteenth century, simultaneously with the recovery of the Papacy from its divisions, the better order that had been given to ecclesiastical business by the Councils of Constance and

* Raynaldus, an. 1500, num. 52.

Basil, the revived spirit of Papal unity cherished in the Council of Ferrara and Florence, and the zeal rekindled by the events occurring in Bohemia. Alfonso V. of Aragon, a King devoted, politically, at least, to the Roman See, led the way in reviving the Inquisition within the Spanish dominions by confirming some obsolete or fictitious privileges to the Inquisitor of Sicily, then subject to the crown of Aragon (A.D. 1452).

In that act began the power of the Spanish Inquisition. Aragon, Castilla, and Leon were united under Ferdinand and Isabella. The Sicilian Inquisitor, Fra Filippo de' Barberi, mistrustful of the validity of the privilege confirmed by Alfonso, embarked for Spain, and presented himself to Queen Isabella in Sevilla, (A.D. 1477,) to solicit a second confirmation of the grant. Her Majesty readily acceded to the request, and the Ecclesiastic lost no time in following Ferdinand, from whom, in Jerez de la Frontera, not far from Sevilla, he also received the desired ratification. This point being gained, the Sicilian Missionary applied himself to a more arduous labour, by representing to the united Sovereigns of Spain the advantages that would result to them from the establishment of the Inquisition, especially in their dominions newly acquired from the Moors. The Prior of the Dominican convent in Sevilla descanted with extreme fervour on the necessity of such a measure, to prevent the numerous converts from Judaism, "new Christians," as they were called, from relapsing into their ancient unbelief. The Pope's Nuncio gave all the weight of his office to the proposal, enraptured, like a good Roman, at the opportunity of winning the applause of his master. The Dominican brought in tale after tale of Jews who had whipped crucifixes, crucified Christian children, and perpetrated every sort of sacrilege in contempt of Christianity. If not quite unfounded,—since it is not improbable that Jews, while living under a Mohammedan government, may have both spoken and acted with contempt towards Christianity, and especially *such* a Christianity as was then prevalent,—those tales were monstrous exaggerations; but bigotry and covetousness were to be satisfied; the cupidity of Ferdinand was inflamed with the project; and Isabella, believing in her conscience that such abominations ought not to be unpunished, yet shuddering at the prospect, gave consent. The Bishop of Osma, Queen's Orator, was commanded to solicit of the Pope a Bull for the establishment of the Inquisition in the kingdom of Castilla; and the parchment, heavy with lead, and heavier with curse and woe, was presented to the "Catholic Kings" after but a few months had passed away, and they were flattered with permission to elect men of their own choice, to be the first Inquisitors. The Queen's conscience again revolted at the thought of letting loose the hounds of the Holy Office on her people; she suspended the execution of the Bull; and having already caused the Archbishop of Sevilla, the Cardinal Mendoza, to write a catechism for the instruction of the "new Christians," the book was published, (A.D. 1478,) with a recommendation to Priests to explain the Christian doctrine with frequency and clearness, and in private conversations with young converts. And her just principle of preferring moral means

to violence, was yet more fully exemplified; for when a Jew wrote a book against Christianity, she engaged her Confessor, Fray Fernando de Talavera, to write another in reply (A.D. 1481). She had also employed several Ecclesiastics to ascertain the effects of these gentle measures; but their report was as unsatisfactory as might have been expected from such persons; and, overcome by the importunity of the King and the Papists,* she yielded at last, after nearly two years' resistance, and concurred in the appointment of two Dominican Friars as first Inquisitors, to be assisted by an Assessor and a Fiscal (Sept. 17th, 1480). Torrents of blood began to flow. To detail the proceedings of the Inquisitors would be tedious and sickening, and we shall have to refer to them again and again. We therefore only set down, in this place, a numerical summary of victims during a few years, by the Inquisitions of Sevilla, Cordova, &c.

1481. Burnt alive in Sevilla, 2,000; burnt in effigy, 2,000; penitents, 17,000.

1482. Burnt alive, 88; burnt in effigy, 44; penitents, 625.

1483. About the same as in preceding years in Sevilla, and in Cordova; in Jaen and Toledo, burnt alive, 688; burnt in effigy, 644; penitents, 5,725.

1484. About the same in Sevilla; and in the other places, burnt alive, 220; burnt in effigy, 110; penitents, 1,561.

1485. Sevilla, Cordova, &c., as the year preceding; and in Estremadura, Valladolid, Calahorra, Murcia, Cuenca, Zaragoza, and Valencia, there were burnt alive, 620; burnt in effigy, 510; and penitents, 13,471.

1486. In Sevilla, Cordova, &c., as the year before. In the other places, burnt alive, 528; burnt in effigy, 264; penitents, 3,745.

1487. About the same as the year before. And in Barcelona and Majorca many more, making in all, burnt alive, 928; burnt in effigy, 664; and penitents, 7,145.

1488. In the thirteen Inquisitions, burnt alive, 616; burnt in effigy, 308; and penitents, 4,379.

1489. About the same as the preceding year.

1490. Burnt alive, 324; burnt in effigy, 112; and penitents, 4,369.

1491 to 1498, at about the same rate.

"Torquemada, therefore, Inquisitor-General of Spain, during the eighteen years of his inquisitorial ministry, caused 10,220 victims to perish in the flames; burnt the effigies of 6,860 who died in the Inquisition or fled under fear of persecution; and 97,321 were punished with infamy, confiscation of goods, perpetual imprisonment, or disqualification for office, under colour of penance; so that not fewer than 114,401 families must have been irrecoverably ruined." † And the most moderate calculation, gathered from the records of the Inquisition by the laborious Secretary, Llorente, up to the year 1523, when the fourth Inquisitor died, exhibits the fearful aggregate of 18,320 burnt alive, 9,660 in effigy, 206,526 penitents. Total

* As the Spaniards designate the adherents of the Pope, or Ultramontanes.

† Llorente, Inquisicion de España, cap. viii., art. 4.

number of sufferers, 234,506, under the first four Inquisitors-General.

But we cease from this wearisome statistic. It is confessedly imperfect, and may be confidently regarded as beneath, far beneath, the truth; for who can believe that, amidst such profligacy of life, every victim would be registered? These figures are but a few of the rigid prints left by the hoof of the destroyer on a desolated realm. Ages will not wear them away; and if all the remaining vestiges were tracked by the Christian philosopher, compared with contemporary monuments of persecution, and the whole estimated, arranged, and filled up according to the established analogies of history and nature, the result would be an image of bloodshed, terror, perfidy, sacrilege, with a cowardly, dark, heartless, and atrocious blasphemy, surpassing aught the world had ever witnessed. Simon de Montfort was humane, the Crusaders of Languedoc were brave Knights, in comparison with Torquemada and his familiars. But the Spanish Inquisition was the normal development of zealous and infuriated full-grown Romanism. It rises conspicuously in the eve of the bright age of Gospel renovation; and leaving the reader to con the volumes of Limborch, Llorente, and others, who have drudged through their doleful records, we must mark a few details of that gigantic, but futile, undertaking for the extinction of human independence and of divine truth.

Torquemada enjoyed the infamous distinction of being the first Inquisitor-General of Spain. The primary object of Ferdinand was to confiscate as much property as possible, and chiefly to enrich himself at the expense of the Jews. Torquemada justified his choice of him by boundless rapacity. Attended by Lawyers and Canonists, he established himself at Madrid, and there presided over the Royal Council of the Inquisition. The Council, with him, exercised final jurisdiction in all cases wherein the royal prerogative was concerned; but in spirituals, that is to say, in inquisition for heresy and the consequent sentence, the General alone, as representing the Pope, was absolute. There were four subordinate tribunals in Sevilla, Cordova, Jaen, and Villareal, which last was afterwards transferred to Toledo. The confusion of temporal and spiritual attributes in the Inquisitors caused frequent disputes with the Sovereigns of Spain; but as the Judges were invariably Ecclesiastics, the decision was always given in favour of the Church.

In an assembly of Inquisitors from the four provinces, united with those of the supreme Council, a code of laws was framed, under the name of *Instructions*, and afterwards enlarged by successive enactments. These instructions were to the following effect:—1. The institution of the Inquisition, according to the forms in use at Sevilla, should be published in every town, notwithstanding any local privileges to the contrary. 2. An edict, read in every church, denounced canonical censures against Jews and others who had apostatized, unless they would lay information against themselves, and against all who obstructed the Holy Office. 3. Thirty days' time was given to heretics for informing against themselves. Within that time they might be indulged with a pecuniary penance; beyond it

their property was to be all confiscated. 4. They were to make the confession in writing, before the Inquisitors, and in presence of a Notary, giving also the names of all their accomplices in heresy, and be questioned and cross-questioned. 5. If any other human being had known of the heresy of the self-reported sinner, absolution could not be given in private, but before the public. (Many thousands appealed secretly to the Pope, and bought of him absolution after a general confession, in order to avoid the disgrace of open penance. This brought immense sums to his treasury.) 6. Persons reconciled by penance were to be for ever excluded from honourable employments, and forbidden to wear gold, silver, silk, or fine linen, that all the world might know the infamy they had incurred. (This sentence was also commuted at cost of vast sums of money paid by rich offenders to the Pope. At last Ferdinand and Isabella remonstrated, the Pope cancelled his Bulls of *rehabilitation*, kept the money, and left the penitents to a second persecution and disgrace.) 7. Voluntary, or "spontaneous," penitents were, although reconciled, to pay a tax ever after for the defence of the holy Catholic faith. 8. The voluntary penitent who should have allowed the thirtieth day to pass, was to have all his property confiscated, notwithstanding his confession. 9. Minors and children might be indulged, on voluntary confession, with light penance. Such light penance was wearing sackcloth openly for one or two years, and attending mass on all feast-days in that shameful *sambenito*, walking with it in procession, and whatever else the Inquisitor might command. 10. The voluntary penitent should be spoiled of everything he had received during the period of his heresy. Of dowry, for example, or of estates bequeathed. 11. An imprisoned heretic might be indulged with perpetual imprisonment instead of burning, if his repentance were sincere. 12. But at any time he might be declared a false penitent, and burnt. 13. So might any one who should be found to have concealed anything in the "spontaneous" confession. 14. The penitent might be burnt if the witnesses in his case were not agreed. (So that any man might have another sacrificed to his private enmity.) 15. If proof were incomplete, the accused might be put to torture; burnt, if he confessed, and afterwards confirmed his confession; tormented again, if he did not. (The repetition of torture was prohibited in a subsequent instruction; but many Inquisitors repeated it, notwithstanding, and evaded the law by calling several applications one torture.) 16. The accused should never have a copy of the evidence given against them. 17. The Inquisitors should ascertain that witnesses were not disqualified. (An instruction that could seldom be fulfilled: for the subalterns, anxious to prove heresy, concealed all that would discredit the testimony of wretches suborned to deprive a rich man of property and life.) 18. Two Inquisitors, or at least one, should be present during the infliction of torture. 19. A person cited to appear on a charge of heresy, and not appearing, should be deemed guilty, and burnt if he were caught. 20. The body of a deceased heretic might be exhumed and burnt, his property confiscated, and his family declared infamous. 21. All civil Magistrates should help the Inquisitors, or be themselves punished as heretics.

22. The children under age of heretics punished, should be placed under good Catholic guardians, and maintained out of their parents' estate. (Llorente assures us that he had examined all the records of the Spanish Inquisition with minute care, but never found one instance of obedience to this instruction.) 23. A reconciled penitent could not receive property if it came to him from a person convicted of heresy. 24. The Christian slaves of a reconciled and absolved penitent were to be confiscated to the Crown, notwithstanding the absolution. 25. The Inquisitors and their servants were not to take presents. (Nor needed they, for they helped themselves.) 26. The Inquisitors were to live in peace together; no one was to be greater than another, not even if he were a Bishop. (The intention of this instruction was, not to preserve harmony, but to deprive a Bishop-Inquisitor of his episcopal power,—to unify their interests and thereby increase their strength, for the sole purposes of the tribunal.) 27. They should keep their subalterns in order. 28. In any case not provided for in these Instructions, the Inquisitors should act on their own judgment.

It is notorious that the introduction of the Inquisition was every where regarded with abhorrence, and in some places provoked the people to insurrection. The high court of Council and the Instructions gave it a new and more terrible character, even in Aragon, where it had previously existed; and the first Inquisitor, under the new system, was murdered in Zaragoza before he could enter on his business. This man, Pedro Arbues de Epila, apprehensive of violence, and perhaps not very tranquil in his new office, having to attend *matins*,* covered himself with a coat of mail under his robes, and with a steel helmet under his cap, took a lantern in one hand, and a heavy club in the other, and walked from his house to the cathedral. He knelt close to one of the massive pillars, with the lantern on the pavement, and his right hand grasping the cudgel concealed between himself and the pillar. The Canons were chanting the appointed hymns, and he seemed to be united in devotion. Two men knelt down near him, awaiting a moment for the fatal stroke. Knowing that persons in his position frequently carried mail under the soft robe, they aimed accordingly, and at the same instant one struck him on the left arm, and the other discharged a heavy blow on the back of his head, that laid him prostrate, and he died in a few hours (Sept. 15th, 1485). A contention the next day between the old Christians and the new was the consequence; and similar murders and contentions marked the introduction of the new Inquisition in many parts of Europe. Peter was beatified, then canonized. The mass of Spaniards submitted, Jews and "new Christians" were the victims, the King and the Clergy shared the spoils, and the new functionaries everywhere displayed their triumph with a more than priestly pomp. Torquemada appeared in public with a guard of two hundred foot-soldiers and fifty horse; and the provincial Inquisitors were each attended by ten horse-

* *Matins*, originally a morning service, afterwards the *nocturns*, or *vigils*, were so called because they began after eleven o'clock at night, to usher in the next day, or morning, after midnight.

men and forty foot. Thousands of private persons and a multitude of the nobility hastened to accept the office of familiars, or servants, of the Holy Office, exempted at the same time from secular burdens and from suspicion of heresy, invested with ecclesiastical privileges, and formed into a new and resistless army for the defence of Romish faith. Spain was rising, first, by the conquest of Granada at home, then by that of Mexico, and vast regions of South America, to the highest point of wealth and power. In Italy, too, and all over the European continent, the Church became more arrogant and sanguinary than she had dared to show herself since the great crusade against the Albigenses; and this was the power that assailed the Lollards in England, the Brethren in Bohemia, and every human being who dared to breathe a sentence of religious, or even intellectual, truth.*

Just after persecution had raged most hotly in England and in Bohemia, and immediately before the establishment of the modern Inquisition in Spain, printing was invented. The birth of the new art was almost simultaneous with that deplorable event, and it is now almost superfluous to say that the press has overthrown the Inquisition, or to state the converse truth, that intellectual and religious liberty still advance together. In the year 1439, if not earlier, it would appear that John Guttenberg, a citizen of Mentz, was amusing himself in efforts to improve the art of engraving into a similar contrivance for the impression of words, so as to multiply copies of manuscript. By a remarkable coincidence, by accepting some suggestion that might have been incidentally made known to both, or by the common inspiration of the Spirit that giveth understanding, Laurence Coster, of Haerlem, the very year after (A.D. 1440) produced impressions from wooden blocks, each block, both at Mentz and Haerlem, containing a paragraph, or a page. Guttenberg, associating Fust, a goldsmith, with himself, for the sake of obtaining more capital for prosecuting the novel and expensive undertaking, laboured with great diligence and enthusiasm in the work; and by their united effort, they succeeded in making movable metal type. The several stages of the invention, the prior or exclusive claims of the inventors, and the earliest productions of their presses, are covered in the obscurity incident to infant arts, and still exercise the diligence of bibliographists. The details are almost concealed; but one fact is certain, that during five or six years the art of printing rose into a state of perfection that has never been excelled; and that its inventors and others who became printers in the fifteenth century brought a force of enterprise, self-denial, and learning to their work, that ranked them at once among the benefactors of mankind. They were a newly-created body of labourers for the amelioration of the condition of the world, who owed their origin to the gracious providence of God. One of the first great works was a Latin Bible in six hundred and thirty-seven leaves, printed at Mentz by Guttenberg and Fust (A.D. 1450 to 1455). One edition after another of the holy Scriptures rapidly followed in

* Limborch, History of the Inquisition, vol. i., chap. 13—31; but especially Llorente, Historia Critica de la Inquisicion de España, capitulos 5—7.

Latin, and one or two vernacular versions; and the magnificent Polyglot Bible of Alcalá, while it gratified the vanity of the Cardinal Inquisitor Ximenez, was reluctantly suffered by the Pope to see the light, and gave the hint for more useful editions and more enlightened studies. The history of early editions is itself a science. In a few years every man who could print found abundant encouragement; Germans and Frenchmen were welcomed at the chief cities of Europe; and ere long even at Oxford, at that time overcast with shameful ignorance, a printer was at work (A.D. 1468) on St. Jerome's exposition of the Apostles' Creed. Caxton soon followed; and as books were then in use almost exclusively among the Clergy and the rich, and printed books were as yet costly, he was allowed to set up his press in a chapel of Westminster Abbey, perhaps in the *scriptorium*, or place where manuscripts were written, when a more bookish Abbot pleased to permit. Indeed it was the aim of all the early printers to imitate their best-written manuscripts.* As nothing unusual was done without the sanction of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, those authorities soon gave concurrence, or pronounced disapprobation. Thus the University of Cologne, through their Rector, "admitted and approved" a book printed by Henry Quentel, then a young printer in that city (A.D. 1479). And the same year the same University sanctioned the "famous work of the Old and New Testament," † printed by Conrad of Homborch. To approve presupposed right to disapprove and to condemn: such a prerogative had certainly been assumed more than two centuries before, over booksellers in Paris; ‡ it was soon exercised over printers; and we find (A.D. 1480) four Clerics assuming the character of Censors, and prefixing their individual sanction to a book printed at Heidelberg.§ In England the Parliament gave permission (A.D. 1483) for printers and booksellers to come into England and exercise their trade; ‖ while the Archbishop of Mentz assumed control in the city most distinguished by the invention, and appointed a person to the new office of Censor (A.D. 1486). ¶ The Roman Pontiff, who seldom hazards his credit by beginning even an evil work, crowned the gradual encroachment of the Clergy by a Bull, (A.D. 1501,) forbidding any book to be printed without licence of the Archbishops of Cologne, Mentz, Triers, and Magdeburg, or their Vicars-General. This was afterwards (A.D. 1515) confirmed and extended by the fifth Council of Lateran,** and we shall find that it was enforced with the utmost rigour.

* Ames, Typographical Antiquities, edited by Dibdin; Preliminary Disquisition, and Life of Caxton.

† "——— insigne Veteris Novique Testamenti opus."

‡ Hallam, Middle Ages, chap. ix., part 2,—Revival of Ancient Learning, *note*.

§ Beckmann, History of Inventions,—book Censors.

‖ Anno Primo Ric. III., c. 9. Afterwards repealed in 25th Hen. VIII.

¶ Beckmann, *ut supra*.

** The Council of Lateran merely heard and gave their *placet* to a document of the learned and refined Leo X., the patron of scholars, artists, poets, and wits. After acknowledging the benefits, and even the divine origin, of the art of printing, "either invented or improved" in those times, he makes the Council say, that "because the complaint of many has reached their hearing, and that of the Apostolic See, that some masters of the art of printing have presumed, in various parts of the world, to print and sell publicly Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldee books, translated into Latin, and even

Printing, as a mechanical invention, might have been of little use, but for its ready appropriation to the purposes of reviving literature. The importance of the revival of learning to the reformation of the Church and the renovation of Christianity, cannot be too highly appreciated: although space for an adequate notice of it cannot be afforded in these pages. Enough, however, may be said to enable the reader to discover the hand of God. Ever since the twelfth century there had been a slow, feeble, and often interrupted progress of learning. Paper had been carried from China to Tartary, perhaps thence to Arabia, and undoubtedly, by means of the Saracens, to Spain. The manufacture of that invaluable material could not have lingered long after its use. So early as the eighth century it was made at Samarcand; and manuscripts of the eleventh are said to be now preserved in the Escurial.* The labour of scribes was facilitated, and their work cheapened. A commercial motive gave impulse to the literary manufacture. The number of readers increased, and the increase of study was a consequence. A few translations of Latin works slightly enlarged the circle of knowledge, and interested others besides the Clergy in the pursuit, and even in the propagation, of knowledge. Collegiate libraries, and the collections of wealthy persons, became somewhat numerous; although yet so small that we smile as we peruse their catalogues. Here and there, in a great city, a bookseller might be found. The multiplication of writings hitherto unheard of excited curiosity, and translations were called for. The new labour of translation required grammatical knowledge, and with the acquisition grew a taste for the science. The grammarian acquired fame: his language, at least when written, excelled the common style, awakened admiration, was imitated, raised the standard of his vernacular; and in Italy, especially, an enthusiastic collection of ancient Roman classics was accompanied by an almost idolatrous admiration of the language which had never died, and followed by successful efforts to elevate the daughter Italian by an infusion of the graces and the treasures of the parent Latin.

In Greece, as in Italy, the language of their fathers had been retained in liturgies, and its familiar use cherished in the court and higher circles of Constantinople. The veiled matrons, who shunned intercourse with any beyond their dwellings, scarcely understood the barbarian corruptions of speech employed by their husbands, who conversed out of doors with strangers from Asia and the North; and thus, unconsciously to themselves, they preserved the venerable language of the New Testament, of Justin Martyr, Cyril,

into vulgar languages; and that those books contain errors in faith, and doctrines contrary and hurtful to the Christian religion, and even against the reputation of persons in high dignity, (*dignitate fulgentium,*) and injurious also to good morals; the Council, echoing the Pope, therefore determines, that no book or writing shall be printed without a written licence under the hand of the Vicar-Apostolic, or Master of the Palace, if in 'the city,' (Rome,) or of the Bishop, if in any other diocese throughout the world." The penalty of disobedience was one hundred ducats to the fabric of St. Peter; the printer not to print anything for one year after the offence; the books printed to be burnt; the printer excommunicated, and burnt, also, if contumacious, (— *per omnia juris remedia castigetur,*) for a warning to others. (Binii, tom. iv., Conc. Lateranense, sess. x.)

* Hallam, Middle Ages, chap. ix., part 2,— "Invention of linen paper."

Chrysostom, and other luminaries of a purer age. Then, in order to infuse this Christian element into the mass of Italian society, where conceptions of Christianity were rapidly exchanged for those of Paganism, and at the same time to overthrow in judgment one great section of apostate Christendom, it pleased God to deliver Constantinople to the Turks. Already a few Greeks had taught in Italy; a taste for Greek had been excited; and just then a multitude of refugees, proud of the majestic language of old Byzantium, came to satisfy the aspiration of enthusiastic students in Tuscany, Naples, and Rome, after the faculty of reading, and even speaking, Greek. At first it seemed as if even the paganizing tendencies of literature would be paramount. Lorenzo de' Medici, "the Magnificent," of Florence, gathered around him in his princely villa at Fiesole, artists, poets, grammarians, and philosophers, who devoted all their energies to the prosecution of one great object,—intellectual elevation, adorned with every possible elegance of number, form, and high conception. The Roman pantheon began to be re-occupied by its former tenants. The Apollo was more admired than the Christ; amongst the devotees of Peter the votaries of Plato mingled; and the image of the philosopher was honoured with burning lamps like the image of the Apostle. Architecture, which is at once the work and the expression of its age, became pagan: so did spectacles. Instead of the old legendary mysteries, or religious processions and plays, mythological processions and pagan recitations delighted the populace, the Princes, and the Priests of Italy. Popes Nicholas V. and Leo X., for example, patronized this fascinating pursuit after the reviving arts and languages of old Rome and Greece. The mania reached its highest point in the erection of St. Peter's church after a pagan type, and ended in burying for ever, as we shall soon see, the boasted catholicity of Popery under the dome of that lofty structure. But the King of nations overruled this intellectual revolution to the production of a great spiritual change; and amidst the relaxation of dogmatical severity, a few Italians arose who first began to reduce the speculations of Plato, the "atticizing Moses," (Μωϋσῆς Ἀττικίζων,) and the abstractions of Aristotle, to trial, by the standard of revelation. They carried their zeal into the pulpits, and gained the attention of the people, while the word of God, without comment, and the writings of many of the Fathers, poured from the press, and gave a new turn to the thoughts of myriads. Even then it became evident to the more discerning, that the human mind was undergoing preparation for a better state, was passing into a new life.

A few sentences of Erasmus, proving that this was his expectation, may be taken as prefatory to the events of our next chapter. In a letter to his friend, Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, (A.D. 1516,) he says, that although he is fifty-one years of age, and therefore cannot expect or desire to live much longer, he would almost like to be young again, for no other reason than because a sort of golden age seems to be drawing near. The minds of Princes, he affirms, are divinely changed. Those whose power and courage are equal to any deeds of war, strangely study arts of peace, and patronize learning. Even the

Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of France, England, and Spain, the Cardinal Ximenez, (although a relentless Inquisitor,) and many Bishops, are united in the patronage of learning: while a host of scholars emulate each other. Where letters were almost lost, as in Scotland, Ireland, and Denmark, they revive. Germany, France, and England begin to emulate Italy. Medicine, jurisprudence, and mathematics have now followers. He mourns, indeed, over the ignorance and bigotry of so many of the Clergy, who think that learning is wicked, or, through indolence, pretend to think so; and he sometimes fears lest the learned should renounce Christianity altogether. Yet, taking all things as they are, they promise him a happy event.* The happy event came, surpassing the hope, and even the desire, of Erasmus.

Together with the increased activity and better education of the European mind, the age before us was distinguished from all others by an enlargement of the field of human action, and eventually, of evangelical benevolence. Flavio Gioia, a citizen of Amalfi, in Naples, of whose station in society history is silent, had discovered the use of the magnet in navigation (A.D. 1302); but the timorous sailors of the Mediterranean ventured not, for at least half a century, to explore any unknown sea, or voluntarily quit sight of land, except when certain of the neighbouring shore whither their course would lead them. The Canary Isles were added to the known world, probably by the drifting of some vessel under stress of weather; and Clement VI., acting as God's vicegerent, erected them into a kingdom (A.D. 1344), and bestowed them on a Spaniard. On the north-western coast of Africa, a bold headland, called Cape *Non*, in latitude 28° 41′, was the last point of land to which the European sailor would venture, until the Portuguese added a short line of coast, extending to Cape Bojador (A.D. 1412). This trifling prolongation of the accustomed voyages led to new adventure, which was rewarded by the discovery (A.D. 1420) and colonization of Madeira. Beyond Cape Bojador the enterprising mariners astonished Portugal by venturing southward to Cape Verd, and braving a region which the ancients had pronounced to be uninhabitable, because of excessive heat. The superstitious clamoured against those undertakings as a warring against nature; but Eugene IV. conferred on Prince Henry of Portugal authority to persevére, and made him a donation of all the lands he might discover. Maritime discovery, and the multiplication of books by printing, then wrought a combined influence on the sedentary and the active; and while the Inquisition was about to be reorganized, the Divine Head of the church was preparing a new world of refuge for his persecuted children. That portion of the map was rapidly completed by inserting all the African islands; the compass being at last trusted in voyages of discovery. After the death of Prince Henry, enterprise languished, until, under the authority of a new Sovereign,

* "Omnia mihi pollicentur rem felicissime successuram." Erasmi Epist. apud Gerdesium, Evang. Renovat., tom. i., p. (20); Gerdes, in the work now cited, tom. i., sec. 5—11; Hallam, chap. ix., part 2; Gibbon, Decline, &c., chap. lxvi.; Mosheim, cent. xv., part ii., chap. 1; Roscoe, Life of Leo X., chaps. ii., xii., xv.

John II., Portuguese sailors dared beyond the equinoctial, and saw the constellations of the southern hemisphere (A.D. 1484). The itineraries of missionary and commercial travellers, who had gone overland to India, and visited the shores of the Red Sea, were then compared with conjectures of ancient geographers, and with the constantly enlarging space of observation. Merchants longed for a passage to India around the southern extremity of Africa, if such were to be found; and when a Commander, Diaz, (A.D. 1486,) returned with the intelligence of a "Stormy Cape," beyond which navigation was impracticable, John II. named it rather "the Cape of Good Hope." Yet he faltered between the purposes of royal ambition and the jealous hostility of Venice, then mistress of oriental commerce, scarcely hazarding war for the sake of further discoveries which that Republic was anxious to prevent. Colon, or Columbus, as he is usually called, drew general attention, in that period of indecision, by proposals to leave the region contested by Venice, and seek for India by sailing westward, until, as the spherical figure of the earth led him to expect, he should reach that continent. After almost unparalleled discouragement and perseverance, although Ferdinand of Spain and other Sovereigns had refused him any help, he again applied to Isabella, immediately after the conquest of Granada, and found her so elated with victory, as to be willing to give him three small and scarcely seaworthy vessels. With these he left Palos, a small seaport of Andalucia, on Friday, August 3d, 1492, after having gone to mass with his officers and crews in solemn procession. At sunrise they hoisted sail, and, followed by the cheers, the blessings, and the prayers of the people, steered for the Canaries, and thence westward, whither no voyager had ever gone before. For thirty-six days he pursued his undeviating course, watching every floating weed or stick, marking the changes of the tropic sky, and the flight of birds; and at length, surrounded by faint-hearted and desperate Spaniards who meditated mutiny, and had even determined to throw him overboard, that they might endeavour to sail back again, he implored them to persevere for three days more, confident that by that time they would see the shore whence came straggling land-birds and floated leaves. On the evening of October 12th, he commanded the sails to be furled, lest they should run on shore in the night, and prayers to be offered up for success. Strict watch was kept. As the trade-wind wafted them gently forward, he thought he could see a distant light, but named it not, lest it should be only a meteor. But about two hours after midnight, from the Pinta, one of the vessels which always kept ahead, a shout was heard, *Tierra! tierra! tierra!* "Land! land! land!" It was the New World. Soon as the day dawned, an island was seen over the bows. They hoisted sail, the three crews raised their voices in a rude *Te Deum*, and, as the sun arose, they were landing with hoisted flags and martial music. In honour of the Saviour, he called the land San Salvador; and with religious and military ceremonial took possession of it for the crown of Castilla and Leon.* The Pope afterwards *gave* the Western Hemisphere to Spain, reserving

* Robertson, History of America, books i., ii.

the new lands in the Eastern to Portugal. The honours lavished on Columbus, and the desertion and ingratitude that followed, give a mournfully instructive finish to his history; but our only business is to mark one of the great events of the fifteenth century, as inseparably connected with all that follows. The modern Inquisition, printing, geographical discoveries, the conquest of the Spanish Moors, the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, and the African slave-trade, begun soon after the discovery of Guinea,*—which, however, we cannot stay to narrate,—constitute a secular boundary, so to speak, separating all that shall follow from all that has preceded.

Here, as on some Alpine height, where the traveller gains his first prospect of a new country, we take our stand, and, for a moment, observe a few of the more eminent personages whom God honoured to be pioneers in that warfare wherein so many fell, victims of persecution, and martyrs of Christ.

"Some new opinions on the matter of religion were current in Castilla," says Mariana, the historian of Spain. In the University of Salamanca a Professor of Theology taught the "new opinions;" and, after they had made considerable progress, published a book to promote them more effectually. They were not the Judaism then so zealously persecuted by the Inquisitors, but the very truths that now distinguish Protestantism. He boldly maintained that mortal sin could only be effaced on condition of repentance, the keys of the Church being powerless; that auricular confession was not divinely instituted; and that evil thoughts must be put away with abhorrence, rather than related to a Priest. Retribution, he said, should be preferred to penance, which is not ordained in Scripture; the Pope has no power to remit the pains of purgatory, nor to overrule the Church by granting dispensations; and the Church may err in its decisions. The Archbishop of Toledo, by command of the Pope, convened an assembly of "many learned persons" at Alcalá, who spent many days before they could agree to counsel the condemnation of his writings. Carillo, the Archbishop, alone condemned them; and Pope Xystus IV. prudently concealed the alleged errors from the knowledge of his Church in general, by declaring in his Bull of condemnation, that they were too numerous to be mentioned (A.D. 1479). The book was burnt, but they did not burn the author, who is said to have retracted.†

While Pedro de Osma was teaching thus from his chair at Salamanca, an aged German Professor of Theology at Worms, John of Wessalia, instructed his students in the very doctrines held by the Waldenses, and was put to silence in a similar manner by the Archbishop of Mentz and the Inquisitors, who are acknowledged, by Romish historians, to have treated him with unjustifiable violence.‡ And, the same year, a shepherd (or neatherd) was burnt alive in Franconia by the Bishop of Wurtzburg, for holding similar opinions.§ More eminent than his contemporaries at Salamanca and at

* Continuation de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de M. l'Abbé Fleury, cxxv., 14.

† Favre, Histoire Ecclésiastique, cxv., 2, 3; Mariana, Historia de España, libro xxiv., cap. 19.

‡ Favre, cxv., 4; Foxe, Acts and Monuments, book vi., an. 1479.

§ Ibid.

Worms, was Wesselus, also Professor of Theology in the University of Groningen.* At the Council of Basil, and during extensive travels, he had won the admiration of the learned and the patronage of the Pope, from whom, however, he would accept no larger gift than a Hebrew Bible from the library of the Vatican. His learning and eloquence procured him the appellation of Lux Mundi, "Light of the World;" and although he heard of the persecution suffered by John of Wessalia, he continued to teach doctrines at Groningen that were equally consistent with the Gospel, and opposed to Popery; but with the influence of superior learning and, apparently, more decided piety. When a young student, attracted by his fame, had travelled a great distance to solicit his advice, and received it, he addressed him with great earnestness, in such words as these: "Young man! thou wilt live to see the day when the doctrine of Thomas, Bonaventura, and other modern and contentious theologians of the same sort, will be rejected by all true Christian divines." After exhorting him to prefer the old writers to the new, and especially to the schoolmen, he proceeded to say, that in a short time "those cowled, black and white irrefragable Doctors would be brought down to their right place." Then, aiming at the conscience of the youth, he added, "Whoever reads the holy Scriptures, and does not daily grow viler and viler in his own esteem, who does not abhor and humble himself more and more, not only reads them in vain, but to his peril." The youth returned home, and lived to see the prediction fulfilled, and to profit by the good advice. Wesselus, wonderfully protected from persecution, died in the Lord (A.D. 1490). After suffering such conflicts as often prove the faith of dying saints, he exclaimed, in the hearing of friends who surrounded his bed, "I thank my God that I am permitted to overcome these temptations. I know nothing but Christ and him crucified." With these words on his lips he expired, and death scarcely disturbed the smile that had lit up the countenance of the triumphant saint.† Luther afterwards wrote a preface to some part of his works, which are honoured with a *first-class* place in the Expurgatory Index of the Church of Rome.‡ Many traces of his teaching yet remain in the history of Groningen; and it can scarcely be doubted, that to the seeds of evangelical truth sown in those two universities of Germany is chiefly to be attributed the harvest gathered in that country at the Lutheran Reformation.

There was also a precursor of that great event in Italy. In the choir of the Dominican convent of Brescia, during the celebration of worship, some words of a Psalm chanted were applied with great power to the mind of a young Monk. Girolamo Savonarola then took for his perpetual prayer a petition of the Psalmist: "Thou art good, and doest good: teach me thy statutes." Believing that the Holy Spirit of God would enlighten the mind of every sincere and faithful inquirer,

* Often confounded with John of Wessalia.

† Gerdesii Hist. Evang. Renov., tom. i., p. 43.

‡ "Wesselus Gansfortius, seu *Basilius Groningensis*, Rhetor, Poeta, Philos., Medic., Th. Luth., *i. cl.*," is the note of the *Index Expurgatorius*, which calls him a Lutheran theologian. A Lutheran, be it observed, when Luther was unborn!

and already oppressed with grief because of the prevailing wickedness of Italy and corruption of the Church, he sought for consolation in the Bible. Already versed in the rival systems of Plato and Aristotle, and instructed beyond most of his contemporaries in the original languages of the sacred text, he brought to the investigation philosophy, literature, fervent piety, pure love of country, and an imagination, that, even in Italy, could scarcely be equalled. While occupied in biblical study he was removed to Florence, where he acquired unprecedented eminence as a Preacher, rose to be Superior of his convent, obtained Papal sanction for an enterprise of monastic reform, and was reputed by the Florentines to be a Prophet. He exerted so great an influence over that city, that Lorenzo de' Medici, although in the height of his glory, regarded him with fear and jealousy, as well as reverence; the Magistrates did nothing without his approbation; and when a French invasion threatened Italy, he was sent as Ambassador, to dissuade Charles VIII. from attacking Florence. The hostile King felt that the hooded Ambassador was armed with a superhuman power, and showed him greater deference than he had rendered to any other person. Savonarola taught that the Bible was the only source of true doctrine. He inveighed against the sins of Pope, Cardinals, Clergy, Monks, Princes, and people. While he foretold the falling of the "scourge of God" on Italy, thousands of hearers trembled; and even those who came to write down his sermons dropped their pens, unable to proceed for weeping. All the people said that he was a Prophet. He disclaimed the title; but confidently declared that, by the help of the Holy Spirit, he had attained to a clearer understanding of the inspired prophecies; and taught that any other true Christian might attain to an equal power of discernment by faith and prayer. Often, after predicting the judgments of God on sinners, he would foretell a happy age to follow, and exclaim, with rapture: "Italy shall be renewed!" Incapable of dissimulation, he braved visible danger, rather than keep back the counsel of God; and the court of Rome managed, by a succession of intrigues, to surround him with jealous "tyrants" and exasperated factions. His destroyers challenged him to a fiery ordeal, and prepared huge piles of wood, with bags of gunpowder, within which his antagonists, of course, refused to enter, and so did he. He was then accused of imposture, dragged from his monastery, and, with two brethren, imprisoned, tortured, and tortured again; but the Inquisitors could only extort prayers from his lips. From the prison he was led to the scaffold, and there degraded from the priesthood. "I separate thee," said the savage Bishop, "from the Church militant and triumphant." "Nay," replied Savonarola, "from the Church militant, if you please, *but not from the triumphant*." The Prelate looked abashed; but the executioners relieved his embarrassment by seizing on the victim. The martyr and his fellows were hung, and then burnt. Their ashes were thrown into the Arno, as those of Wycliffe had been thrown into the Swift; but the Florentines long kept the anniversary of his death; and at this day his name is cherished in Italy as if it were sacred. His words, too, have passed into a proverb; and the oppressed Tuscan

repeats confidently his reiterated prediction, *Italia renovabitur*, "Italy shall be renewed." When Savonarola was martyred, (A.D. 1498,) the schoolboy, Martin Luther, was singing for bread in the streets of Eisenach; and the youth of Germany, Italy, and Spain went on learning the sentences of Wesselus, Pedro de Osma, and the reputed Prophet of Ferrara,* whose name was heard all over Europe, and whose writings were even translated into Arabic, and read at Constantinople.

CHAPTER II.

Martin Luther—Spread of evangelical Doctrine, and Conflict of the Reformers with the Church of Rome—Confession of Augsburg.

IGNORANCE, cupidity, and profligacy characterized the Clergy in all parts of the world; but especially at Rome and on the Papal throne. Princes demanded, and people clamoured for, reform. The Clergy sometimes acknowledged that a reformation ought to be attempted, and confessed that, through the opposition of a Papist faction, headed by the Popes, the efforts of Councils to repair a ruinous fabric of discipline had hitherto been frustrated. Alexander VI., during whose pontificate Savonarola and his companions were martyred at Florence, was a monster of obscenity. His sayings and doings are too grossly bad to be related; and to disown the man while yet they owned the Pontiff, was the constrained, yet worthless, tribute to decency rendered by his surviving brethren. The conclave, shut up for the election of a successor, professed to bind themselves by oath,—but oaths cannot bind a conclave,—that whosoever of them might be elected Pope, he should convene a General Council within two years, for the reformation of the Church. The new Pope died almost as soon as crowned. The next in succession, Julius II., was "rather a servant of Mars than of Christ; and publicly boasted that he had made treaties with barbarian Germans, French, and Spaniards, merely for the sake of cheating them, so that, with great reason, the entire Church of France, represented in Convocation at Tours, (A.D. 1510,) said, that the plenitude of Papal power should be called *fulness of tempest*, and *a diabolic word*. The Emperor Maximilian, too, openly called Julius *a drunken wretch*."† It was therefore no longer expected that the Church, with such a headship, would reform herself.

Meanwhile, the Head of the true church undertook the work. Martin Luther, son of a proprietor of two smelting-furnaces, and Magistrate in the town of Mansfeld in Saxony, yet of narrow income, after having studied with exemplary diligence in the schools of Magdeburg, Eisenach, and Erfurt, and graduated as Master of Arts, was

* He was usually called Fra Girolamo di Ferrara. This notice of him is the recollection of a careful reading of several of his works, and those of his biographers, in Italian, French, and German.

† Gerdesii Historia Evangelii Renovati, tom. i., p. 28.

Martin Luther.

devoting himself to the study of law. This young man, then about twenty years of age, was awakened to a conviction of sin by grief for the violent death of a friend, and by terror in a thunder-storm. Religion, it was fancied, could not be enjoyed in the world, and therefore the penitent dedicated himself to God, after the fashion of those times, by hiding himself in a monastery, contrary to the wishes of his father; but so much the more acceptably to the Augustinians, who, like all other Monks, deemed such acts of filial disobedience honourable to themselves. Although Luther loved and reverenced his parents, he thought that by rending every tie of natural affection, he should offer a yet more worthy sacrifice to God. This volume might be filled with even a compendiated history of the eventful career on which he now entered (Nov. 10th, 1505); but by a hurried sketch the reader would be defrauded of details that are essential to the history of such a man. We will, therefore, only note the succession of a few principal events, and proceed at once to describe the persecution that ensued on the reformation that soon began, by means of Luther and others. We have seen that the way was already open, that the precursors of reformation had multiplied, and that a desire and expectation of some great change was already general. Luther advanced rapidly. Ordained Priest in 1507, he discharged the duties of the priesthood with great seriousness and humility, and soon rose to the chair of divinity at Wittemberg (A.D. 1508). As the apparent casualty of a thunder-storm drove him to the cowl, so another accident, so trifling that it might scarcely have been marked at the moment of its occurrence, imparted a new character to his theology. According to custom, as it would seem, he had left all his books at home, except a Plautus * and a Virgil, and betook himself, for means of study, to the library of the monastery. Among other books he found a Bible in manuscript,† bound in red leather, and, glancing over the pages, discovered many passages that are not in the Breviary and Missal. It became his favourite book. He studied it with the commentary of Lyra, yet gave incomparably greater heed to the sacred text than to that imperfect interpretation; and often spent whole days in pondering single passages. The new study was hallowed by fervent prayer, as all study ought to be: God was his own interpreter, and soon made the great doctrines of the Gospel plain. Every conversation, every incident, multiplied the doubts of Luther as to his Church, and increased his confidence towards God. In that state of mind he was, when appointed to teach theology in the newly-founded University of Wittemberg; and as an unusual knowledge of holy Scripture was very apparent in his sermons, and generally appreciated, he was appointed to lecture *on the Bible*.‡ That he might know Rome, it pleased God to direct that he should go thither. Some monasteries of his order had differed with their General, and as the interference of the Pope was thought necessary to finish the quarrel, they deputed

* Savonarola, who, like Luther, became a Monk contrary to his father's wishes, left his library at home, except a Plautus.

† "Codicem sacrum corio rubro tectum." Seckendorff, pars i., p. 21.

‡ "—— ad Biblia." Ibid., p. 19.

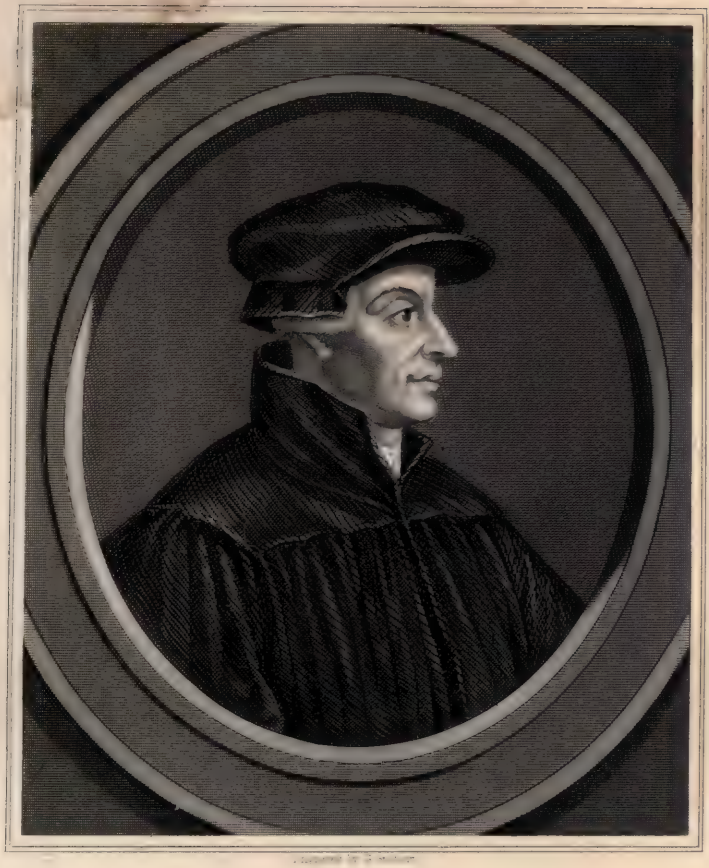
Luther to represent their case to Julius. He went to the city, saw the monster Pope, witnessed utter irreligion and most offensive levity and profaneness in all the Ecclesiastics of every sort, both in public and in private, and conceived a salutary abhorrence of that spiritual Babylon (A.D. 1510 or 1512). Filled with disgust, Luther turned his back on Rome, and was meditating on the image of Antichrist that he had seen so unexpectedly, when Julius died, and Giovanni de' Medici caught the triple crown. Through the immense influence of his father, Lorenzo the Magnificent, the person whose patronage Savonarola had nobly refused at Florence, Giovanni was made Abbot and Archbishop at *seven* years of age, and Cardinal at *thirteen*. Cradled in regal wealth, brought up amidst the excessive refinements of his father's court, as it might, in truth, be called, and depending for happiness on the gratification of most expensive tastes and the indulgence of a passion for display that the ordinary revenue of the pontificate could not satisfy, he soon foresaw embarrassment. Lorenzo Pucci, one of his own Cardinals, suggested, that he should have recourse to a sale of indulgences,* an old expedient; and that as Julius had begun the erection of St. Peter's, the expense of that building might be assigned as the object to which the money would be appropriated. Leo took the hint, and appointed salesmen all over Europe.

Albert, Archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, appointed to transact the business in Germany, thought proper to employ a Dominican Inquisitor, named John Tetzel, to travel over the country with the papers. Tetzel was experienced in the trade, and therefore likely to make it pay. But Tetzel over-acted his part, by excessive greediness and effrontery disgusted all but the most ignorant, and soon provoked general opposition, as many Preachers of crusades, Inquisitors of heretics, and vendors of indulgences had done before. In Germany Luther stood ready to lead the opposition.†

Resistance awaited the publication of indulgences in Switzerland. In the monastery of Einsiedlen, a place visited by pilgrims, an enlightened Priest began, (A.D. 1516,) just as Leo was preparing the scheme for replenishing his treasury, to preach to the crowds of devotees against their folly in coming so far for absolution. Although called thither in order to add to the popularity of the place, he declaimed against the very offerings on which he was to have subsisted, and, growing daily in religious knowledge and simplicity, added to the experience of many years spent in public life, and to the acquirements of a liberal education, the higher excellence of a daily improving piety. This was Ulric Zuinglius, undergoing preparation, under the guidance of the same admirable Providence that had been directing Luther, to warn the Swiss against the imposture of Samson, a Milanese Monk, who came across the Alps (A.D. 1518) to sell indulgences. Both Samson and Tetzel taught that as soon as the money was paid down for their papers, the buyers were restored to baptismal innocence,—for people were said to be regenerated in baptism. These two men were equally devoid of shame, and greedy of

* Thuani Historia, lib. i., sec. 8.

† Seckendorff, Historia Lutheranismi, pars i., pp. 11—23.



Zuinglius.

gold. Each of them collected large sums of money; but when the deluded buyers saw much of it wasted in taverns, and much again applied to private purposes in Rome instead of the erection of St. Peter's church, they readily heard the doctrine of Luther, Zuinglius, and many others, who taught that there is no merit in any beside Jesus Christ.

Wittemberg and Zurich thenceforth became the metropoles, and Germany and Switzerland the theatres, of a reformed Christianity. Let the reader turn to any of the ecclesiastical histories, and he will see how boldly Luther resisted the emissaries from Rome, publishing theses, disputing against indulgences, gradually casting off submission to the Pope, and at last burning his Bull of excommunication at Wittemberg. The fanaticism of the German Anabaptists, the revolt of the peasants, religious war, and the perplexity of Emperor, Electors, and Popes, supply the history of the former part of the sixteenth century. Out of this voluminous history we must now gather information of the methods resorted to by the Church of Rome to suppress the truth, and we shall hear the testimony of a noble army of martyrs who maintained it unto death.

Leo X. received intelligence of the proceedings of Luther. He was told that the Doctor had preached against the whole scheme of raising cash by indulgences for sin, and advised the people of Wittemberg to do works meet for repentance, rather than purchase exemption with money, forsaking the cross of Christ; and to bestow their charities first in feeding and clothing the poor, rather than in building and adorning temples. And he had even affirmed, that the promises of indulgence were false, and the practice neither supported by any precept or counsel of the word of God, nor of any benefit in this world or the world to come. But it was represented, at the same time, that Luther had been actuated by jealousy, because Tetzel, a Dominican, was employed instead of an Augustinian, as on some former occasions. The suspicion was strengthened by the fact, that Staupitz, his Vicar-General, supported him. The affair was become formidable, for he had affixed ninety-five propositions, or theses, to the church-doors, inviting disputation, and appealing to the holy Scriptures, Fathers, Canons, and decrees of the Church for decision; but rejecting all opinions of Schoolmen and Canonists. Close on the reports of Tetzel, the Legate and others, came letters from Luther himself, to show that his proceedings were consistent with his liberty of discussion as a Doctor, and by no means contrary to his obedience to the Pope. As for Leo, he both thought and said that it was a mere monastic quarrel between the two sects of Dominic and Augustine, and that Luther was a clever man, leaving the contending parties to fight their battle without his interference. But many weeks had not elapsed when it became evident that the dispute had awakened a spirit of inquiry that might issue unfavourably to the interests of Romanism. First, Eck, Silvestro Prierio, and Hochstraten, clamoured; and the Emperor himself was appealed to. The University of Wittemberg, on the other hand, and Frederic, Elector of Saxony, were on the side of Luther, and popular sympathy was with him. He went deeper and

deeper into the controversy, disputing against the authority of the Popes, independently of Councils, either to propound articles of faith, or to exercise discipline. If the spirit of Christ, said he, be in Christians, they cannot receive any higher grace: if they trust in his merits, it is not necessary for them to purchase anything additional. In reply, Prierio, the Censor, was intemperate; and Hochstraten, the Inquisitor, declared, that the only argument the heretic deserved was, fire and sword. Luther, again, grew indignant, recalled the notorious wickedness of many Popes, compared it with the extravagancies of their advocates; and, after reading some foolish demands of Prierio for submission to such men as Alexander VI., and Julius II., held up the image of Roman iniquity to public view, and asked, "If such a Pope as this be not Antichrist, what is Antichrist?" The Emperor wrote to Rome from Augsburg, (August 5th, 1518,) where he held a Diet, begging Leo to interpose his spiritual authority, and offering to do whatever the Holy Father might require, in order to pacify Germany. Before that letter could reach Rome, Leo had cited Luther * to appear there within sixty days, before Hieronymus de Genutiis, Bishop of Ascoli, Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, and Silvestro Prierio, Master of the Sacred Palace: Prierio, be it noted, had already declared his theses to be heretical. The Pope also wrote to the Elector, exhorting him to deliver that child of iniquity, and breaker of his vows of humility and obedience, to Caietanus, the Apostolic Legate, who should then commit him to the power and judgment of the Holy See. And he commanded Frederic, under "holy obedience," by so doing to clear himself from the suspicion of encouraging Luther in defying authority. But the citation was not obeyed. The University sent a letter of remonstrance to the Pope, praying that Luther, *fidele et gratum membrum Academicum*, "a faithful and esteemed member of their Academy," might not be exposed to the fatigue and peril of a journey to Rome. The Elector refused to give him a passport; and the Emperor, although he had already volunteered his sword for the extirpation of heresy, was moved by the representations and influence of Frederic, to think better of Luther, and refrain from taking part against him. Already, before leaving the Diet of Augsburg, whence he had forwarded an appeal for Papal interposition to end the controversy, he had read the ninety-five theses, and conceived a favourable opinion of the writer. "What is your Monk doing?" said he to Pfeffinger, Frederic's Counsellor: "certainly his theses are not to be despised: he will lead those Priests a dance!" (*Er wird ein Spiel mit den Pfaffen anfangen.*) Mortified at finding that demands for holy obedience and threats of excommunication and interdict had fallen on Saxony without effect, Leo thought it prudent to conceal his displeasure, accept the commendations of the University, as communicated to himself and Miltitz, his Nuncio, and consent that the case should be examined in Germany. In obedience to his patron, Luther went to Augsburg with a safe-conduct from the Emperor, and appeared before the Cardinal Caietano, now come as a special Legate, and intrusted

* This letter was presented to Luther on the 7th or 8th of the same month. Seckendorff, pars i., p. 41.

with a commission to conciliate him by good words and splendid promises.

The interview was fruitless. Luther had not been actuated by jealousy or ambition, and therefore could not be induced to surrender the cause of truth by hope of honours and preferment. He appealed "from the Pope ill informed, to the Pope better informed," and withdrew from Augsburg. But after his return to Wittemberg, certain that he would be condemned at Rome, as the Legate himself had written to tell the Duke, (Frederic of Saxony,) and considering that the Pope was prejudiced against him, he made a new protest, drawn up in due form, declaring himself ready to submit to the judgment of the Pope when well informed; but because, although Pope, he might err, as Peter had erred and been reproved by Paul, he appealed to a General Council, as superior to the Pope, from whatever the Pope might determine against him.* Leo and his advisers, thinking to awe him into submission, issued a Bull declaring, that the indulgences he had issued as successor of St. Peter and Vicar of Christ were valid; that he had a right to grant such indulgences for the living and the dead; and that this was the doctrine and judgment of the Roman Church, mother and mistress of all Christians, which all who desired to live in her communion ought to receive.† The Bull might have produced a slight impression in Germany, had not the death of Maximilian prevented its circulation; for Frederic of Saxony, who administered the affairs of the empire until the election of Charles V., wisely let it remain without the sanction necessary for publication. And in vain did Miltitz bring him a golden rose perfumed with musk, the most flattering gift that a Pontiff can afford to bestow on an earthly Sovereign; for Frederic would not allow the ceremony of presentation. The Bull was circulated, although not legally published: Caietano commanded all the Bishops of Germany to have it observed, under penalty of all the censures that the Church could inflict. But its nullity rendered it contemptible; and the people, familiarized with the sight of a quenched bolt, began to despise the hand that had launched it. For a time the Pope abstained from further effort; Luther proceeded with study and controversy, other truths dawned on him, he preached and disputed in favour of communion in both kinds; and as fast as he gained enlarged views of Christian doctrine, gave them to the public.

"At length," to borrow words from the Jesuit Maimbourg, "Leo, instructed by his Legates, and by Eck himself, who had gone to Rome to give him information, that this *great evil*, in attempting to avert which, almost three years had been spent in vain, would not yield to gentle remedies, determined to descend to the last degree of severity which the Church has always employed in like cases. Therefore, after mature deliberation, he published the Constitution of the 15th of July of this year, (1520,) in which he condemned propositions extracted from the books of Luther, in part as manifestly heretical, and in part

* Maimbourg, apud Seckendorfium, lib. i., sec. 21.

† Fra Paolo Sarpi, Hist. Conc. de Trente, traduite par P. F. le Courayer, tom. i., p. 22.

as scandalous and rash; and appointed him sixty days within which time he should send to Rome his retractation duly certified, or bring it himself, having obtained letters of safe-conduct, with every security. If he should neglect this within the term set, he declared him excommunicate, and forbade all persons, whoever they might be, to protect him, under penalty of incurring the same censures, and forfeiting all their offices and dignities." * And "at length," wrote Luther to Spalatine, secretary to Frederic, "this Roman Bull is brought by Eck. .....For my part, I despise it, and break it already, as wicked and lying, and altogether Eckian.....At Leipsic and everywhere else, the Bull and Eck are both utterly despised.....I send you a copy, that you may see the Roman monster, which would make an end of faith and church together, if it had the power.....I am now much more at liberty, being made fully certain that the Pope is Antichrist, and that I have clearly discovered the seat of Satan." Eck had been foiled in controversy with Luther, yet he was imprudently commissioned by Leo to carry the Bull to Germany, with letters hortatory addressed to Frederic and the University of Wittemberg. This personal enemy of the Reformer found a very cold reception, and no one could say whether the second Bull would be acknowledged, or rejected like the first. While it was kept in abeyance, Luther wrote boldly, refuted every sentence, and treated the Pope as Antichrist; and the Papists, although they charged him with excessive vehemence, and seemed horror-stricken at his irreverence toward the Bishop of Rome, acknowledged his ability and learning.

Not content with words, he proceeded to execute a deed that must be marked as the first formal act of defiance, if not of separation from the Papacy. Having invited the Doctors and students of the University, and the inhabitants of Wittemberg, to accompany him, he walked to an open place outside the city, and there, amidst the acclamations of a great multitude, he placed Gratian's old Decretals, and the Decretals of Gregory, with the Clementines and Extravagantes, that is to say, the whole body of Canon law, on a pile of wood prepared for the purpose, and pronounced one of his characteristic sentences: "As thou, godless book, hast troubled and consumed the saints of our Lord, so may eternal fire trouble and consume thee." On these, with great solemnity, he laid a copy of the Bull. This done, they applied fire, and the whole was burned, to the delight of Wittemberg and all Saxony. A similar ceremony was repeated in many other places, with the concurrence generally, and once in spite of the opposition, of the civil authorities; and thus began the visible emancipation of Popedom from the power of the Pope. It was not a mere act of retaliation by one whose own writings had been burnt by sacerdotal authority, but, as Luther explained and proved, a solemn and just renunciation of the entire mass of Canon law. The doctrine of the Decretals is thus described in his justification: "The Pope is God on earth, superior to all in heaven and on earth, spiritual and secular; and all things belong to the Pope, so that none can say, 'What doest thou?'" Thirty sentences cited from that collection confirmed his censure. "More," said he, "will I

* Apud-Seckendorfium, lib. i., sec. 29.

produce, these are but the beginning of a tragedy; for hitherto I have only played and jested in this matter of the Pope." A tragedy, indeed, then began; and from references he made about that time to John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and especially to Girolamo Savonarola and his companions, whose death but twenty-two years before was distinctly remembered by many, we may infer that he expected to be himself a sufferer. Young Charles V., importuned by Jerome Aleander, the bearer of the Papal Bull to his imperial Majesty, sanctioned the burning of Luther's books at Louvain, Cologne, and Mentz; but at this last place the populace attacked the burners, and would have killed them, had they not fled from the city.

Papal vengeance was now levelled at the person of Luther. Leo hastened to send another Bull, (Jan. 3d, 1521,) wherein it was set forth that God had made him dispenser of spiritual and temporal penalties; that in respect to his authority, some persons had been brought to do penance and solicit absolution; and that in some parts of Germany Luther's books had been burnt. But, complaining of the pertinacity of the heretic and his abettors, he smote with anathema all, of however exalted dignity, who showed him favour, as guilty of treason, and subject to an eternal curse. Them and their descendants he deprived of honour and of goods. All places wherein the heresy was preached were laid under interdict; and all Priests commanded to preach intrepidly against heretics within three days, and publish their excommunication with putting out of candles and casting of stones. Dire maledictions followed; but the voice was indistinctly heard in Germany, and in Saxony no one gave the slightest heed. At Worms, there being sickness in Nuremberg, the usual place of assemblage, a Diet of the empire was convened after the coronation of Charles V. There the Pope's Nuncio, Aleander, urged attention to the religious condition of Germany, and demanded that the Bull should be enforced. Charles requested him to prove that Luther had not only offended the Pope and court of Rome, about which the Germans would concern themselves very little, but that he had sinned against the chief articles of Christian faith. Aleander readily accepted the arduous labour, came into full assembly, and, answering to the desire of the young Emperor, rose to the performance of his work before the Princes and Delegates of the empire. Exhibiting a parcel of books, he said that they contained the writings of the arch-heretic. During three long hours he harangued the assemblage with extreme earnestness, insisting that the new heresy, equally pernicious to Church and State, ought to be abolished by all means, or both Church and State would fall. That sect, in his view, tended to annihilate the spiritual authority of Popes and Councils, without whose repressive power and ultimate decisions there would soon be as many heresies as heads. Luther, he affirmed, denied the liberty of man, and taught that good and evil came to pass by the necessity of an inexorable fate; opening a wide entrance to unreined licentiousness, preparing a defence for all crimes, and providing every criminal with a legitimate excuse. He annulled the virtue of every sacrament by denying sacramental grace, and gave to all, indiscriminately, the power to confer

absolution. Under pretence of Christian liberty, he released all men from the restraints of law; and taught that vows most solemnly made to God were not obligatory. The world, therefore, would be thrown into utter confusion, without laws, without hierarchy, without obedience to Priest or King, or even to God himself; because He, if the heretic was to be believed, had commanded things impossible to be performed. He added, that since all means that had been employed for four years were ineffectual, nothing remained to deliver the Church and the Commonwealth from so vast an evil but an imperial edict, addressed to all orders of men, to be implicitly obeyed, and that should expose the heresy and its author to universal execration. The oration was heard with endurance, if not with attention; and a deliberation followed, which, Papal historians say, issued in a resolution that the Lutheran heresy should be abolished, lest the foundations of Christianity should be subverted.

But Luther had a friend in the Diet. Frederic of Saxony was his protector, and would not compel him to appear, but had privately ascertained, through Spalatinus his Secretary, that, if required to attend at Worms, and satisfied that his doing so would be consistent with the will of God, he would obey. The Elector, therefore, objected to any determination that would endanger the person of Doctor Martin Luther, who might suffer in consequence of the condemnation of doctrine considered to be his, and insisted that, first of all, he should be summoned to answer for himself. Aleander, on the contrary, dreaded the consequence of so learned and eloquent a heretic being allowed to answer for himself before so ignorant a company, as he chose to consider the German States; before laymen, who knew not how to judge for themselves, as he said; and yet, fearing to lose all by directly daring, any where but in the Holy Office, to propose that a man should be condemned when quite unheard, suggested that he should be summoned under the condition of not arguing before the Princes, but only answering guilty or not guilty, and under a strict injunction not to preach by the way. It does not appear that such restrictions were imposed, except by mere verbal injunction that was not regarded; and Gaspar Sturm, imperial Herald, bearing a safe-conduct from Charles V., hastened to Wittemberg to bring the troubler of Rome, and set him before the Diet, face to face with his accusers. The letter of safe-conduct was addressed to "the honourable, beloved, and devout Doctor Martin Luther, of the order of St. Augustine," countersigned or witnessed by the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, guarded by a stipulation that no regard should be had in the Diet to that constitution of Constance which declares, "that faith is not to be kept with heretics," and formally delivered by the Emperor to the Elector, as Luther's immediate Sovereign, for execution by him. These were the guarantees insisted on by Frederic against a repetition of the perfidy practised in the preceding century on John Huss, by Sigismund, in violation of his own safe-conduct; and the event justified his caution. The document was dated on the 26th day of March, and Luther was required to appear at Worms within twenty-one days from the time of its delivery. Much to the discom-

fort of Aleander, with the five Archbishops, eleven Bishops, and other Clerics who were present, Sturm was instructed by the Emperor and Elector to treat Luther with due consideration; not to allow any disrespect to be shown him, either by word or act; if necessary, to afford him the protection of a strong military guard; and to provide every thing requisite for comfort and propriety during the journey.

Notwithstanding the fears of many, who entreated him not to hazard his life by going to the Diet,—for no one thought that Frederic would be able to cope with the intrigues and malice of his persecutors,—he determined to obey the call. Nothing could have been easier than to shun the danger. The Nuncio, through fear of being put to confusion by him before that great assembly, wished him not to have a hearing there; and the Elector, mistrustful of the event, had insisted that he should not be brought against his will; but he rose above every fear, and resolved to bear testimony to the Gospel of Christ against the tyranny and false doctrine of Antichrist, in presence of Sovereigns and States then subjected to his yoke. In a covered cart, the best conveyance that Germany then afforded,* and which the envy of a Jesuit magnifies into a magnificent chariot, screened from the inclemency of the sky, Luther set forward on the journey. Justus Jonas, chief Minister of the Collegiate church of Wittemberg, Nicholas Amsdorff, Canon of the same church, and Jerome Schurff, a Doctor of Law, were his companions. A few others rode out of town with him, and have been magnified through the same medium into an armed force of one hundred horsemen. Gaspar Sturm, the Herald, a believer in the doctrine taught by Luther, led the way. During their progress a few others joined the party. At the lodging-places, Luther enjoyed the recreation of music, which his censors, of course, represent as a shocking levity: although most Legates and Inquisitors drank and gambled without shame when on their murderous travels. Luther, on the contrary, was above reproach; for his amusements were always chastened by the fear of God, and never degenerated into trifling. At Erfurt he was met by a procession, and honourably escorted into the city, and preached on the Lord's day at the earnest entreaty of the chief citizens. The sermon was short and extemporaneous, directed against trust in works, and condemnatory of the vices of the Clergy. He

* As Seckendorff explains: yet that humble conveyance, required for so long and rapid a journey by a Monk of enfeebled constitution, whose inability to go to Rome had already been pleaded by the University in their letter to Leo X., must have seemed stately in those days. The following passage from Beckmann throws great light on this part of Luther's history: "Covered carriages were known in the beginning of the sixteenth century; but they were used only by women of the first rank, for the men thought it disgraceful to ride in them. At that period, when the Electors and Princes did not choose to be present at the meetings of the States, they excused themselves by informing the Emperor that *their health would not permit them to ride on horseback;* and it was considered as an established point, that it was unbecoming for them to ride like women. What, according to the then prevailing ideas, was not allowed to Princes, was much less permitted to their servants. In the year 1544, when Count Wolf of Barby was summoned by John Frederic, Elector of Saxony, to go to Spires to attend the convention of the States assembled there, *he requested leave on account of his ill state of health to make use of a close carriage, with four horses.*" (History of Inventions and Discoveries: Coaches.) This fully accounts for the use of a carriage; and for the ill-natured comments of Maimbourg and others on a poor Saxon *roll-wagen*, or "light cart."

preached in a few other places, contrary, indeed, to the wishes of the Priests, but in compliance with those of all classes of the laity, who received him with the utmost expressions of honour and affection, in remarkable contrast to their demeanour towards the Nuncio, who shortly before, on the same road, was allowed to pass through the towns without even usual civilities, and had to sleep at miserable inns. Although so cheerful and so diligent in preaching, he suffered from indisposition all the way, and especially from Eisenach to Frankfort. All the letters he received from Worms were full of advice to desist from his purpose of appearing there, where his enemies were waiting to destroy him. At Oppenheim he received letters from Spalatine and others, strongly urging him to turn back again, and his friends there seconded the entreaty with all their power; but he was fixed in purpose. "Christ lives," said he, "and we will enter Worms in spite of all the gates of hell and all the powers of the air." "I am resolved to drive away Satan, and put him to shame." "If there are as many devils at Worms as there are tiles on the house-tops, I will enter the city without fear." Then came Martin Bucer, with a party of horsemen, sent by Sickingen, a powerful and discontented nobleman, with a pressing invitation to take refuge in his castle at Ebernburg; but he persisted in going forward, observing, that as only three days remained of the twenty-one allowed, no time was to be lost. On Tuesday, April 16th, 1521, the cavalcade approached Worms. Luther had the covering removed from the cart, and, wearing the habit of his order, entered the city in view of a vast concourse of people, who crowded to gaze on the undaunted servant of Christ. A train of two thousand persons followed him to the palace of the Knights of Rhodes, where also was entertained the Marshal of the empire and other persons of high distinction. Alighting from the vehicle at the gate, he exclaimed, "God will stand by me." *

Next day, conducted by the Marshal, Count Pappenheim, and the Herald, Gasper Sturm, he left the palace, and proceeded to the Diet. Hoping to avoid the pressure of the crowd, they went round by gardens and byways; but the eye of the city was open to catch a sight of Luther, and to avoid the multitude was impossible. The people rushed in their track by thousands, glutted the windows, and had even untiled the roofs to supply a new look-out. The Marshal, the Herald, and the "Heretic" laboured through the silent crowd, many of the people blessing him in their heart, and made their way into the presence of the most august assemblage that could have been gathered within the bounds of Christendom. Charles V. presided there. The official of the Archbishop of Treves, John von Eck,† opened the business by exhibiting some books, and asking him, in the name of the Emperor, if those were his. "Let the titles of those books be read," cried Schurff. The official demanded that he should merely answer *yes* or *no* to two questions: whether the books were his, and whether he would retract the errors therein contained, and

* Pallavicini, Hist. Conc. Trident., lib. i., cap. 26, sec. 6.

† Not the Eck with whom Luther had disputed at Wittemberg, but one equally hostile to him.

which were already condemned. After hearing the titles of the books, he answered that they were his, unless anything had been added to what he had written; and as to the question whether he would retract the errors, he said to the assembly, "As this is a question concerning faith and the salvation of souls, and as it relates to the word of God, than which nothing can be greater in heaven or on earth, and which we ought all to reverence, it would be rash and even perilous for me to utter anything without thought. If I were to speak without premeditation, I might say too little or too much, and in either case incur the condemnation pronounced by Christ, when he said, 'Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.' I therefore pray and beseech his imperial Majesty to allow me time for deliberation, that I may answer this question without prejudice to the word of God, and without danger to my own soul." Some one tauntingly quoted another passage, "When they shall deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak." The quotation was made in ill faith: Luther requested time for consideration, the Emperor gave him until the next day; and he was permitted to withdraw.

In the afternoon of Thursday, April 18th, he returned, and, after a delay of about two hours, rose to address the Diet. That part of the hall which was free to the public, was crowded with a promiscuous audience; the windows were open on account of the heat, and a multitude stood on the outside, awaiting the decision, or endeavouring to catch a few sentences of his defence. He spoke for two hours in a clear tone, and without vehemence, having first requested indulgence if he should fail to employ the accustomed forms of courtesy, being, as a rude Monk, unaccustomed to the style of courts. To the first question he repeated the answer already given. His reply to the second was given at great length, and to this effect: He had written many books on various subjects. Some of those subjects related to Christian faith and piety, and them he could not contradict or revoke without impiety. Others were written against the decrees, abuses, doctrine, and usurpation of the Popes, who exercised tyranny over Christians, and scandalized the whole world. What was written in those books he could not retract without manifestly betraying the Gospel, and encouraging tyranny over the church of God. Some were written in controversy with private persons who had opposed his doctrine, and at the same time defended the dogmas and the tyranny of the Popes. He allowed that he had sometimes been too severe against his adversaries; but, while confessing this, declared, that inasmuch as the question was not respecting his manners but his doctrine, which had always been confirmed by the express words of Scripture, he could never deny that, but was ready to defend it before any one, until it should be proved by the word of God, but not by any authority of man, that it was erroneous. In that case he would willingly burn his books with his own hands. He was not discouraged by any hostility that had been excited; for Christ had said that he came not to send peace, but a sword. "Let us, then, bear in mind," he continued,

"that our God is wonderful and terrible in his counsels, lest what you endeavour with so much earnestness, should bring down on us an intolerable flood of evils, if you begin by condemning the word of God; and lest (which may God forbid!) the reign of our young Emperor, in whom, after Him, is all our hope, should be unhappy and calamitous." This plainness of speech could no longer be suffered, and he was therefore commanded to speak in Latin. For a moment he hesitated, exhausted by the heat of the place, and fearful of not speaking with a propriety of style suited to the dignity of the audience. A Thuringian Knight, one of the Saxon court, perceiving his embarrassment, advised him to say no more; but he wiped the sweat from his face, and repeated the oration in good Latin, to the yet deeper mortification of the Papists. Eck, at length, interrupted him by saying, that he was not there to defend his doctrine, already condemned by the Council of Constance, but to answer plainly whether he would retract or no. His reply was brief. "Then, if your Most Serene Majesty, and you, my Lords, desire a simple answer, I will give it without equivocation. Hear it. Unless I am convinced by the testimony of Scripture, or by evident reasons,—for I neither believe in Pope nor Councils, since it is notorious that they have often erred and contradicted themselves,—I am bound by the Scriptures I have cited, my conscience is led captive by the word of God; I neither can nor will revoke anything, for it is neither safe nor honest to act against my conscience." And then, raising his clear voice, he published in German, that every bystander might be witness, his ultimate resolution: *Hier stehe ich, ich kann nicht anders, Gott helfe mir, Amen.* "Here I stand, I can do no otherwise, God help me, Amen." This was enough to establish the charge of heresy in the estimation of the Papists, and he was desired to withdraw. The Spaniards followed him with hisses. The still multitude around the hall had heard, through the open windows, those last emphatic words, and respectfully made way for him to retire.

At the opening of the next session the young Emperor displayed his zeal in the service of Rome, by causing a paper to be read, written by his own hand in French, wherein he declared himself ready to employ all his powers in defence of "the Catholic religion" received from his predecessors, both Emperors and Kings, and now assailed by a wretched Monk. Instead, however, of receiving it with approbation, the Diet complained that he had violated their right by pronouncing sentence independently of their deliberation; and his juvenile indiscretion had no other effect than to provoke angry debate, which continued all that day and the following. Meanwhile, Luther was visited by Princes, Counts, Barons, Knights, and nobles of all titles; with Priests, Monks, and citizens. The inhabitants of Worms surrounded the hall, and waited before his lodgings, anxious to catch a sight of him, now the chief personage in their city. The city was divided, and the walls covered with placards, some written against and others for him. It was even reported that four hundred nobles had agreed to support him by force of arms; and that the troops of Sickingen, who had really offered him military protection when on his way from

Wittemberg, were near the gates. All this was incorrect; but the Diet saw that it would be equally dangerous to proceed against the Reformer with severity, or to bring him again to public disputation. Charles therefore reluctantly gave him permission to remain three days longer in Worms; and further, at the suggestion of the Archbishop of Mentz, allowed any who chose the opportunity of endeavouring to bring him to recant by private solicitation. The Archbishop of Treves, assisted by the Elector of Brandenburg, the Bishops of Augsburg and Brandenburg, George Duke of Saxony, and a few others who met at his lodgings, sent for Luther. Accompanied by Wehe, Chancellor of Baden, a learned and eloquent man, himself desirous of a more extensive reformation than had ever been acknowledged necessary in any Romish ecclesiastical assembly, he accepted the invitation of the Prelate-Prince; for Richard of Greifenklau was Elector as well as Archbishop, and more politician than Priest. Receiving Friar Martin with the utmost courtesy, he represented with earnestness, and, we may believe, with sincerity, the peril of his present situation. Appealing to his sense of honour, desire to be useful in the world, fears, patriotism, every virtue and every weakness that might be supposed to have place within him, he exhorted him to persist no longer in a hopeless and impracticable purpose. Luther replied: Humble thanks were due to so great Princes who deigned to concern themselves for the safety of one so insignificant. He regretted that any expressions of his should have given offence; and explained that those relating to Councils had especial reference to that of Constance, where the condemnation of Huss was nothing less than an offence against the doctrine of the Church as given in the Apostles' Creed. As for the offence apprehended from his own doctrine, he already knew that the doctrine of Christ must, inevitably, cause offence. He only asked that all things might be examined and decided on by the word of God; and this he longed for and importuned. After a lengthened conversation he withdrew: the party consulted, and soon sent for him again. Keeping to the same point, he declined every overture for dishonest conciliation, and asked them the single favour of interceding with the Emperor, that he might not be compelled to do anything against his conscience. As he rose again to leave, the Elector of Brandenburg put a closing interrogatory: "Do you still persist in saying, that, unless you are convinced out of the Bible, you will not yield?" "Yes, my good Lord, or by clear and evident reasons." Unwilling to give up the hope of winning or subduing the stubborn Saxon, Greifenklau again sent for him. Accompanied by the two friends, Schurff and Amsdorff, he returned. Eck and Cochlœus only were there. They tried menace, ridicule, and invective. Luther said little, but his friends answered manfully; and when they had admonished him not to preach or write any more, he departed, as fully resolved as ever to declare the whole counsel of God, whose word cannot be bound.

The prospect of a religious revolution became too evident for any one to doubt it. The Princes, not without reason, apprehended that civil revolution might follow. "Friar Martin" was not to be over-

come by any earthly motive; but they obtained an extension of his permit of lodging in Worms for two days. Wehe of Baden, and Peutinger, an Augustinian, took up the forlorn labour, and, calling at his chamber in the palace of the Knights of Rhodes, proposed that judgment on his writings should be left to the Emperor and the empire, apart from the Clergy. To that he would consent, but under the same condition that their standard of judgment should be the word of God alone. The reasonable stipulation could not be allowed, for they knew that Romanism does not stand the test of Scripture; and the Chancellor and Monk came again in the afternoon to shift the ground. Would he submit his doctrines to the decision of a Council? "Certainly," was the prompt reply. Here was a dawn of hope, for they could all foretell how a Council would decide; and ere they were well out of sight, the same thought flashed misgiving on his own mind. Greifenklau rejoiced for a moment at the concession, and, thinking that a Council would avert the imminent schism, requested Luther to call on him yet once again. The Elector Frederic was present, and their conversation was most amicable. Others quickly joined them; all agreed that some remedy was needed for the evils of the Church; and Frederic asked him plainly what he would propose. Having delivered his opinion, Greifenklau, seeming to be deeply affected, also asked him, "Then, my lord Doctor, what must be done?" * He cited the sentence of Gamaliel, and added, "If my counsel is not of God, it will not last over two or three years; but if it is of God, no man will be able to put it down." This conversation, perhaps from Frederic having been present, ended kindly; and Martin Luther, assured that he should be allowed to return to Wittemberg under sure protection, hastened to his lodgings. The same day, however, Eck and the Imperial Secretary were sent to tell him that he must leave Worms; and that, since all admonitions had been unavailing to bring him back to the Church, Cæsar, as advocate of the Catholic faith, would do his duty. They also forbade him to preach on his way homewards, or in any way to excite the people. His answer is memorable. "Let it be done as seems good to the Lord. Blessed be the name of the Lord! I render my best thanks, first, to His Serene Majesty the Emperor, and then to the other dignitaries of the empire, for their benignant and gracious hearing of me, and for the free safe-conduct, *kept and to be kept*. I have never desired anything more than a reformation according to holy Scripture, and for that have laboured heartily. Saving this, I am ready to suffer anything for His Majesty and for the empire, through life and death, honour and dishonour, reserving nothing to myself but the right of preaching freely the word of God alone, bearing thereunto my confession and my testimony. I commit myself most humbly to His Imperial Majesty, and to all the empire." Here terminates his brief sojourn at Worms.

On the morning of April 26th, a company of devoted friends surrounded his breakfast-table, and, after a hearty and cheerful meal, they all set out together for Oppenheim, on the road to Wittemberg.

* "Mein Herr Doctor, wie thäte man ihm denn?"

The impression left on all who were not entirely hostile was highly favourable. All admired his courage. "Monkling!" pleasantly said a veteran Knight, "Monkling! thou art going on as I, and many of my brother officers, would not dare to venture, not even in our best-fought battles. But if thou art quite right and sure, go on thy way, in God's name, and fear nothing. *God will not forsake thee.*" Thankful for deliverance, the Reformer travelled on to Oppenheim, slept there that night, and was joined by his old friend, Gaspar Sturm, the Herald. He received an order to be at home again within three weeks. From the small town of Friedburg he addressed a letter to the Emperor, and States of the empire, thanking them for the safe-conduct which had been both granted and observed; but complaining that his writings had not been examined by the standard of the word of God; and praying that they might all be so examined, not for his own sake, but for the glory of God, the good of the Church, and the salvation of souls. This letter was sent by Sturm, who, as it was not thought necessary that he should accompany him in the first day's journey, so did not attend him any further. For the sake of visiting some relatives, he hastened towards Eisenach, where he preached, as in some other places, being received at every stage with marked respect by the civic authorities and inhabitants. From Eisenach he left the road to Wittemberg, travelling towards Mora, his father's birth-place, to visit an aged grandmother, and had entered the forest of Thuringia, when, in a deeply-shaded hollow, five masked horsemen suddenly met him and Amsdorff in their Saxon *roll-wagen:* Luther put himself in a posture of defence, but the highway-men found no difficulty in pulling him to the ground, tying his hands behind him, and mounting him on a led horse, while two of them cut off communication with Amsdorff, and Luther was taken into a depth of the forest. This sudden transition from the sober course of history, to something very like romance, is accounted for by stating, that before Luther had left Worms his enemies were preparing an edict to place him under the ban of the empire. To save him from vexatious consequences, perhaps even from death, Frederic engaged two noblemen to use friendly violence, and lodge him in some safe retreat; yet concealing from himself all knowledge of the place, that he might be able to tell the Emperor, or swear, if necessary, that he knew not where Luther was. The horsemen conducted him to the Wartburg, a castle on the summit of a lofty hill not far from Eisenach, an ancient residence and stronghold of the Landgraves of Thuringia. No one knew whither the supposed highwaymen had conveyed him; but the report immediately spread that he had been murdered, and that his priestly enemies had put him out of the way was universally believed. We leave him there for a moment, and return to Worms, to hear the decision of the Diet.

Frederic and all others who might have been anxious to avert or mitigate a condemnatory sentence, had left the place. Aleander, the Pope's representative, reigned over Charles V., and found ready support from the great men, who cared neither for Luther nor Christianity. Towards the end of May, the remaining members of the Diet, with the Emperor

at their head, being assembled in the principal church at solemn mass, Aleander presented him with two copies of an edict, in German and Latin, written by himself, already passed by a majority of the States, and only to be ratified by the hand of Cæsar. Charles gave the signature, and caused the document to be read aloud. It conveys a full idea of what man would have done to suppress the Gospel, had God permitted. "We, Charles V., &c., &c., &c., to all the Electors, Princes, Prelates, and others whom it may concern. The Almighty having intrusted to us, for the defence of his holy faith, more kingdoms and power than he had given to any of our predecessors, we mean to exert ourselves to the utmost to prevent any heresy from arising to pollute our holy empire. The Augustine Monk, Martin Luther, though exhorted by us, has, like a madman, assailed the holy Church, and sought to destroy it by means of books filled with blasphemy. He has, in a shameful manner, insulted the imperishable law of holy wedlock. He has striven to excite the laity to wash their hands in the blood of Priests; and, overturning all obedience, has never ceased to stir up revolt, division, war, murder, theft, and fire, labouring to ruin utterly the faith of Christians. In a word, to pass over all his other iniquities in silence, this creature, who is not a man, but Satan himself under the form of a man, covered with the cowl of a Monk, has collected into one pestilent receptacle all the worst heresies of past times, and added several new ones of his own, destroying the faith under pretence of preaching faith, and Gospel peace under pretence of Gospel doctrine." Here comes a long summary of events preceding the Diet of Worms, the citation of Luther thither; and the paternal, patient, and affectionate conduct of the Emperor, the Nuncio, and all other persons towards him, with his alleged obstinacy and insolence. The document then proceeds: "We have, therefore, driven this Martin Luther from before our face, that all pious and sensible men may regard him as a madman, or as one possessed of the devil; and we expect that, after the expiration of his safe-conduct, effectual means will be taken to check this grievous pestilence. Wherefore, under pain of incurring the punishment due to the crime of treason, we forbid you to lodge the said Luther, so soon as the fatal term shall be expired, to conceal him, give him meat or drink, or lend him, by word or deed, publicly or secretly, any kind of assistance. We enjoin on you, moreover, to seize him, or cause him to be seized, wherever you find him, if you have sufficient force to take him, and bring him to us bound, without any delay, or keep him in all safety until you hear from us how to act, and until you receive the recompence due to your exertions and expense in so holy a work. As to his adherents, you will seize them, suppress them, and confiscate their goods, moveable and immoveable. As to his writings, if the best food becomes the terror of all as soon as a drop of poison is mixed with it, how much more ought these books, which contain a deadly poison to the soul, to be not only rejected but also annihilated! You will, therefore, burn them, or, in some other way, destroy them entirely. As to authors, poets, printers, painters, sellers or buyers of placards, writings, or paintings against

the Pope or the Church, you will lay hold of their persons and their goods, and treat them according to your good pleasure. And if any one, whatever be his dignity or power, shall dare to act in contradiction to the decree of our Imperial Majesty, we ordain that he shall be placed under the ban of the empire. Given at Worms, May 8th, 1521."

The sudden disappearance of Luther was an elusion of the stroke. Charles might be satisfied with having promulgated the edict, in submission to the Nuncio, and yet not displeased that, by the escape or murder of the intended victim, he had been spared the odium and danger of its execution, especially in the Lutheran States, while the hand of God conducted his servant to the Wartburg, and made a Patmos of that retreat. Cæsar only obeyed the dictation of the Church; and the edict now partially transcribed shows us the spirit of Papal Rome, still domineering over the liberties of the Germanic States, who were called on to chase and destroy the most eminent man then living, and to prove servile obedience by a deed of blood.

Luther's most intimate friends were not in the secret of his retreat. Some were discouraged by losing, as they thought, their leader; the people were now exasperated with the idea that he had been murdered; and again soothed by a report that he had prudently concealed himself in Wittemberg, to avoid suffering from the execution of the edict. Frederic pursued his own sagacious policy by discouraging innovation, and even disapproving of controversial preaching, and the circulation of Luther's writings, and, content with having confided his subject to the friendly violence that made him a prisoner, chose, for some time, not to be informed of the place of his confinement. The Monk, on entering the castle, was stripped of his monastic weeds, apparelled as a Knight, shut up in a keep until his beard had grown, made to wear a sword, and called Sir George.* In this attire he walked within the precinct of the fortress, or, attended by a guard under the character of servant, or mingled in a hunting-party, was now and then allowed to range over the neighbouring country. Withdrawn from the public eye, and saved alike from the excitements and the dangers of public life at Wittemberg, and temptations to pride that might have been too powerful for one who had just braved the empire at Worms, and where he might have been involved in a tumultuary reformation in Saxony, or crushed under the imperial edict, he gave himself to study, prayer, and the pen. His letters were dated "from the isle of Patmos," or "from my desert," and Spalatine, in quality of Secretary to the Elector, yet with the devotion of a friend, became the careful medium of occasional correspondence with the world. He heard enough to understand the state of Germany, and wrote, in whole or in part, some important treatises. The weariness of captivity, indeed, and intelligence of the excesses of zealots who dishonoured the cause of Christ, and of the timidity of brethren who seemed to faint in hours of trial, wrought powerfully on his excitable and impetuous spirit, until the grace of God restored peace and renewed his energies, now more than ever devoted to the great work of con-

* "Juncker George."

tending for the faith once delivered to the saints. He remained there nearly one year.

Besides numerous letters, he wrote a treatise on confession, its abuses, and the nullity of Papal sanction, under which all abuses were continued. For the instruction of those to whom he could not preach, he wrote "Church-Postils," or homiletical discourses; and thought them, of all that he had ever written, by far the best, even the Papists being judges.* Here, also, was written a book in reply to a theologian of Louvain, who had pretended to confute his doctrine,—a small volume, rich in scriptural argument against the merit of good works, and scholastic theology. From the Wartburg the brethren of his community in the Augustinian monastery received, on occasion of their contemplating such a reformation, a treatise "concerning the abrogation of private masses," masses celebrated for the dead by the Priest alone. A tract on monastic vows, dedicated to his father, whom he had disobeyed by entering a monastery, contains a pathetic acknowledgment of the sin committed in that act. In a book addressed to Ambrogio Cattarino, an Italian Monk, afterwards made Bishop, he proves that the Pope is Antichrist. Albert, Archbishop of Mentz, then with his court at Halle, was encouraging the indulgence-mongers to renew their traffic. Luther heard of it, and wrote a tract "against the Idol of Halle." It was written in German, the public were alive to the old controversy, the style was resistless. Frederic feared to allow an attack on the personage in whom were concentred the dignities of Cardinal, Archbishop, Elector, and Primate of Germany. Albert feared consequences, and wrote a bland letter of dissuasion to the excommunicated son of the Mansfeld smelter; and, with Luther's consent, the writing was, for the sake of peace, suppressed at that time. Henry VIII. of England, educated for the priesthood, fancied, therefore, when on the throne, that he could write a book. He did so. It was against Luther, and presented humbly to Leo X., with a Latin inscription:—

"Anglorum Rex Henricus, Leo Decime, mittit
Hoc opus et fidei testem et amicitiæ."

"O Leo the Tenth! Henry, King of England, sends thee this work, as a testimony of faith and friendship." The royal author solicited, in recompence of his faith and friendship, the title of Defender of the Faith, which, after some trouble, was obtained; but the prisoner at large of the Wartburg rapidly composed an answer. John Clerk, Henry's Ambassador to Rome, presented the volume to the Pope, and graced the presentation with a speech, wherein he informed the Holy Father, that his master had been instructed by able teachers, had often disputed with the most learned Britons, winning great applause, and had at last dared, not without glory, to wage fight with Luther, a man of no contemptible erudition. Luther accepted the challenge, and the Romanists bitterly complained that he handled the king too rudely. Perhaps he did; but in those days disputants were not gentle, and at

* "— mein allerbestes Buch, die Postillen, das ich je gemacht habe, welches auch die Papisten gerne haben."—Seckendorff, tom. i., p. 164.

least the world received another evidence that the prisoner was not idle.

The great work, however, then taken in hand, and continued from those hours of solitude until the end of his life, (for he constantly returned to it in the intervals of correspondence and controversy,) was his translation of the Bible into German. The sacred volume, or something like it, was already in circulation from German presses,* but in closely literal, or mischievously paraphrastic, versions of the Romanized Vulgate, and doubly imperfect. The basis itself was defective, because not the original of inspired Scripture, and also because, in each edition made under a Romish bias, more various readings were adopted, and the genuine lection displaced according to the taste of the collator, or his anxiety to dogmatize. The language was defective, because a servile transcript, or nearly so, of the Latin text in German words, bringing out combinations that were often unintelligible, and sometimes ludicrous. Luther saw the necessity of superseding those misleading productions, by such a version as would deserve to be read with acceptance and expounded with confidence: to that object he gave his energies, although a contest with Prelates and Princes, and the conducting of the Reformation, were more than enough to occupy even his uncommon strength of mind; and, for its better accomplishment, engaged the co-operation of his most learned friends, Bugenhagius, Justus Jonas, Melancthon, Aurogallus, and others. He also had recourse for information to learned Jews, and made use of all persons and all books that could afford illustration even on the most trifling points. Two or three days were not unfrequently spent by the united party in investigation for the rendering of a single word. The labour was immense; but it produced a work of which Germany makes reasonable boast. It is said to have been taken as the standard of the German language; and to this day, like our own inestimable version, it is a literary classic; and, by its precision and fidelity, conveys the lasting testimony of men who trembled at the mere thought of inaccuracy, to rebuke the ignorance, levity, or incompetence of any who should stoop, in later times, to make a version, however good, the basis or the standard of another version, and offer the crude performance to be an authoritative medium of evangelical instruction to entire nations. Although aided by others, Luther made the version his own. Every word was written, finally, by himself, after having been chosen or adopted by the effort of his own mind. In prosecuting this mighty labour, he aimed at making "the mind of the Spirit" clear to unlearned readers; whereas, Romish translators had endeavoured, and still do endeavour, to express the mind of their Church. He desired to make his version effective: they, on the contrary, speak of all versions as incomplete and of no authority, the modern Latin Vulgate alone excepted. They make this version the standard of appeal, and many of them set it

* "Beschreibung einiger alten Deutschen Bibel-Uebersetzungen vor D. Luther's Zeit," in the "Syntagma Commentationum" of J. D. Michaelis, Goettingæ, 1759, demonstrates the truth of this statement, which is extended by Seckendorff to the Bibles printed in Nuremberg in 1477, 1483, and 1490, and at Augsburg in 1518.

above the sacred originals. Luther made the Hebrew and Greek the standard of appeal, and passed the ecclesiastical version by, except as one help with many others. The principles of Luther and the Romanists were thus opposed; but his principles were embodied in every sentence of his Bible, which they hated more bitterly than ever their fathers had hated the translations of Waldenses and of Wycliffe. Their volumes rendered an implied reverence to the work of the Church —not of St. Jerome, for the altered Vulgate differs widely from his work, as any one may see by comparing the columns in the great Bible of Sabatier; Luther gave exclusive honour to the Holy Spirit who speaks by the inspired writers. He was jealous over his work * because it was a monument for the perpetuation of the high principle that gave soul and power to the Reformation of the sixteenth century, but no longer pervades entire Protestantism in the nineteenth. Many of us are accustomed to calculate, in cold, worldly prudence, on the prejudices of Continental Romanists, and give them an ecclesiastical Bible instead of "the verity," as the old Reformers properly called the Hebrew and the Greek. We send them versions of the one, and fear to teach them the untarnished perfection of the other. We have caught the cloak of Erasmus, and put off the mantle of Luther.

Maimbourg, a faithful representative of his Church, while writing against Lutherans and Calvinists,† gives utterance to the mind of Romanism; and a section from his "History of Lutheranism" shall represent the impression made on the Priests by the publication of Luther's German Bible. He writes thus:—"Meanwhile, learned men were found, who showed that this version was unfaithful and pernicious. Among them all, Jerome Emser gained the most distinguished name, but also incurred implacable hatred and persecution from the adverse party. He was an excellent and wise man, and profoundly versed in divine and human sciences, a Doctor of Leipsic, and Counsellor of George, Duke of Saxony, the Elector's cousin. To those admirable gifts, both natural and acquired, he added great zeal for religion; and was among the first who opposed the rising heresy of Luther, ever tracking him closely, and attacking him on every occasion. It excessively irritated Luther, that he should have him for a perpetual adversary; nor was there any one against whom he wrote so many books, or on whom he heaped so much abuse. This was that man of God who,

* "Luther's critical learning was not equal to that of Erasmus, but in strength of understanding no man ever surpassed him; and in resolution and integrity he was superior to all the learned of his age." "The last edition, which was printed while Luther was living, and indeed, not quite finished till after his death, was that of 1546. In the Preface to this edition, which comes immediately after the title-page, he delivers the following request: 'Dr. Martin Luther, I request my friends and my foes, my masters, printers, and readers, to let this New Testament continue mine. If they find faults in it, let them make another. I know well what I make, I see also well what others make. But this Testament shall remain Luther's German Testament. Now-a-days there is neither measure nor end of mending and bettering. Let every man, therefore, take heed of false copies; for I know how unfaithfully and untruly others have reprinted what I printed.'"—Introduction to the New Testament, by J. D. Michaelis, translated by Dr. Marsh, chap. xxxi., sec. 7.

† Maimbourg, in whom the spirit of the Frenchman was more vigorous than that of the Jesuit, had the misfortune to write something offensive to the court of Rome. The Pope expelled him from the Order. The King pensioned him.—Moreri.

despising the importunities and insolence of Luther and his followers, believed that he should deserve excellently of Christendom by exposing himself to the fury of the Lutheran faction, which, he doubted not, would fall on him. He, therefore, first of all, in public and in private, both writing and speaking, detected the horrid corruptions of the New Testament, and exhibited to the public more than a thousand falsifications in the version. Also, that an antidote might not be wanting to the Catholics, and that the errors of the Lutheran version might be demonstrated, he composed another, more exact and faithful, perfectly agreeing with the Vulgate, whence all the places might easily appear that were corrupted in the other. In consequence of this, many Princes, ecclesiastical and secular,—for example, the Archduke Ferdinand, brother of the Emperor, George of Saxony, and the Duke of Bavaria,—in public laws and edicts, commanded this perverse version to be burnt; and, by heavy fines, compelled all their subjects to give up all the copies in their possession to Magistrates appointed for that very purpose. This so exasperated Luther, that he emitted a most insolent libel, in which he called the Princes tyrants; and, arrogating to himself the supreme authority that he had wrenched from the Pope, forbade all to obey; and said, that if any did otherwise than he had commanded, they would deliver up Christ to Herod to be slain." *

Well may Du Pin call this historian *romantic*. Emser, "that man of God," branded as a horrid corruption every instance of conformity to the original text when it differed from the Vulgate, and, himself a miserable writer of German, if his own countrymen may be believed, paraded as an error the slightest departure from an accustomed form. For example: Luther wrote the first words of the Lord's Prayer *Unser Vater*, and Emser cried out "a corruption," because he had not written *Vater Unser*. To Emser and the Ecclesiastics these imaginary corruptions were mortal sins; and they called on the Princes to employ secular penalties for their amendment. Preachers were clamorous, and the decrees against Bible-reading were high-sounding, but, at first, indefinite as to penalties. Emser did little more than circulate a reprint of that very "Lutheran version," with a preface of his own; and the enemies of the word of God displayed at once the malignity of their temper, and the littleness of their power.

This Bible controversy gave rise to another. Dukes had interfered to prohibit their subjects from reading the holy Scriptures. Luther saw them go beyond the limits of their authority, and hastened to repel that aggression on religious liberty, by the publication of a tract "on the Secular Power." The work does not answer to the notice of it given by Maimbourg; and as the enemies of Christ, from the Pharisees down to this day, have always accused the preachers of divine truth of stirring up sedition, we must observe the book itself, and ascertain whether Luther did encourage insubordination to constituted authorities. On the contrary: he proves the right of Magistrates to govern, by citing passages of Scripture to that intent. He says, "that if all and each throughout the whole world were truly

* Maimbourg, sect. 52.

believers, there would be no need of Kings or Princes, sword or laws. Of what use would they be in such a state of things? Then would men have the Holy Spirit in their heart, and, by Him instructed, would do no harm to any, but would love all, and patiently suffer injury and death itself. For where hardships are suffered patiently, where nothing is done but what is just, there is no litigation, nor strife, nor Judge, nor penalty, nor judgment, nor sword. Therefore, among true Christians, there would be no place for temporal judgment and the sword; for they render freely more than any laws or any doctrines can exact. Hence Paul teaches: 'The law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient.'" Yet Luther would not abuse this passage. "But because," he proceeds to say, "the number of the wicked is vast, and, among a thousand, there is hardly one true Christian, God has ordained the state of Magistracy and political government; which if he had not done, men would have destroyed one another. There is, therefore, a two-fold government: the spiritual, which makes men Christian and pious, by the Holy Spirit, under Christ; and the temporal, which restrains the impious and the un-Christian, that, even unwillingly, they may keep peace. This, also, St. Paul says: 'Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil.'" "All Christians most gladly submit to the secular sword, for the sake of charity, and by the direction of the Holy Spirit, that thus, also, they may obey the divine appointment, and serve their neighbour." All this should have been inoffensive. Not so such sentences as the following:—"If the Prince requires thee to obey the Pope, to believe this or that, to give up books, &c., thou shalt answer thus: 'I will obey thee with my body and my goods; command me according to the authority that thou hast on earth, and I will obey. But I will not obey if thou commandest me to believe, or to give up books: for thus thou commandest as a tyrant what thou canst not exact in justice.' And if, when thou hast answered thus, they take away thy goods, or thou sufferest punishment for disobedience, blessed art thou! Render thanks to God that he hath made thee worthy to suffer for his word. Suffer the rage of that madman: he will have his Judge. If, then, thou dost not contradict, but willingly obeyest him that prohibits thy faith, or commandeth thee to give up thy books, thou hast denied God." * In the same work he exhorts Princes as well as people, teaching both that, in matters of religion, the supreme authority is in God; and that nothing can be required or rendered contrary to his revealed will, without sin.

Returning to the Wartburg, we find the great Reformer enduring conflicts that his enemies have heartlessly caricatured, pretending that, like their own St. Anthony, he fought, bodily, with Satan. His own words were too distinct to have been fairly understood as conveying such an idea. Describing the extreme distress of soul he has suffered while contending with the sword of the Spirit against suggestions of error, which he attributes to Satanic guile, he employs strong personification; yet not stronger than is used in popular language

* Seckendorf., pars i., p. 211.

every day ; and, speaking of nights in which he has lain sleepless, he says, " The devil begins such a disputation with me in my heart, (*in meinem herzen,*) that he makes me pass many nights in bitterness and anguish." Devoted to the holy enterprise of raising fallen Christendom by the power of the Gospel, conversant in the policy of Kings that arise, and Princes, civil and ecclesiastical, that take counsel together against the Lord, and against his anointed, he cannot but foresee that the contest will be a cause of tumult and bloodshed. His fears were natural, and expressed with so great clearness, that some attributed to him the gift of prophecy. With reference to the zeal of George, Duke of Saxony, in enforcing the edict of Worms, he writes thus in a familiar letter (February 27th, 1522) : " I fear exceedingly, that if the Princes continue to heed this hot-headed Duke George, there will be a tumult that will overwhelm both Princes and Magistrates throughout all Germany, and involve the whole body of Clergy. So, at least, it appears to me. The multitude has eyes, and is everywhere awake. The people neither can nor will be overcome by force. It is the Lord who does these things, and hides these threatenings and imminent perils from the eyes of Princes. Yes, through their blindness he will bring these things to pass ; and, already, I seem to see Germany swimming in blood. Wherefore, I pray thee by the compassions of Christ, most excellent Wenceslaus, join with us and ours in prayer, and let us set ourselves as a wall between God and the people, in this day of his great anger. This is a serious matter that is coming upon us ; and that foolish fellow at Dresden (Emser) cares nothing for the people, if he can but satisfy his own madness and inveterate enmity. Therefore, if thou canst do anything, endeavour that the Princes be admonished by means of your Senators to proceed calmly and without violence. Let them consider that people are no longer what they were : let them consider that a sword most certainly hangs over their heads at home. *They so act as to destroy Luther; but Luther will so act that they may be preserved.* The perdition that they are contriving will not fall on Luther, but on themselves ; wherefore I fear them not. Surely I am speaking this by the Spirit. But if wrath is determined in heaven, so that it cannot be stayed by prayers nor by counsels, let us implore of God that our Josiah may fall asleep in peace ere the world be left to itself to be turned into a Babel." *

We shall shortly see the fulfilment of the presage, and the answer to the prayer. Germany will be the scene of tumult, of religious war. Charles V., who has endeavoured to purchase the aid of the Pope against his enemy the King of France, will be beaten in Germany itself ; but Josiah, the Elector Frederic, will have fallen asleep in peace, before the occurrence of those events.

Well said Luther that people were not what they had been. The sermons of Savonarola ; the writings of Wycliffe ; the traditions of the Waldenses ; the invectives of Huss ; the confession of the Bohemian Brethren ; even the plain sayings of Erasmus, sometimes doubtful between jest and earnest ; the dying cry of martyrs in every age ; the

* Seckendorf., pars i., p. 177.

sage instructions of Wesselus; the tradition of every land, for every land had now been hallowed by the pyres of martyrdom; the vows of angry Kings to blot out the name of Babylon; the prophecies of Joachim, Hildegard, and a multitude of others; the execrable iniquities of Rome, seeming to demand vengeance; the general expectation of Europe; the impunity of Luther himself, whom people now believed to be shielded and reserved for some great work to the confusion of the Legates, the Doctors, and the orators, whom he had again and again put to silence:—all tradition, all history, all hopes and fears, indicated a grand moral revolution, and prepared the way. No, people were not what they had been.

This was first confirmed at Wittemberg. Luther was not there; kept out of the way, perhaps, that he might not be elated with the glory. He was laid aside in the keep of the mountain-castle; but his Lord was cleansing the sanctuary without him. The Augustinian Monks refused to say private masses any more, and gave their thoughts to an entire reformation of the altar-service, that it might become what it should be, a eucharist or offering of praise towards God, and a communion, or united act of confession by the people. Throughout electoral Saxony, new Preachers became eloquent in publishing the truth, and old ones became new by gathering material from the Bible. The Bishops threatened, the Magistrates reluctantly supported the Bishops; but "the common people heard Christ gladly." In the little town of Zwickaw, where the Gospel had long won the assent of many, and had many advocates, Nicholas Hausmann, a holy man, is invited by the inhabitants to be their Pastor. He doubts his ability to sustain the charge, and refers the question to Luther for decision. "If thou acceptest the pastorate," said Luther, "thou wilt make thyself an enemy of Pope and Bishops, by opposing their decrees: if thou dost not oppose them, thou wilt make thyself an enemy of Christ." He decided to venture all for Christ; and Luther was wont to say of him, "What we preach, he lives." Freiberg in Misnia, an opulent and splendid city, half decides to cast off the yoke of Popery, yet hesitates through fear of the edict of Worms and the Emperor. Throughout Friesland the people are in doubt between Popery and the Gospel. In Halberstadt two intrepid men, Widensee and Musleus, preach the new doctrine, and the latter is seized in his bed at night, and cruelly mutilated by the Bishop and Canons of the church.* Christiern, King of Denmark, inhibits the University from condemning the writings of Luther, applies to his uncle, Frederic of Saxony, for a Preacher of the Gospel, and receives Martin, a Doctor of Wittemberg. Bohemia begins again to hear the truth, preached openly by Eberbach, Rector of a school. In Pomerania, Bugenhagius, convinced by a book of Luther's which he had taken up to read with abhorrence, as the production of a heretic, and his colleague Cnophius, teach the same doctrine in the flourishing academy of Treptov, and attract youth by crowds from the neighbouring country of Livonia. Along the banks of the Rhine teachers of Gos-

* "Canonicorum et Suffraganei instinctu noctu captus et virilitate orbatus fuit."—Seck., pars i., p. 178.

pel truth suddenly make their appearance, and are, in vain, assailed with persecution. Even in Worms, where the sentence against Luther and his doctrine was ratified, Charles had no sooner turned his back than persons were seen placing portable pulpits in the streets, the churches being closed against innovation, that Lutheran Preachers might address the listening multitude. Not fewer than ten Preachers are named as engaged in promulgating the glad tidings of salvation in Erfurt, where the way has been prepared by profoundly learned professors of Greek and Hebrew, who have released from the yoke of superstition a large body of youth frequenting their academy. At Strasburg, Cellius preaches with great freedom and equal success; is accused by the Fiscal of the Bishop, as interfering with the interests of his master; and defends himself by the example of all Germany, affirming that, in spite of the edict, there is no city, town, village, monastery, academy, chapter, nay, not even family or house, in which profession is not made of the Lutheran sect, so called.

In Belgium, too, notwithstanding every possible effort to shut out the Gospel, it finds admission, and is made the power of God unto salvation. But here we pause to survey a scene of persecution. Jacob Spreng, Prior of the Augustine Monks, has preached the doctrines of the Gospel, as taught by Luther, for two years past. Now, the edict of Worms, although sent into the country without any previous consultation of the States, and in violation of their privileges, is to be enforced. Spreng is arrested, carried to Brussels, and examined by Jerome Aleander, Commissary Apostolic, the man who took the lead at Worms against Luther, and drew up the edict. Aleander is assisted by Vandernoot, Chancellor of Brabant, Herbout, Suffragan of Cambray, Glapio, a Confessor of the Emperor, and others. Spreng was eminent for learning; his position as Prior of a convent, and that of the same order as Luther, and the respect shown him by Erasmus, made him a conspicuous mark for vengeance. Brought as a criminal into the presence of these personages, they produced a paper containing thirty articles of Lutheran heresy which he was charged with holding, and required to abjure. According to this paper, Luther had taught and Spreng had adopted the monstrous propositions, that all the good works of saints are sins; every work performed by a man's free will, however good, is a sin; concupiscence remains in baptized persons, therefore every action any one performs, however good, is sin; sorrow for sin does not conduce to justifying grace; sorrow for one transgression, if there be not sorrow for all, is sin. These are exaggerations of Luther's statements respecting original sin, and justification by faith alone, and contradict his real doctrine; but the Prior was summarily commanded to abjure the whole set of articles, and swear to the whole body of Popish dogmas, or go to the stake. To avoid the fire, he read a recantation of what he had preached, as well as of the absurdities alleged: the Inquisitors conceived that they had gained a victory, and dismissed him from their presence. He then went to Bruges, and endeavoured to put away the disgrace of recantation by preaching as before; but was soon seized, taken back to Brussels, and imprisoned. A Francis-

can Monk helped him to make his escape, and he fled to Bremen, published an account of the whole affair, acknowledged his sin in denying Christ, when under fear of death, and for many years taught the Gospel in that free city.

Various intelligence reached Luther. He heard with joy of this simultaneous spreading of sound doctrine, and of these beginnings of ecclesiastical reform; while many occurrences made it evident that the guidance of one mind was needed to prevent confusion and consequent failure. Justus Jonas, one of his most beloved friends, still taught canon law at Wittemberg, although the volumes containing it had been burnt with the Pope's Bull, amidst general applause. Jonas was weak enough to follow the mischievous vocation of Canonist for the sake of a salary, while Luther strenuously and judiciously advised that Princes should declare the canon law to be obsolete in their States.* The Canons of Wittemberg persisted in superstitions that most of the other Clergy had cast off, and their manners were as corrupt as their worship, and as flagrant as their covetousness. He longed for the suppression of that establishment, and an appropriation of its revenue to some useful purpose. Carlstadt, Doctor of Theology, a Canon and Archdeacon in the church of All Saints, Wittemberg, from whom Luther had received his degree of Doctor, was carrying his doctrine into practical application with more zeal than knowledge. Luther therefore ventured, disguised as he was, to make an excursion to Wittemberg; and to the delight of Amsdorff, "Sir George" presented himself in his house. Melancthon, and a few others, were summoned in haste; and after spending a short time in ascertaining the exact state of affairs, he returned to the Wartburg, and honestly communicated to Spalatine an account of his clandestine visit. But thenceforth he grew more and more impatient of the "desert," and at last fairly broke prison. Carlstadt had married, so, indeed, had one other Priest; but he had also administered the eucharist in both kinds, without consulting any one, and demolished the images in All Saints' church, to the scandal of many, who were not yet prepared to cast the idols to moles and bats, and to the alarm of Luther, who thought it right to proceed gradually, and with prayerful caution, in all reform, whether of doctrine or of worship. At Zwickaw, also, there was great stir made by proceedings of another kind. One Nicholas Storch fancied himself a Prophet, made twelve poor men his attendants under the titles of Apostles, strutted like a trooper, in a strange garb, and excited the multitude by wild harangues, called sermons. The hasty zeal of Carlstadt, and the fanaticism of Storch, had afforded some colour of reason to a decree from Nuremberg, issued by the Elector Palatine, in the name of the Emperor, for the repression of excesses, and punishment of profaners of the mass, married Priests, and those who administered the Lord's supper in both kinds.

On his way from the Wartburg, Luther stopped to write a hasty letter to the Elector, and then hurried on to the scene of labour.

* He correctly called it "jus Pontificium." It certainly is pontifical law, and of the worst kind. Some use is made of it in this country, but it cannot be legally taught, nor degrees given *utriusque juris*.

After a day or two had been spent in ascertaining the true state of affairs, he took his place in the pulpit of All Saints, and, during one week, delivered a succession of sermons, calculated to counteract the intemperance of Carlstadt, still the tumult of Wittemberg, and unite the citizens in the right prosecution of the grand object. But it is not within the scope of this volume to describe the controversies and fanaticism that attended the Reformation in its course. Let it suffice to observe, that the public, profoundly ignorant, and under strong excitement, was inevitably swayed by every new impulse, good or evil; and that the teachers of the people, themselves ill taught, but claiming the privilege of a strange and untried liberty, were liable to transgress the bounds of sound reason and humble piety. The prison-house of Romanism was suddenly burst open, good and bad were set loose together, and their misdeeds are to be attributed to the bondage and ignorance of a former state, not to the truth that brought spiritual freedom to some, and the events that presented an inferior sort of liberty to others. Our present concern is not with agitated masses, fanatics, and politicians, but with the preachers, confessors, and martyrs of Christ.

In justification of Luther, it is necessary, once for all, to repeat, that his innovation on ancient forms was cautious and slow. He would have images to remain unbroken until they should be displaced by the power of the Gospel, as the idols of Paganism had disappeared after the teaching of the Apostles. His first change in the baptismal service, (A.D. 1522,) consisted merely in translating it into German, with the addition of notes, wherein the people were instructed that the ceremonies, still retained, were not necessary, and had no virtue; and that baptism might be as well administered without them. As to the communion, he did no more than give suitable advice to those who consulted him before setting aside the old mass, generally teaching the absurdity of transubstantiation and communion in *one* kind; and advising, that the people should be taught better, provided with hymns to be sung in German, and familiarly instructed in the meaning of the service: coercion he abhorred. Neither did he give just cause of complaint on account of the impropriation of church property, by craving after the wealth of suppressed monasteries and other endowments. A remarkable illustration of his disinterestedness, and that of his brethren, is afforded in the narrative of an ecclesiastical reformation in the small town of Leisnic, in Electoral Saxony, with some neighbouring villages. After a compact with the Abbot of a monastery within the district, confirmed by the Elector, the chief persons of Leisnic and the villages, with the Senate and representatives of the population, met together to dispose of the ecclesiastical revenue that fell into their hands. They agreed that a board should be annually elected for the distribution of the fund, employing it for the maintenance of parochial Ministers, Deacons, Schoolmasters, and Schoolmistresses, and for the relief of the poor, that neither Monks nor other beggars might burden the public. And in each church there were to be placed two vessels, one to receive bread, meat, and other eatables, and the other for money. In time

of dearth or want, the poor were to be supplied, by this means, as well as from voluntary charity. The Clergy retained no power over their former property; their maintenance was shared with schools and paupers; the laity administered all at their pleasure; and Luther, free from avarice and ambition, approved, if indeed he had not advised, the arrangement. "I think," said he, "your plan ought to be published, for imitation by others. For the wealth of the Clergy, who, under show of conducting divine worship, have appropriated to themselves much of the good things of this world, has come to be so exorbitant, that neither God nor man will bear with them any longer. But as monasteries now begin to be deserted, and as there are none who seem disposed to take up their abode in them for the future, and this change is attributed to their doctrine, care should be taken that, in order to disarm envy, the derelict property of monasteries and colleges do not become the prey of avaricious men, but be piously and usefully employed." * An opposite line of conduct would have laid him open to a charge of spoliation, and supplied a pretext to persecutors.

Persecution, as ever, kept equal pace with reform. George Duke of Saxony destroyed as many copies of the New Testament, at Leipsic, as he could buy up from the more timid citizens, and severely punished those who refused to surrender theirs. The Bishop of Mersburg visited the University, and prohibited the students, under severe penalties, from reading the New Testament, and from going into the neighbouring territory to hear the sermons of Preachers protected by the Elector. In Antwerp the persecution that was begun with the imprisonment of the Prior of the Augustinian monastery became very severe. The inmates of that house were all imprisoned; many of them recanted to avoid burning, and, after a short time, were released. As if to destroy a strong-hold of heresy, the building itself was demolished. But as to some of the brethren who remained in prison, no threats could induce them to recant. Two of these were Henry Voës and John von Esse, the proto-martyrs of Lutheranism. They confessed to Aleander and his colleagues, that they had read the Bible, studied Luther's expositions of it, and preferred that sacred book to all the decrees and sentences of Popes and Doctors. They declared that the Roman Pontiff had no rightful authority from Christ to govern the Church, and that his only duty was to feed the flock with the word of life. Faith, they maintained, could not be separated from charity, because charity is the fruit of faith; and faith without love is dead. As for the mass, they affirmed that the only sacrifice for the sins of men was offered once upon the cross. When plied with trifling scholastic questions, they refused to answer; but at length, when one of their Judges said that they had been seduced by Luther, Henry broke silence, and replied, "Yes, even so as the Apostles were seduced by Christ." The usual inquisitorial ceremonies followed, and they were taken to the stake, rejoicing by the way that they were counted worthy to suffer for Christ. Being placed on a pile of wood, as it was lighted, and the flames began to rise, they said,

* Seckendorf., pars i., p. 237.

that the flames were as roses strewed under their feet. They then chanted the *Te Deum* in alternate verses, until the fire deprived them both of voice and life, verifying that sublime sentence, "The noble army of martyrs praise thee," and their souls ascended to join in the songs of paradise. The men of Antwerp were not dismayed, but filled with indignation. "This is the work of hangmen," said Erasmus, "not of Divines." Four days after, another Monk was brought out and burnt on the same spot; but, not to irritate the public more by their open execution, others, we know not how many, were killed in prison.

On receiving intelligence of their martyrdom, Luther wrote a letter "to the brethren in Holland, Brabant, and Flanders," congratulating them that some of their number had been honoured before all others in suffering, for the name and Gospel of Christ, injury, shame, affliction, troubles, imprisonment, and, at last, death itself. "Those two happy and precious souls, Henry and John, counted not their lives dear to them at Brussels, so that they might but proclaim Christ more loudly. O how contemptuously, and with how shameful punishment, were their souls condemned! But with what ineffable glory and unspeakable joy shall they return again to give true judgment against those from whose lips they heard that wicked sentence!" "We of Upper Germany, dear brethren, have not yet had so high a dignity conferred on us, that we should be thus made victims unto Christ, that we should be so offered up as a splendid hecatomb; yet some of us have not lived without persecution, nor are we now free from it." "Although our adversaries call you Hussite, Wycliffite, and even Lutheran heretics, and will boast largely of this murderous execution, we are not taken by surprise, nay, our spirit gathers greater courage from this very thing. For it cannot be but that the cross of Christ should have bitter, blasphemous, and impious calumniators. But our Judge is at the door, and He will soon pronounce sentence. This we assuredly know: it is beyond all doubt." * Luther wrote an elegy on their death.† Surius, a Carthusian, calls them martyrs of the devil, because they—like the father and mother of this same Surius—died beyond the pale of what he calls the Church. The effect produced was quite the reverse of what the commissioners against heresy calculated. The Belgians were excited to inquiry; public opinion rose against the persecutors; and Popish writers would gladly have denied the deed. Maimbourg does endeavour to smother it in silence. Erasmus wrote thus: "It is not just that any error should be punished by fire, unless it have been followed by sedition, or some

* Seckendorf., tom. i., pp. 279, 280.

† This elegy, beginning with the words, *Ein neues lied wir heben an*, "We raise a new song," was printed in some editions, it is said, of Luther's *Cantionale*, or "Hymn-book." On this it may be proper to observe, First, That the composition bears no resemblance to a hymn, as may be seen in Seckendorff (p. 280). Secondly, That Luther had not yet begun his Hymn-book. A year afterwards, 1524, he began that work by publishing eight hymns, some written by himself, and others by some friends, and the whole set to music by Walther, band-master at the court of the Elector. It has been customary with Popish writers to represent heretics, so called, as worshipping their martyred brethren; but we have not yet found one instance of the kind. For the date, &c., of the Cantionale, see Gerdes, Hist. Ev. Ren., ii., 124.

other crime, legally punishable by death. The theologians of Paris differ widely from those of Italy on many points relating to the power of the Pope, and one party must necessarily be in error; yet one does not bring the other to the fire. The followers of Thomas differ in many things from those who adhere to Scott, and yet the same school bears with both. Now, I am very much afraid that, by those vulgar remedies, by recantations, imprisonments, and burnings, the evil will only be aggravated. At Brussels, for example, first, two are burnt, and then the whole city begins to favour Luther." And "wherever," he said some years afterwards, "wherever the Nuncio (Aleander) raised smoke (by burning books and heretics), wherever the Carmelite (Hochstraten) exercised his cruelty, you might say that that place became a seed-plot of heresy." * So said many others. However, the persecutors, having tasted blood, could not be satiated, and other victims were forthwith added to the number. The Provincial of the Carmelites at Halberstadt was murdered in his bed, at the instigation, it was believed, of the Priests. A Preacher in Antwerp was put into a sack, and drowned in the Scheldt.

Miltenberg on the Maine, in the Electorate of Mentz, had received the Gospel by the ministration of John Draco of Carlstadt. To reclaim his flock, the Cardinal Elector, Albert, sent a troop. The soldiers sacked the town, killed some converts, and imprisoned others. Draco fled: his Deacon remained in concealment, and narrowly escaped death. His hiding-place, the house of a widow, was discovered, and a soldier sent to seize him. At the man's approach, the Deacon rose, embraced him, and, using the usual words of cordial salutation, said, "Here I am: plunge your sword into my bosom." The soldier trembled with astonishment, dropped the sword, hastily picked it up, walked away; and, instead of seizing the servant of God, protected him from violence. The citizens of Worms, Augsburg, and Eslingen, were also put under coercive discipline, and thereby made more impatient of the insufferable yoke of priestly despotism. They were among the first to cast off Popery altogether.†

While these things were done in Antwerp, Brussels, Halberstadt, and Mentz, a similar trial befell the infant church of Meaux in France. Already there was an awakening in Paris. Even in the University, Lefevre, one of the most eminent Professors, published a commentary on the New Testament, far in advance of the current theology, and every day gained clearer light and firmer confidence. Farel, a favourite student, just passing out of Romish darkness, was soon to appear in the field as a reformer of France. Margaret of Navarre, sister of the King, in earnest for her own salvation, embraced the same faith, and encouraged those who taught it. The new doctrine seemed worthy of consideration to many at court, who were yet ignorant of its power; and at Meaux, a company of earnest seekers of salvation forsook the legendary Preachers, and gladly heard others proclaim salvation by faith in Christ alone. At Paris, literary and religious bigotry were aroused in the Sorbonne: Lefevre, Farel, and others withdrew to Meaux,

* Erasmi Epist., lib. xxii., Ad Math. Kretzerum.
† Seckendorf., Hist. Luth., pars i., pp. 23—279.

and, united with the brethren in that city, formed a strong body of confessors, having Briçonnet, the Bishop, at their head. There, too, opposition was aroused. A Franciscan Monk, hating the truth, dreading its advance, and irritated at the boldness of the new Preachers, who counted, perhaps, too confidently on friends at court, instead of relying singly on God, demanded of Briçonnet a suppression of the rising sect. The Bishop, on the contrary, protected his brethren, preached as they did, and censured the Franciscan for his interference. From the Bishop, therefore, he went to Paris, and applied to Parliament for the suppression of heresy at Meaux. Briçonnet, overtaken by fear, and making compromise with conscience under a notion that the reformers, if banished from Meaux, might preach elsewhere, eventually issued an injunction to put them all to silence. During those three or four years of evangelical preaching, images of saints continued in the churches; the externals of worship underwent no change. Yet the doctrine sank into the hearts of many; and the wool-carders and weavers of Meaux, like those of Metz, centuries before, read, discoursed, and prayed in their workshops, arguing the Gospel out to its full conclusions, unrestrained in judgment by any calculations as to public policy. A carder, Jean Leclerc, acted as Scripture-reader,—to borrow a modern term,—and went from house to house enforcing the truth that had made him free. Some incident, of which there is no distinct record,* aroused his zeal, and he did nothing less than write a placard against indulgences and the Roman "Antichrist,"† and affix it to the door of the great church (A.D. 1523). He was thrown into prison, tried for heresy, and condemned to be beaten with rods, openly, on three successive days, and branded. With hands tied and feet bare, he was led through the town, and scourged. A crowd followed the bleeding man, some breathing vengeance and slaughter, others trembling with fear for themselves. One woman, his mother, walking beside him, breathed every now and then into his ear a sentence of pious exhortation. This was repeated the second day, and again on the third, the procession ending at the place of common execution, where the hangman had a fire, and iron red hot, ready to impress the mark of shame upon his forehead. As the brand was drawn from the fire, and while they were holding him to suffer the barbarous infliction, a cry was heard. It was the voice of his heroic mother, "Long live Jesus Christ, and his marks!" The exclamation may sound strange to Englishmen, but the French words convey no idea of irreverence.‡ It was a shout of spontaneous praise to Him for whom she saw her son persecuted: it was a shout of exultation too, as if the mother, under the last stroke of anguish, had said, "Henceforth let no man trouble him: he bears in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Her husband was a persecutor; but she led home her son, to wash his wounds and help his faith; and of the awe-struck people, not one presumed to lay hands on her. Young Leclerc soon left the town, found work at Rosay, about six leagues distant, and

* "Contre quelques perdons."—Beze, Hist. Eccles., livre premier.
† Varillas, apud Seckendorf., pars i., p. 282.
‡ "Vive Jésus Christ, et ses enseignes."—Beze.

afterwards at Metz. In that city he continued to confess our Master: not in the character of a Minister, as has been said,* but of a layman; and living by his craft of wool-carding, he preached Christ from house to house, until once more aroused to an act that brought him to the stake.† About a league out of town stood a chapel, containing‡ images of the Virgin and most popular saints in the country, —a sort of local pantheon. Once every year the people of Metz used to make an easy pilgrimage to the place to worship the images, to get, as they were told, pardon of their sins, and fulfil, by offerings of money, the true intention of the Church towards the incumbents. Leclerc saw the city wholly given to idolatry, his spirit was stirred up within him; he believed the command to "utterly overthrow and quite break down their images" to be binding on himself, and, obeying that impulse, quitted Metz at night-fall, went into the chapel, utterly overthrew and quite broke down the idols; and, early next morning, re-entered the city-gate as if nothing had happened. The bells rang in every tower; the town was up; trades and their devices, brotherhoods, Priests and Canons, marched away with music and banners to the "holy house:" but Bel had fallen, Dagon lay shattered on the threshold. The gods were in fragments on the floor. Sacrilege! cried the Monks. The people were furious; and, the whole train broken, back they came promiscuously, clamouring for death to the culprit. Branded, yet not dismayed, Leclerc awaited them. He was apprehended, taken before the Judges, condemned to be burnt alive at a slow fire, and instantly taken to the hearth. Instruments of torture were ready. With red-hot pincers they tore off his right thumb, then his nose, then the flesh off both arms, then again from his breast. Still unmoved, his soul abode in peace; and, while enduring the agony, he recited, in a clear and loud voice, "Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not; eyes have they, but they see not; they have ears, but they hear not; noses have they, but they smell not. They have hands, but they handle not; feet have they, but they walk not; neither speak they through their throat. They that make them are like unto them; so is every one that trusteth in them. O Israel, trust thou in the Lord: he is their help and their shield." (Psalm cxv. 4—9.) The same mob that had clamoured for his death stood round and heard in silence. Their lips were sealed. No one durst raise a hand to stop that mouth whence God's testimony

* Said by Dupin, denied by Gerdes, Hist. Ev. Ren., iv., 19.

† An act of "somewhat immoderate and imprudent zeal," thinks D'Aubigné, if his translator renders it correctly. But this admirable historian, even quoting Corneille for illustration, cancels his own censure by the force of plain description.

‡ And because the building *contained* those sacred objects, it was called a *Chapel*. The derivation of the name is curious, as given by Du Cange, *sub voce* CAPELLA. "1. Brevior capa. 2. Postmodum appellata ædes ipsa in qua asservata est *Capa*, seu *Capella S. Martini*, intra Palatii ambitum inædificata: in quam etiam Sanctorum aliorum λείψανα illata, unde ob ejusmodi Reliquiarum reverentiam ædiculæ istæ *Sanctæ Capellæ* vulgò appellantur. 3. Ministeria ac vasa sacra. 4. Cancellaria. 5. Ædicula in quâ cimelia asservabantur. 6. Quævis ædicula sacra, oratorium, quod *proprios sacerdotes* non habet: seu ædes sacra quæ non erat *baptismalis*." The more recent and familiar use of the word, as given by this authority, is a building for some special and secondary purpose.

against idolatry proceeded. When half dead, he was thrown into a slow fire. The people shuddered and dispersed. A flourishing church soon rose in Metz.

Although the tribunal of the Inquisition was not organized in France, as in Spain and Italy, its forms were adopted; and Ecclesiastics received power from the Pope to act as Inquisitors of heretical pravity. These forms were in no instance more exactly followed than in the case of Jean Castellane, Doctor of Divinity, who had zealously preached the Gospel in several places, especially at Barle-Duc, Vitry, Chalons, and Metz. One day, on returning from Metz, he was made prisoner by armed servants of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and lodged in the castle of Nomeny. The citizens of Metz, provoked by this outrage, took a reprisal, by imprisoning some dependents of the Cardinal, who, in vain, demanded their release, until the Vicar-General, furnished with letters from Rome, came to Metz, and so wrought on the Magistrates, that the Cardinal's men were set at liberty. Still Castellane was kept in durance for more than eight months, persevering in confession of Christ under the infliction of those cruelties that can be so easily practised on helpless prisoners. From Nomeny he was taken to Vic, see of the Bishop of Metz, and there again immured, again tormented in like manner, and still constant. As an incorrigible heretic he was sentenced by Savin, "Inquisitor of the Faith," to be degraded. The ceremony of degradation was performed with more than usual parade; for the Bishop, making one of those discretional additions to the form which were allowed to those who desired credit for extraordinary zeal, scraped the nails and finger-tips of both hands, wherewith he had touched the consecrated wafer, that the surface which had been once in contact with that mysterious object, might not remain to the person of a layman. The degradation being finished, the Bishop addressed the secular Judge, "My Lord Judge, we pray you as heartily as we can, for the love of God, and the contemplation of tender pity and mercy, and for the respect of our prayers, that you will not in any point do anything that shall be hurtful to this miserable man, or tending to his death, or to maiming of his body." My Lord Judge did as the Church really desired. He sentenced "the miserable man" to be burnt alive, who suffered with valiant constancy, to the encouragement of many faithful, and the conversion of a great company from the old superstition to Christian truth * (January 12th, 1525).

The peasant war, of which we shall speak presently, had not yet begun. The French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were not yet disturbed; and therefore the Duke of Lorraine could not plead any reasonable fear of sedition to excuse his proceedings against Wolfgang Schuch, a pious German Priest, who had lived in the small town of Hippolyte for many years, and had gradually acquired great influence over the inhabitants by every quality that should distinguish a Minister of Christ. Under his direction and teaching, Hippolyte was thoroughly reformed. Images and the mass were set aside; and not Wolfgang only, but the whole town, was

* Foxe, Acts and Monuments, book vii.

involved in the factitious guilt of heresy. All this had taken place, when Duke Anthony issued a mandate to enforce the condemnation of the doctrine described as damnable in Papal Bulls and the imperial edicts, and commanded his subjects that none should preach it; and that whoever had any of Luther's books should give them up within a time appointed, under a severe penalty. The entire population of a town, however, could not be managed by a proclamation. He laid the case of Hippolyte before the Vicar-General of the Cardinal of Lorraine, specially appointed by the Pope to root out heresy in that province and the neighbourhood. The Vicar collected reports, and books written by Wolfgang, and laid the whole before the Sorbonne, for their judgment. The College soon found thirty-one articles contrary to their own theology, and gave each a correspondent censure. The fourth declared that the canon of the mass, praying that God would accept the *oblation* and *sacrifice*, is blasphemous. Their censure pronounced this article to be schismatic, impious, and a blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, by whom, said they, the sacred canon is inspired.* Duke Anthony received the censures of the Sorbonne; and, from the Priests, heard a rumour that Wolfgang excited the people to insubordination. This report stirred his anger; and he began to talk of fire and sword. Wolfgang, aware of this, instantly wrote a letter to him, containing a clear and respectful statement of his conduct, as well as his doctrine; and defending the people from the charge of disaffection to the government. The letter was either intercepted, or thrown aside in contempt; and the Duke prepared to march on Hippolyte, and raze it to the ground. No sooner did the faithful Pastor hear of this, than he set out for Nancy, the capital of Lorraine, and residence of the Duke, there to solicit a hearing of his cause, to avert the tempest, and, like a good shepherd, die rather than his flock should be destroyed. But no sooner had he entered the gate of Nancy, than the Duke had him thrown into a dark and filthy dungeon; and, instead of being allowed a hearing, he was now and then conveyed away to a Franciscan monastery to undergo interrogation and threatening. One Bonaventura, Provincial of that order, corpulent, stupid, and having but one eye, used to assail him as a heretic, a Judas, a Beelzebub; and declared, that to say, "Our Father," and "Hail, Mary," was religion enough for any man. Finally, the Inquisitor condemned him to the fire, after he had been imprisoned for a whole year. On hearing the sentence, the good man was filled with joy, and exclaimed, "I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord." Thither he was to be translated from the dungeon and from the Friars. Going to the place of execution, he passed by this monastery, and found the brown-clad brotherhood waiting in the street, with "the Cyclops," Bonaventura, at their head, standing and pointing to some images that adorned the gate-way. "Ho there," he shouted, "master heretic! show honour to God, to his mother, and his saints!"

* The *Canon Missæ* is no more than the liturgy appointed. But there was the *Gallic* Canon: was that inspired? And the Ambrosian, Mozarabic, and others: are they inspired? But the Roman Canon was adopted *late* in France, and the Roman inspired Breviary is not uniformly used even in 1850.

Wolfgang answered, "O thou hypocrite, thou whited wall! God will destroy thee, and bring thy deceit and thy impostures to the light." Having reached the place of release, he was asked if he would have the punishment mitigated. He answered, "No: God has always stood by me. He will not desert me now when I have need of him. Let the sentence be executed." An immense heap of wood was ready, hedged high round with faggots and straw. Chanting the 51st Psalm, he steadily walked into it; and as the smoke rose thick, and the flames reddened, Wolfgang Schuch was heard to pray: "Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion; build thou the walls of Jerusalem." (August 19th, 1525.) He had not long entered into "the house of the Lord," when the Vicar-General, who gave sentence against both Castellane and him, suddenly dropped down dead; and a brother Inquisitor in this case, the Abbot of Clair-lieu, startled at the discharge of cannon in a salute, died instantly. Thus were they summoned to the bar of God without a moment for repentance.*

In Paris there was much excitement: the library of Berquin, a converted nobleman, was burnt, and he imprisoned, but soon released by an order of Francis I., to satisfy the nobility, who were indignant at seeing one of their order delivered over to the Priests. At Meaux, after the departure of Leclerc, the poorer members of the evangelical society continued to meet in secret. Jacques Pavares, a native of Boulogne, had been brought to Meaux by the Bishop. He was young, but learned, and sincere. Him they imprisoned, and terrified, or persuaded, into recantation. After penance he was absolved and set at liberty; but unable to hide his sorrow for having denied Christ, or to repress his zeal, he incurred their vengeance, and was burnt alive in the Place de Greve, Paris, (A.D. 1525,) suffering death with constancy. Not long afterwards, a person known as the hermit of Livry, a place on the road towards Meaux, was burnt opposite the church of Notre Dame. The great bell tolled, and an immense concourse of spectators surrounded the place of martyrdom, having been invited by the Doctors of the Sorbonne to witness the death of a man, "already damned, whom they were sending to the fire of hell." †

Francis I. had left the Priests to defend themselves against the innovation of Lutheranism, and his subjects to be sacrificed to their vengeance, while he went to war with Charles V. The campaign was fought through in Lombardy, Francis beaten, taken prisoner, and carried into Spain. Liberated from captivity, and returned to France, he found Lutheranism, as it was then newly called, making great progress. "The wrath of God," said the Priests, "has been poured out on the King and on the kingdom, in retribution for the sin of heresy, which ought to have been extirpated at its first appearance." Reasons of state, no doubt, determined him to court the favour of Rome; and, following the advice of Antoine du Prat, Chancellor of the kingdom, he lent the Magistracy for the worst service of the Church, by ordaining that thenceforth accusations against Lutherans should be

* Gerdes, Evang. Renovat., tom. iv., pp. 44—51; Foxe, Acts and Monuments, book vii.

† Beze, Hist. Eccles., livre premier.

made, in the first instance, to secular Judges and Magistrates; "because," said the Chancellor, "the crime of blasphemy is included in that of Lutheranism." The Doctors Beda and Quercu, and their adherents, seconded the royal ordinance with the utmost zeal; all the Parliaments, but chiefly that of Paris, entertained the subject, and a simultaneous persecution overran the country.

Denis d'Rieux was burnt at Meaux, for having truly said that the mass is a renunciation of the death of Christ. To his last breath (July, 1528) he maintained that it is so. Louis de Berquin, whose library had been destroyed, and whom the King had formerly released from a sentence of perpetual imprisonment, was finally condemned, hung, and his body burnt, because he would not submit to consent to the burning of his writings, and to recant. Despite the remonstrances of his friends, persons of the highest rank after royalty, that nobleman was taken to the Place Maubert, and there consumed. Yet Merlin, Penitentiary of Paris, who directed the execution, said, in a loud voice, after the martyr had expired, that for a hundred years there had not been a better Christian than Berquin. His constancy made a profound impression on the inhabitants of Paris, and the acknowledgment of the Penitentiary inexpressibly mortified his accusers and judges. The night after this martyrdom, (November 11th, 1529,) there was an unseasonable frost; famine followed, and after famine pestilence. The Clergy had lately attributed war to divine judgment, because of the tolerance of heresy: the people might now reasonably attribute famine and pestilence to the same cause, but for a very opposite offence.

The blood of martyrs was as a shower, refreshing the Lord's heritage. Piety revived all over France, with witnesses against idolatry. In the town of Nonnay in Languedoc, the inhabitants were enslaved to a childish superstition. A chest was suspended from the roof of their church, said to be full of precious relics; but, as if it were more sacred than the ark of the covenant, no mortal might look into it, under penalty of palsy and blindness. On Ascension-days it was lowered with mysterious solemnity, and carried through the town at the head of a long procession of men, women, and children, all half naked, bare-headed, and barefooted. The sinner that could approach and kiss the chest, or creep under it, accounted himself happy. When the procession, one year, passed by the prison, all the prisoners were said to be delivered, Lutherans excepted, from every crime they had committed. But a Franciscan Doctor, named Etienne Machopolis, who had been in Germany and heard Luther preach, raised his voice against that trickery, and many other practices of the same kind. He was driven from the monastery; but another Monk of the same order, Etienne Renier, took his place, and preached yet more fully the truths of holy Scripture. Renier was imprisoned, and afterwards put to death at Vienne, enduring the fire with singular constancy. No sooner was he removed than the Schoolmaster of the place, a man named Jonas, learned and pious, continued the same confession, and was in turn imprisoned. Some friends helped him to escape; and the Archbishop, enraged at this succession of preachers, caused twenty-five persons to be apprehended and taken to Vienne. Some of them died in prison, by disease or ill treatment, and the

remainder were eventually released with an ostentation of extreme clemency.

Orleans, Bourges, and Toulouse, heard the Gospel. Toulouse was one of the darkest towns in France. The Parliament was sanguinary; the University, almost worthless; the churches were full of relics, and other instruments of idolatry; and the inhabitants, so given up to superstition, that whoever did not kneel down when the bell rang for "Hail Mary," or neglected to pull off his cap before an image, or had eaten a morsel of flesh on a day of abstinence, was at once noted as a heretic. Some enlightened men, however, began to publish the truth even in Toulouse. One of them, a licentiate in canon law, Jean de Caturce, spoke of the kingdom of Christ in the hearts of men, and endeavoured to substitute reading of the Bible, on feast-days, for profane sports. He was imprisoned. His friends endeavoured to persuade him to purchase liberty by recanting but three points of a lecture he had delivered. This effort failing, he was left to the sentence of death. A ceremonial degradation occupied three hours, during which time he had many opportunities of defending his cause, and instructing the crowd of spectators. A singular occurrence took place there. The preacher—for sermons made part of those revolting exhibitions—took for text these words: "The Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils." Caturce was listening attentively, but the preacher paused. His text was ended. "Go on," cried Caturce, "go on with your text." The preacher was embarrassed: he stood mute, utterly unable to remember the first sentence of his sermon. "Then, if you will not finish it," proceeded the martyr, "I must. 'Speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared as with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth.'" This recitation by no means contributed to restore self-possession to the speaker. Every eye was turned on Caturce, who followed up his text with a spirited exposition. From the scaffold on which he had been degraded he was led to the palace, or town-house, where he heard his final sentence; and as they took him away to the stake, he exclaimed aloud, in Latin, "O palace of iniquity, and dwelling of injustice!" He bore the fire with constancy * (A.D. 1532). But we must now quit France.

In order to pursue, with distinctness, the current of events in Germany, it is necessary to return to the period when Luther lay concealed in Thuringia, and mark the commencement of a political movement, intimately relating to the religious, and most necessary to be described in a history of persecution. In the latter part of the year 1521, an imperial Diet was convened at Nuremberg. The Emperor was absent, but Ferdinand his brother presided in his stead. Adrian VI. held his first consistory in Rome in the month of November, and, with the assent of the Cardinals, appointed Francesco Chieregato, Bishop of Teramo, to be his Nuncio at the Diet. Chieregato presented

* Beze, Hist. Eccles., livre premier.

himself at Nuremberg without delay, and delivered the letters of his master to the Electors, Princes, and deputies of cities. Adrian complained that, although Luther had been condemned by his predecessor, Leo X., and although that sentence had been supported by the edict of Worms, published throughout Germany, he was still permitted to persist in heresy, and to publish new books, supported by the nobles as well as by the populace. St. Paul, indeed, had said, that there must be heresies, in order that they who are approved may be made manifest; but it was not a time to tolerate heresy, when the Turks were threatening to overwhelm Christendom. Princes and people should no longer connive at so great an impiety; nor should a simple Monk be suffered to seduce them out of the path followed by their ancestors. If the sectaries of Luther were allowed to transgress ecclesiastical laws with impunity, they would soon break all other laws. If they were allowed to appropriate to themselves Church property, they would rob the State. If they could insult Priests with impunity, they would not respect laymen, nor spare their wives and daughters. He counselled and exhorted them, if other methods did not avail, to employ fire for the extirpation of Luther and his adherents, as fire had been employed for the destruction of Dathan and Abiram, Ananias and Sapphira, Jovinian and Vigilantius,* John Huss and Jerome of Prague. The Pope sent a similar epistle to each of the Princes; and that to the Elector of Saxony contained an urgent exhortation to put down Luther, and to consider how deeply his posterity would be dishonoured if he persisted in favouring a madman. The instructions of Chieregato were strongly to the same effect, Luther being likened to Mohammed.

The Diet replied in the usual complimentary manner as to the Pope and his good wishes; but with regard to his demand for the execution of the sentence against Luther, and the extirpation of heresy, they gave strong reasons for not having done so. 1. By the books of Luther, most persons were persuaded that the court of Rome had done great harm in Germany. If, therefore, the edict of Worms had been enforced, people would have charged their rulers with encouraging abuses and impiety, and popular tumults might have followed. 2. It was necessary to employ the most proper remedies for all evils. But the Pope and his Nuncio had both confessed that the evils then prevalent were the consequence of sin; and the fit remedy would be a reformation of the court of Rome, which the Pope had promised. 3. If abuses and vexations (which would be specified) were not ended, there could be no peace between laymen and Ecclesiastics. 4. As the annates paid by Germany for a crusade against the Turks had not been so employed, they required, as a condition of compliance with the Pope's wishes, that those moneys should be kept in Germany. And the Diet proceeded to say, that as Adrian asked their opinion concerning remedies of the evils he enumerated, they must observe that that of Luther was not the only one. There

* The trifling mistake as to the use of fire on these four persons, would not be severely noted. Death, temporal and eternal, is always denounced on those who make free with the "goods of the Church."

were many gross and inveterate abuses in the Church, for which there could be no remedy more proper, efficient, and desirable than a pious, free, and Christian Council, convoked in some suitable place in Germany, with consent of the Emperor, wherein laymen as well as Churchmen should have entire permission to say what they pleased, notwithstanding any preceding oath or obligation to the contrary. Persuaded that the Pope would not refuse so reasonable a request, they engaged to use their influence with the Elector of Saxony to prevent the Lutherans from writing or printing any new books; and at the same time to order that, through all Germany, preachers should conform to the Gospel, purely and simply, according to the approved doctrine of the Church, without touching on points that might provoke sedition, or awaken controversy. To this end they promised or proposed some restrictions and precautions.

The Nuncio made a reply, partly evasive, and partly querulous. He much disliked the general tendency of their answer, especially in some of the proposals, as injurious to the independence of the pontificate.

The Diet rejoined that he seemed to measure good and evil by the standard of the court of Rome, and proceeded to prepare a document containing an enumeration of the evils inflicted by that court in Germany. It is known as the "Hundred Grievances;" (*Centum Gravamina;*) and Chieregato, that he might not hear it, withdrew from Nuremberg without ceremony. The members of the Diet considered that the fugitive Nuncio had, by his unceremonious departure, treated the empire with disrespect; and when the document was read in full assembly, some additions were made, to give it greater pungency. The "Hundred Grievances" was a distinct exposition of the corruptions and wrongs referred to in their answer to the Pope's letter. This singular correspondence, with the acts of the Diet, were printed, by authority, and circulated throughout Germany, to the great advantage of the cause of reformation. The Pope died soon after the return of Chieregato.

Giulio de' Medici, cousin of Leo X., succeeded to the throne, under the title of Clement VII. It displeased him that Adrian had lowered the pontifical dignity by confessing the sins of the court and Clergy, and by asking advice of the Germans, which had brought up a demand for a Council, a thing, of all others, most to be dreaded. He therefore sent Lorenzo Campeggio, Cardinal of Santa Anastasia, to discharge the functions of Legate at the Diet, which was still at Nuremberg, with instructions to evade the importunity of the Germans; but, as some reform was undeniably needed, to throw the inconveniences thereof on the German priesthood, leaving the Roman in undisturbed enjoyment of their own pleasure. Campeggio hastened to Nuremberg, assumed a posture of extreme dignity, pretended to know nothing of their correspondence with Adrian, and offered them a trifling plan for reforming the dress and manners of the inferior Clergy in Germany. Both in a public discourse and in private conversations the Legate ceased not to denounce the demands contained in the "Hundred Grievances" as most unjust, and, for all reasons, divine and human, impossible to be granted by the Pontiff. "Never," said

he, "would His Holiness surrender the principal emoluments that for ages have maintained the dignity of Popes and Prelates: never would he consent to be robbed of his revenues in Germany, nor allow an example that other nations would quickly imitate." With this Nuncio, as with his predecessor, and as with the court and clergy of Rome, the question was one of wealth and power, to the utter exclusion of every nobler consideration.* He conceived the motives of Luther and the Germans to be equally sordid with his own. The Diet maintained its ground, sent an answer to Clement resembling that which they had returned to Adrian, and closed their sessions, on April 18th, 1524. One determination demands attention. It was that the States of the empire should meet at Spire on November 11th following.†

Here are three parties. Luther and his friends, with all who desire evangelical reformation in Germany; Zuinglius in Switzerland, with multitudes who receive his doctrine; the Bohemian Brethren; the Lollards in England; and good men in all parts of Europe who agree in the rejection of Popery, and desire, but with some diversity of judgment on lesser articles, to establish the leading article of Christian faith,—*the supremacy of Christ in all things over his church.* These are the first party. The Pope and priesthood are the second. The third consists of the States and people of Germany, with whom the secular magistracy and laity of Europe generally sympathize. Rome calls on the two latter to crush the first party by force. The reformers call on the laity to cast off the insufferable yoke of spiritual despotism. The laity endeavour to profit by the religious difference to humble the Papacy that has rapidly risen to power since the healing of the schism at Constance. Contrary to the wishes of Rome, and contrary to the interests of Christianity, as it might have seemed to a cursory observer, the world assumes the office of arbitrator between the falling and the rising churches. Yet God overrules the strange position to the eventual establishment of his kingdom.

Each new event tended to complicate the whole, and to frustrate human counsels. Campeggio, whose wisdom advanced close on the verge of folly, assembled a few members of the Diet, after the majority had left Nuremberg; and these, as friendly to the court of Rome, being chiefly Ecclesiastics or their agents, constituted themselves an independent body‡ at Ratisbon. They even took upon them to decree, (July 6th, 1524,) that the edict of Worms should be executed in all their states and domains; that there should be no religious innovation; that "apostate Monks," Priests who married, communicants who had not confessed, and persons who ate flesh on unlawful days, should be punished; that all their subjects who then prosecuted their studies in the University of Wittemberg, should be compelled to leave it within three months, and study elsewhere. Next day, the Cardinal Legate published his rejected regulations for extir-

* Pallavicini, Hist. Conc. Trident., lib. ii., cap. x., sect. 12, 13.

† Fra Paolo Sarpi, Hist. Conc. Trente, i., 25—30. (Courayer.)

‡ They were, Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother; the Archbishop of Salzburg; two Dukes of Bavaria; the Bishops of Trent and Ratisbon; and the agents of nine other Prelates.

pating Lutheranism, and regulating the life and manners of the inferior Clergy in Germany, and against sorcerers and witches. These proceedings roused the indignation of the states. It was insufferable that a handful of persons should arrogate the power of doing what the Diet had refused to do. They thought it ridiculous, nay, insolent, in the Legate, to offer a mock reform of poor parish Priests, with penalties on witches, instead of a real reformation of the Bishops and Cardinals, under whose rapacity, corruption, and mismanagement Germany had been suffering for ages. The Emperor, too, was offended with the Diet, which had presumed, in his absence, to ask the Pope for a Council; a demand, he thought, which ought to have been made, if made at all, by himself alone, the Pope and he being the only persons competent to treat on the convocation of a General Council. Clement exhorted him to withhold his sanction from the request for a Council, and to forbid the projected assembly at Spire; and the subservient Cæsar accordingly dictated a severe and indignant letter to the states, written from Spain (July 15th, 1524). On the other hand, most of the free cities and the states friendly to Luther were represented in a convocation at Spire, who, regardless of the imperial brief, determined to appoint learned persons to examine matters relating to religion, and prepare a confession to be presented there at the time appointed.

In the hostile states, the edict of Worms was enforced by civil authority, except where the Magistrates or people were friendly to the preachers. Even then the malignant ingenuity of persecutors sometimes compassed the death of hated Lutherans. For example: Henry of Zutphen, Prior of a monastery in Antwerp, expelled thence, as we have seen, for Christ's sake, found refuge in Bremen. Resting in that city on his way, as he intended, to join Luther at Wittemberg, he was first invited to give a sermon, and then to continue in the city as preacher of the Gospel. The Senate sustained the wish of the citizens, in spite of the Clergy; and his ministry was blessed to the conversion of multitudes from the old superstition. The Archbishop of the province, with his Priests, left no means untried to destroy the preacher; and the Senate as constantly protected him. The last Bull of Leo X., and the edict of Worms, were displayed on the church-door; and persons were sent to listen to his sermons, in hope of catching some sentence that might be made to sound like an incentive to sedition, and serve to aggravate the charge of heresy. Many of the listeners were converted, witnessed his doctrine to be God's truth, and showed by newness of life that it was "the power of God unto salvation." The Bull and the edict were passed unheeded by the men of Bremen.

While ministering so happily, he received a letter from a Lutheran parish Priest, and several other persons, earnestly inviting him to Meldorf, a town in Dithmarsch, to proclaim the Gospel there, amidst a superstitious and licentious population. The letter was submitted to a few members of his congregation, with a request to be advised and assisted for the journey thither. They thought, however, that, having been chosen as their Minister, Master Henry should not leave

them, but abide by the work so successfully begun ; or, at least, defer his purpose for a time, until the Gospel should have taken deeper root in the town and surrounding villages. He thought otherwise. To him it seemed that many in Bremen were well able to instruct the infant church ; and that a call to preach Christ to a population almost destitute of Christian knowledge, ought not to be refused. The conviction of duty was resistless. At length, others also began to regard the call as of God ; and he set out for Meldorf, desiring his friends to inform the congregation of his departure, and promise them that, having fulfilled the new commission, he would return to Bremen. The friendly Priest, with a little company of inquirers, thirsting after truth, cordially welcomed their new instructer. Tornborch, Prior of the Dominicans, faithful to the intention of his order, headed a band of conspirators, determined, if possible, to prevent him from preaching even once in Meldorf, lest the people, influenced like those of Bremen, should afterwards unite in protecting him from harm. Forty-eight simple laymen, invested with the government of that little territory, might easily, they thought, be gained ; and two of the most influential of them, known as enemies of the Gospel, were engaged to manage their colleagues. They hastily convened the rude council, and represented that by putting the heretical Monk to death, as required both by the Pope and the Emperor, the town of Meldorf would be rewarded with the special favour of the Bishop of Bremen. " When these poor and unlearned men heard these words, they decreed that this Monk should be put to death, neither heard, nor seen, much less convicted." A letter from the forty-eight commanded the parish Priest to dismiss the Monk from his house, and not suffer him to preach in Meldorf. But the good Priest, not so simple and unlearned as the corporation whose missive was put into his hands, denied that they had any authority to set aside an ancient privilege of the parishioners to choose their own preacher, but handed the paper to Henry. Henry had not slept in the town, the evening was far advanced, his host said nothing ; before sunrise he might retrace his steps, and return to Bremen, satisfied that the door had been closed against him. But he read the paper, and, perusing his heart, sought an answer there. Love for souls forbade him to retreat. Raising his eyes from the letter, and calmly looking at the Priest, who still gave no advice, he said, " Sent for by all this congregation, I am come to Meldorf to preach the Gospel of Christ. This vocation I must satisfy. I see that my preaching will be acceptable to your congregation, and I must obey the word of God, not man. If it pleases Him that I lose my life in Dithmarsch, this is as near a way to heaven as any other ; and I doubt not but I must some day suffer for the Gospel's sake." He soon retired to his chamber ; and next morning, confident in the divine commission, went up into the pulpit and pronounced these words of St. Paul : " God is my witness, whom I serve with my spirit in the Gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I make mention of you always in my prayers ; making request, if by any means now at length I might have a prosperous journey by the will of God to come unto you. For I long to see you,

that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established." (Rom. i. 9—11.) The Dominican Prior, also, after sermon, addressed the congregation in his way, and read the letter from the forty-eight, declaring that they should be fined a thousand guilders if they suffered the Monk to preach. Tornborch then insisted that they should send representatives to answer for them to that body. The congregation, however, maintained, that every parish had the right to appoint its own preacher, determined to keep Henry for theirs, and to defend him. Tornborch left the church in anger; and in the afternoon of the same day, Henry preached again, much to the satisfaction of the people, and of the parish Priest, who sent messengers to the Presidents, offering to answer for the preacher whom they had chosen. The Presidents withdrew their prohibition, deferring the question, as arising out of the disputes about doctrine, until a General Council, which they heard was soon to be assembled, should instruct all men what they were to believe.

The messengers returned to Meldorf, imagining that the Presidents would interfere no further. Henry preached with great effect. But the Prior and his accomplices gained over the leaders of those forty-eight insignificant rulers, who were brought to concur in the opinion that the heretical Monk should be put to death, lest the honour of "our Lady," the saints, and the monasteries, should utterly come to ruin. After some consultation, it was determined not to hazard the formalities of a trial, nor even to enter into any correspondence with the preacher, lest they also should be infected by the contagion of his heresy, and overpowered as by a spell that unlearned men could not resist. It was therefore resolved to take him by night, and burn him before the people could know it. A secret meeting was then holden, consisting of such persons as could be intrusted with participation in the plot; and "the day after the conception of our Lady," they assembled about five hundred peasants in the village of Henning, half a mile distant from Meldorf. The boors met together after night-fall, and heard from the lips of some of the confederates, that the end of that gathering was to kill a heretic. The announcement excited some opposition at first, and they would have instantly dispersed, refusing to do so horrible a deed. But the Presidents threatened, and, by help of three barrels of Hamburgh beer, produced so great a change of feeling, that the rabble was ready for any outrage. They were then marched to Meldorf, the Monks attending with torches, that their victim might not escape in the dark. The rabble burst into the house of the Priest, where Henry lodged, destroyed the furniture, took every valuable, and then fell on the Priest, shouting, "Kill the thief, kill the thief." After dragging him through the mire and beating him for some time, they were told that their commission was not to take him, but another. Henry was then pulled out of his bed: they bound his hands, and, transferring him from one to another, as each ruffian became weary of the charge, drove him bare-foot to another neighbouring town. There they paused, to question him as to the reason of his coming to Dithmarsch; but when he meekly gave the reason, they drowned his voice by vociferations: "Away with him! away with

him! If we hear him talk any longer, he will make us all heretics." Their way lay over a hard frozen road, rough with broken ice; his feet were bleeding, and he entreated to be allowed a horse to proceed to Heyde, the town where those Presidents were wont to hold their meetings. But they derided the proposal to "hire a horse for the heretic;" and, still naked, he was driven on to Heyde. Some Priests there gladly took him, and in one of their houses he was shut up in a cupboard, and mocked during the night by the drunken fellows who were employed to torture him. Next morning, one Gunter, a ringleader of the riot, came and asked whether he would rather be sent to the Bishop of Bremen, or receive his punishment in Dithmarsch. "If I have preached," he replied, "anything contrary to God's word, or done any wicked act, it is for them to punish me." "You hear, good friends," cried Gunter, "he wishes to suffer in Dithmarsch."

The mob, maddened with drink, gathered together in the market-place, to consult what they should do. The consultation was brief; and the sentence followed in a shout: "Burn him! burn him! To the fire with the heretic!" A crier summoned all who had been present at the apprehension, to come under arms to the burning. The Franciscan Friars flocked to the spot to superintend the execution. They instructed some unskilful ruffians how to bind him for the stake, and how to prepare the fire, bidding them "go the right way to work." Bound hand and foot, he was carried to the fire. As they passed by with him, he observed a woman weep, standing at her door, and, turning towards her, said, "I pray you, weep not for me." They laid him by the faggots, for he could no longer stand, and one of the Presidents, being bribed for the occasion, read a mock sentence: "Forasmuch as this thief hath wickedly preached against the worship of our blessed Lady, I, by the commandment and sufferance of our reverend father in Christ, the Bishop of Bremen, and my Lord, condemn him here to be burned and consumed with fire." Raising his eyes towards heaven, the martyr exclaimed, "I have done no such thing. O Lord, forgive them! for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do. O Almighty God, thy name is holy." A lady, at that moment, made her way through the crowd. She was wife of one of the conspirators, but offered to pay the fine imposed on the people of Meldorf, and to suffer stripes in the stead of Henry, if they would release him. She was brutally knocked down, and trampled under foot, while some stabbed and beat Henry as he lay; and Gunter bawled, "Go to boldly, good fellows: truly God is present with us." Then, calling a Franciscan, he bade him take Henry's confession, who demanded, "Brother, when have I done you any injury, either by word or deed; or when did I ever provoke you to anger?" "Never," said the Friar. "Then what should I confess to you, that you think you might forgive me?" Moved at these words, the Friar left him. The fire, as often as it was kindled, would not burn; and meanwhile they beat and cut him with cudgels and knives. The flames beginning to rise, they bound him to a ladder, to lay him on the pile. As soon as bound he began to pray; but some one struck him on the face, saying, "Thou shalt first be burnt, and afterwards mayest pray

and prate as much as thou wilt." Another, treading on his breast, bound his neck to a step of the ladder until the blood gushed out at his mouth and nose. The ladder was then erected, and, to steady it, a man planted his halbert behind; but the ladder slipping, the halbert ran through him and ended his sufferings, death being accelerated by the blow of a mace. His body was roasted on the sluggish fire * (A.D. 1524).

Luther wrote an admirable letter to Henry's former flock in Bremen. "Now," said he, "the true features of Christian life return to us as at the beginning. This religion, unsightly and repulsive to the world, amidst afflictions and storms of persecution, is yet precious and of great honour in the sight of God, according to the testimony of the Psalmist: 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.' And again: 'Precious shall their blood be in his sight.' Doubtless your Henry of Zutphen, who has been cruelly put to a terrible death by the murderers of Dithmarsch for the sake of the Gospel of God, will shine eminently among them; and by shedding his blood so freely, he has exhibited a most certain testimony to the doctrine of Christ. Indeed, John and Henry of Brussels were the first whose lives were taken; and those two became shining lights, slain in such a lovely death, wherein they were offered up to God as a fragrant sacrifice. And in the same catalogue we may also place Gaspar Tauber, burnt alive in Vienna; and George the bookseller, who has lost his life (at Buda) in Hungary." † Persecution raged at Leipsic, under the iron hand of Duke George. All who were known to favour the reformed doctrine were fined, imprisoned, or banished, and a few crowned with martyrdom. John Hergst, a bookseller, and therefore peculiarly odious to the Clergy, was beheaded in the market-place; as were two others shortly afterwards. Some were imprisoned for life in the Bishop's prisons at Mersburg. Fugitives, however, from France and Germany found refuge in Strasburg, and constituted there a flourishing church, enlightened by the learning and piety of such men as Capito, Bucer, and Le Fevre.‡ Many others, in various parts of Germany, suffered tumultuary execution, murdered by mobs at the instigation of Priests; while the civil authorities were reluctant to obey the edict of Worms. Their bodies were sometimes thrown into the Rhine and other rivers. At Halle, a preacher named George, who had administered the eucharist in both kinds, was waylaid and killed; and at Prague, a Monk, whose name is not recorded, suffered the same penalty for quitting the monastery, and taking a wife, instead of living wickedly like his cloistered brethren.§

The weakness of persecution appeared in these outrages, that hindered not the spread of evangelical doctrine; and Luther, anxious to signify his utter renunciation of monkery, put off the cowl, and refused the appellation of Reverend Father, usually given to Monks and parish Priests. Ceasing to be a Monk, and having no parochial

* Foxe, Acts and Monuments, book vii.
† Seckendorf., Hist. Luth., tom i., p. 295.
‡ Gerdes, Hist. Evang. Renov., tom. ii., p. 127.
§ Foxe, Acts and Monuments, book vii.

charge, he assumed the dress worn by Doctors, and called himself by his academic title, Doctor Martin Luther. The Elector, notwithstanding his usually extreme caution, did not discourage the change, but sent the ex-Friar a present of cloth, jocosely telling him that he might have it cut after any fashion that pleased him best. And not long afterwards, he exemplified his long avowed abhorrence of monkish celibacy by marrying Catherine von Boren, a lady of noble birth, once a Nun in a convent at Nimpschen, but who, like very many others, had broken from the reclusion of the cloister. Gladly would his enemies have prevented that event. A Jewish Physician from Poland, allured by the offer of a large sum of money, was watching an opportunity to poison him; but information was given him by letter. The Jew, when arrested, denied the accusation, and would have been put to the rack, but Luther interceded for him with the Elector, and he was dismissed (January, 1525).* It is remarkable that some sons of the Church had already attempted the removal of Zuinglius by a similar contrivance (April, 1522). Poison and a dagger were prepared for his destruction too; but the secret was disclosed in time, and his life providentially preserved.†

It pleased God to remove Frederic *the Wise* from the scene of approaching warfare (May 5th, 1525). He had cautiously, but firmly and most sincerely, supported Luther, and nurtured the infant Reformation, giving constant evidence of sincere piety, and willingness to encounter any inconvenience rather than desert the cause of Christ. His memory will always be honoured by those who can appreciate the protection he, when almost single among the Princes of Germany, afforded to the people of Saxony, and, by consequence, to the greatest part of Upper Germany, against the malignity of the Court of Rome, and the weak servility of Charles V., who would have allowed any number of his subjects to be offered up as victims to the Tibrine demi-god, if such a sacrifice could have promoted his political schemes. All Saxony mourned their loss; but his successor, with greater boldness, not greater sincerity, gave the entire weight of civil authority in that electorate to the same holy cause. Luther had foreseen, immediately after the Diet of Worms, that Germany would adopt his controversy with Rome, and that the united tyranny of Priests and Princes would provoke the rude peasantry to a sanguinary revolt; that civil and religious liberty would be confounded in the quarrel; that Germany would "swim with blood." He prayed that the Elector, a second Josiah, might be first taken to the Lord in peace. Frederic is now taken, and the strife begins. For ages the condition of the peasantry had been growing worse and worse.‡ Swabia had been troubled, more than any other state, with insurrections, or threatenings of insurrection, which the nobles and cities had unitedly suppressed. Carlstadt, separated from Luther, and no longer a Christian Reformer, but a mad

* Seckendorf., tom ii., p. 35.

† D'Aubigné, History of the Reformation, book viii., chap. 12.

‡ Seckendorff demonstrates that discontent and insurrection were long before Luther, and fully describes the causes and events of this peasant war.—Hist. Luth., tom. ii., pp. 1—14.

Frederick of Saxony.

revolutionist, went about preaching insurrection. The rustic population of Southern Germany rose together at his call. Munzer and the Anabaptists soon added to the confusion, and threw into the insurgent masses a deeper tinge of fanaticism. The boors could not successfully contend against armies. They were mown down by thousands. Luther, instead of countenancing the revolt, denounced the guilt and madness of its leaders, with characteristic vehemence of language, but with an energy of wisdom that proved him to be anything but a headlong innovator. The deluded peasants had mixed up a jargon of religion with complaints, reasonable enough in themselves, and for which no constitutional remedy was provided, and had also appealed to Luther for his support. That support was refused in such terms that they regarded him as their enemy, although he was in reality striving to convince the Princes that there were many and great grievances to be redressed. The fact that the Reformation had unsettled the whole state of things in Germany, also gave colour, in the sight of many, to a notion that revolt was an inevitable consequence of this new doctrine, and that the Bible was a hand-book of sedition. "Thousands of the peasantry had fallen," says Menzel, "and all opposition now ceased. The city of Wurtzburg threw open her gates to the triumphant Truchsess,* who held a fearful court of judgment, in which the prisoners were beheaded by his jester, Hans: nineteen citizens and thirty-six ringleaders were among the number. The peasants knelt in a row before the Truchsess, whilst Hans the jester, with the sword of execution in his hand, marched up and down behind them. The Truchsess demanded 'which of them had been implicated in the revolt?' None acknowledged the crime. 'Which of them had read the Bible?' Some said Yes, some No; and each of those who replied in the affirmative, was instantly deprived of his head by Hans, amidst the loud laughter of the squires. The same fate befell those who knew how to read or write. Similar horrors were enacted throughout the country, and followed by a systematic persecution on the part of the Bishop. The spiritual Princes surpassed their brethren in atrocity."†

While this calamity befell Germany, Switzerland, also, was thrown into confusion. The sword of Peter, to borrow a preposterous figure of Rome, was unsheathed; but it was to fight against Peter's Lord.‡

At Constance, memorable for its Council, and for the Bohemian witnesses whom that Council put to death, the reformed doctrine was preached by John Wanner, from the pulpit of the cathedral, while in Zurich, Lucerne, Einsidlen, and many other places, the bread of life began to be distributed to the famishing multitudes. Zuinglius and his Swiss disciples, being agreed in one political principle as Republicans, thought it right to bring religious questions before the people, to be judged of and settled by them. The Bishop of Constance, as

* *Butler*. Title of the officer of state appointed to the command of the imperial forces.

† History of Germany, chap. cxciv.

‡ The English reader will find ample details in Sleidan's History of the Reformation, translated by Bohun, book iv.; and D'Aubigné, Reformation, book viii., chap. 14, and book xi. throughout.

member of a hierarchy that depends on an ecclesiastical Monarch, whose decisions are absolute, and to whom, as he fancies, no man has a right to say, "What doest thou?" * while he thought it right to oppose their innovation, had to contend with politics and patriotism, as well as with religion. His first appeals were to the Clergy. To the Dean and Chapter of Zurich, chief seat of the Reformation in Switzerland, he wrote a hortatory letter, (May 24th, 1522,) charging the preachers, whom he did not name, with inculcating a doctrine that led to tumults, apostasy, schism, disorder, and neglect of discipline; adding that the Pope and the Emperor had condemned the new dogmas, and denounced them as contrary to church order and evangelical law and unity. Therefore he exhorted the Clergy, by every consideration of piety, authority, and charity, to lay aside those novelties, and not preach, teach, or dispute concerning them, either in public or in private, nor make any alteration in their faith, until those to whom it belonged to pronounce a sentence, should have declared their pleasure.† Zuinglius, to whom the letter chiefly referred, was a member of the Chapter, and, about three months afterwards, the Bishop received a book from his pen, containing a compendium of the obnoxious doctrine, and an appeal to the Clergy on its behalf.

From the Clergy, who were divided, the Bishop turned to the federal Diet, where the friends of Zuinglius were in the minority. To show their willingness to uphold Romanism, they proceeded to silence Weiss, a preacher at Feilispach, near Baden, in pursuance of an intolerant decree of their own, previously issued. On the other hand, a company of reformed Priests and learned men met at Einsidlen, in the monastery where Zuinglius had resided before called to Zurich, and drew up an address to the cantons, entreating them to cast off human authority, and take the Bible only to be their standard of belief. This aroused Switzerland. The Magistrates of Friburg impri-

* Let not the charitable reader imagine this to be a stroke of irony, but receive, from the pen of a Roman Lawyer, a compendium of the doctrine of Papal supremacy and perfection that has legal force in that court. Petrus Ridolphinus, Jurisconsult and Apostolic Protonotary, in his often-edited and ponderous law-book, "Latest Practice of the Roman Court in Judicial Proceedings," gives the following account of Pontifical authority, among the axiomatic sentences preliminary to the code itself. Each *hyphen*, be it noted, indicates a long series of canonistical citations, that would be unintelligible to almost every reader, if copied here. Signore Ridolfino speaks thus: "Therefore the supreme Roman Pontiff, who is also called *Pope*, that is to say, Shepherd of Shepherds, or Father of Fathers,—and is styled universal Prince of Pastors by the Emperor Constantine, of holy memory, in his divine mandate (*jussio*) to the Synod,—is Ordinary of Ordinaries,—and successor of Peter,—and is called by the admirative title of Pope, which is as much as to say Admirable,—because he is Vicar and Vicegerent of God on earth.—*He is God on earth*, as says ——, *who judges all men, and is judged by none* —whose judgment God reserves, without question, to his own sanction, (*arbitrium,*)—*whose most ample power no mortal can restrain,—in whom no defect of power is admitted,—because he can do all things,—and of whose power it is a crime and sacrilege to doubt*,—often exercises by himself (alone) this power and jurisdiction delivered unto him by God.—Nor does the Supreme Pontiff only exercise jurisdiction by himself, but also by others, and concedes the same, as well to divers Judges in the city (*in urbe*), as to Legates throughout the world (*in orbe*), either there already, by virtue of office, or ordinary, or special (*sive missis, sive de latere*),—and also to Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and all Prelates of the whole world,—and to the Legates and Governors of the States of the Church,—and, in short, to the Judges of the Court of Rome, conferning whom see ——." Here are arrogated a divine omnipotence and omnipresence.

† Gerdesii Hist. Evang. Renovat., tom. i., p. 272.

soned, deposed, and banished Hollard, a Canon of their Church, for holding correspondence with the innovators. Oswald Myconius, Master of the public school of Lucerne, was banished from that city, together with two Canons, Xylotect and Kilchneyer, one of whom was married, if not both. The Diet assembled at Baden renewed its persecuting acts, ordered the authorities of the towns to have apprehended and brought before them all who should speak against "the faith," and sent Weiss, whom they had already silenced, to the Bishop's prison. The Zurich Magistrates, in their alarm, banished two persons from their canton, who had endangered peace, as they thought, by excessive zeal against image-worship. These were Grebel and Hottinger. The former, driven to a worse extreme, joined the Anabaptists. The latter was soon afterwards seized, taken before the Council of Lucerne, and sentenced to be beheaded. His crime was undermining the pedestal of a huge crucifix, until the idol fell. On hearing the sentence, he calmly gave thanks to Jesus Christ, and, when this excited ridicule, prayed God to forgive his Judges. A Monk presented a crucifix, that he might kiss it; but he pushed it away, saying, "It is in the heart that we ought to receive Jesus Christ." Passing through the crowd, he observed many weeping. "I am going to eternal happiness," said he, aloud; and, having mounted the scaffold, he was heard to say again, "I commit my soul into thy hands, O my Redeemer!" The Council of Zurich had been called on by Zuinglius to decide what the citizens should receive as true doctrine, and at once gave evidence of their incompetence, by expelling a devoted Christian, who, being an unprotected outcast, was made the first martyr of the Reformation in those cantons (A.D. 1524). While the faithful at Zurich were filled with horror on hearing of the execution of their banished brother, a messenger from the Diet came into the city, with a demand that they should all abjure their faith. The Council was provoked, and, by way of answer to that demand, they decreed a burial of the relics, and a demolition of the images. For overturning but one image, the persecutors had slain a man; now, the city of Zurich sends its architect, at the head of a numerous company of blacksmiths, locksmiths, carpenters, and masons, to enter every church, destroy every image, and whitewash the walls, preparatory to an entire change in the manner of public worship. The wooden gods were decorously committed to the flames, and several neighbouring towns forthwith followed the example of Zurich.*

There can be no more half measures. While this revolution is going on at Zurich, a Papal Brief reaches the Diet of Switzerland, exhorting them to employ force for the suppression of reform. No time is to be lost; for Nuns are quitting their convents, Priests are marrying, images are falling, and every day new deserters are added to the hosts that threaten to destroy Babylon. The Diet hastens to obey the Pope, and, henceforth, many people suppose that persecution will be the high road to offices and honours. A country Magistrate at Frauenfeld, on the Rhine, is among the aspirants. He has

* Gerdes, Hist. Evang. Renovat., tom. i., pp. 301—303.

often listened to the preaching of Œxlin, a parish Priest at Berg, near Stein, with apparent satisfaction, and therefore can testify that his doctrine is evangelical. Hoping to be rewarded for such diligence, he sends soldiers to the Priest's house, past midnight, just when the capture may be made with less fear of rescue or resistance. The good man is dragged out of bed, and hurried away towards the river Thur, where a boat is ready to convey him to the other side. The cries of the captive awaken the inhabitants, who spring from their beds, and run towards the ferry. But they are too late. The soldiers have taken him off, and there is no means of crossing the river to overtake the captive. The men of two other places, Stein and Stammheim, are on the road, aroused by the cries of the Priest in passing, or by those of the pursuers, and then by an alarm-gun that was fired. The whole neighbourhood is up, and a crowd of armed men gathers rapidly on the river-bank. A Magistrate named Wirth, of Stammheim, with two sons, both Priests, but all friendly to the cause of reformation, is there. He proposes to send a message of remonstrance to the aggressor at Frauenfeld; but the people who have been thus roused out of their beds, are not disposed to go home content with making a mere verbal remonstrance. A monastery of begging Franciscans stands near at hand. To it they go, break in, crowd the refectory, eat and drink, and, hot with indignation, but soon hotter with wine, destroy the furniture, ransack the library, drive out the Monks, and burn the building.

This outrage was certainly provoked, but could not be justified. The authorities of Zurich interfered to recall those of their own canton who were found among the rioters; but order could not be restored. The Diet met at Zug, and, representing the entire confederation of Switzerland, resolved to punish the Wirths, and Rutiman, another Magistrate, who had been drawn to the scene of mischief by the alarm, and were therefore to be regarded as accomplices. The Deputies from Zurich expostulated, but in vain. It was determined that Zurich should give up those four Zuinglians, or be compelled to do so by force of arms. After some negotiation the Council of that canton consented to give them up, on condition that they should not be tried for heresy, but examined as to the part they were alleged to have taken in burning down the convent; believing that, by fair evidence, their innocence would be fully proved. Wirth had been urged to flight, but would not consent to save himself by what seemed a dishonourable confession of guilt that could be so easily disproved, and, with his two sons and his neighbour Rutiman, was taken to the prison of Zurich, and examined, but nothing could be found against any of them. Then, under the limitation that seemed to shield them against the notorious injustice of an inquisitorial tribunal, they were transferred to Baden (August, 1524). It could not be proved that they had any participation in the riot, but it was easily established that they were Zuinglians. Wirth had destroyed an image of "St. Anne, grandmother of Christ." His son Adrian, although a Priest, was, like several others by that time, married. John had administered the eucharist to a sick person without

Popish ceremonies. To extort confessions, they were all three put to the torture. The father was racked from morning till noon. Then Adrian, and then John. They could not suppress tears and shrieks of agony, but gave no forced confession. They called on God for pity; and their prayer provoked the derision of the tormentors, and aggravation of their sufferings.

They were then re-conducted to the prison of Baden. Wirth's wife, mother of the two young Priests, attended by an Advocate, was in Baden at the time, carrying her youngest child in her arms. She implored the Judges to show mercy: she appealed to men in office who had long known her husband's integrity, and reciprocated his friendship. But all were inexorable; for he had destroyed St. Anne! After an absence of four weeks, the Deputies of the Popish cantons returned to Baden, and pronounced sentence of death on Wirth the elder, his son John, whose piety and zeal were most conspicuous, and Rutiman. Young Adrian was released. Adrian wept when the decision was told them. His father exhorted him not to avenge their death; his brother, patiently to sustain the cross of Christ. They received the sentence in court, and were immediately marched back to prison. John walked first: the two old men followed. As they approached the castle, a Priest required them to kneel down before a chapel dedicated to St. Joseph. John turned, and cried out, "Father, be firm. You know that there is but one Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus." "I will, my son," answered the father, "I will, by the help and grace of God, remain faithful to the end." They instantly joined in reciting the Lord's Prayer, and so passed the bridge into the castle. Soon were they taken to the scaffold, and there John became sublime in faith. "My dearly beloved father," said he, "henceforth you are no longer my father, and I am no longer your son. We are brethren in Christ our Lord, for whose name I am to suffer death. To-day, dearly beloved brother, if it pleases God, we shall go to Him who is the Father of us all. Fear nothing." "Amen," responded the aged martyr, "may God Almighty bless you, my beloved son, and my brother in Christ!" Rutiman prayed in silence. The spectators, too, were silent, except when sobs became audible. The men of God knelt down, and their heads were severed. People crowded in to examine the bodies, and, when they saw them, lacerated with torture, wept aloud. The widow, the mother, was next called on for a fee accustomed, and she paid down twelve gold florins to the executioner (September 28th, 1524).*

An irreparable breach with Rome is the consequence of this perfidy. Innocent of civil offence, three members of the canton of Zurich have been beheaded for heresy, notwithstanding the condition under which they were surrendered to the Diet. Every motive to utter separation from the Pope is now strengthened, and all classes of persons enter into the study of disputed points. At a session of the Council of Two Hundred, (April 11th, 1525,) Zuinglius, Leo Judæ, and Engelhardt, with two laymen, Megander and Myconius,

* D'Aubigné, book xi., chap. 5.

demand that the mass, with the adoration of bread and wine, and all such ceremonies, shall be abolished. The majority determine that it shall be so, and, after an animated and keen discussion, they issue the following decree:—"God being willing, ye shall henceforth use the eucharist according to the institution of Christ, and the rite of the Apostles. For the weak, and those who are as yet untaught in the faith, it shall be lawful, for this time only, to follow the old method. Thus let the mass be utterly abolished, antiquated, and laid aside, that it be not repeated, not even for another day." *For that time only*, that is, for Holy Thursday, a few weaker ones might have had mass; but the majority of Priests and people rejoiced in the abolition, and the churches were filled with multitudes, who, with devotion never before known, saw the bread handed round in wooden platters, and the wine given to every communicant. One member of the Council had zealously, and with great apparent sincerity and acuteness, resisted the change. Zuinglius, although he had satisfied the Council, and was himself confirmed in the persuasion that the doctrine of transubstantiation was utterly ridiculous, felt that he had not given the sophisms of Joachim Grut the triumphant refutation that his own cause demanded. Full of the controversy, he lay wakeful that night, until towards morning, when, in a remarkable dream, an additional evidence was suggested. He dreamt that, disputing with Grut, he was exceedingly embarrassed; but some one appeared, "whether black or white he knew not,"* to be sitting with them, and, when he was unable to utter a word, to say, "Why do you not answer him from the Book of Exodus, 'It is the Lord's passover?'" He awoke instantly, leapt out of bed, referred to the Septuagint version, and found the words, Πάσχα ἐστὶ Κυρίῳ. Next day Zuinglius went to the Council, renewed the argument, and, insisting on the word ἐστὶ, "is," as equivalent with the same word in the sentence, "This is my body," reasoned with so much force, that no further opposition could be made. Berne and Basil followed the example of Zurich; and thus was the Reformation soon accomplished in several of the Swiss cantons.† But this territorial reformation, consummated in a day by civil authority, was very different from the work that God had wrought of old by Apostles and apostolic men. The dominant Clergy had for many ages made Magistrates the executioners of their vengeance, and the guardians of their power. Luther, although protected by Princes, often returned them but cool acknowledgments, and repeatedly exhorted them to refrain from meddling with the work of God, much less to fight for it. Zuinglius, on the contrary, appealed to the civil power for the ratification of his proposals. "The King," some had said, "the Lord's anointed, is bounden to defend the faith, and extirpate heresy." "The people," said Zuinglius, "are the source of power, they are sovereign, and to them we must appeal."

* A proverbial expression, ignorantly misinterpreted by his enemies, as if by *black* he meant diabolical. "*Albus an ater sis nescio.* Solet dici de homine vehementer ignoto." Thus Erasmus explains the adage, and cites Cicero, Quintilian, Catullus, Apuleius, St. Jerome, and Horace, in proof.—Erasmi Opera, tom. ii., p. 227, edit. Froben.

† Gerdes, Hist. Evang. Renovat., tom. i., p. 318, *et seq.*

He would not venture, however, to the street. Still he went to the Council of Two Hundred, a democratic body, and thereby rendered homage to democracy, as the Legate at Worms had rendered homage to monarchy, by inducing Charles V. to issue his famous edict. Others, however, as well as Zuinglius, appealed to the people. Grebel, whom the "Two Hundred" had unwisely banished, found harbour in Basil, and there led Anabaptism. Mantz, another fanatic, did the same at Zurich. Then came an ex-Friar, bearing the familiar name of Blue-coat (*Blaurock*), and with these a host of people gathered from the lowest, and set about carrying fully out the democratic principle that Zuinglius acknowledged, yet practically restricted by asking, not the people, but these two hundred representatives, to authorize a religious revolution. They would appropriate baptism to themselves, as a convenient sign of proselytism; and, giving the name of that sacrament to a miserable ceremony of their own, plunged their half-political and half-religious followers into the nearest streams, and, when sufficiently numerous, the deluded rout revolted against all existing authority, calling themselves a divinely-sanctioned church and state, possessing the attributes of both, and therefore superior to every law but their own. One of the Anabaptist leaders killed his brother, and was himself justly beheaded. Bluecoat was banished, and afterwards killed by the Papists, as a matter of course. Mantz was drowned by a judicial sentence. The Swiss Reformation became turbulent. It was made the subject of dispute between state and state. The Reformers themselves were soon among the first victims of that folly which presumes to fight for Him whose kingdom is not of this world; but their history is full of instruction, teaching that when republicanism—and royalism, in such a case, is quite as bad—controls discipline, or influences doctrine, ruinous work must follow.

Although the Reformation began many ages before Luther, and therefore is not to be attributed to him; and although he could not even be regarded as the leader of that great movement, except in Germany; he was undeniably the most eminent and influential of all the Reformers. In the present chapter, therefore, we return to him after every excursion into Switzerland or the north, and take his affairs to determine the chronological order of this part of our history. No longer a Monk, monastic vows ceased to bind him. He had renounced the whole system, put off the garb, and, not even acknowledging his Popish ordination to the priesthood, retained only the academic title and office of Doctor of Divinity. He was excommunicated by the Pope, and would, no doubt, have been ceremonially degraded from the priesthood, and immediately burnt, had not a good Providence placed him beyond the grasp of persecution. He had no clerical appointment in the Church of Rome. He was a Minister of God, but without any other human ordination than the commission received from the University of Wittemberg to teach theology. To the Augustine superiors, and to the Romish hierarchy, he no longer owed obedience; and as for the vow of celibacy, he had long cast it off as unlawful. He therefore married, as we have already seen, (June, 1525,) agreeably to the spirit, if not also fulfilling the letter, of the word of God.

At that time the peasant war was raging. This has been briefly noticed on a preceding page. No doubt, many good men were accused of participation in that vast insurrection who had taken no part in it; and many were ill treated and even killed by the boors themselves. A few instances of such suffering are on record;* and if the servants of God had not been signally protected, the reformed Ministers must have perished in the strife. Even amidst the confusion of civil war, the cause of Christ advanced. His enemies had little power, but that little they employed. The Bohemian Brethren began to hold friendly correspondence with Luther; and some of the more enlightened Calixtines desired ordination at Wittemberg. Such a union was never effected; and a Hussite Priest, Paul Speratus, who, with others, presented articles of reformation to the states of Bohemia and Moravia, at Prague, was afterwards burnt at Olmutz, by command of the Bishop. This notwithstanding, the court of Rome feared the spread of Lutheranism into Bohemia, and took measures accordingly. Gallus Zahera, Curate of the Tein church in Prague, and administrator of the Calixtine Consistory, had visited Luther some years before, brought some of his writings to Prague, and obtained the reputation of being a liberal man. But, however liberal, he did not live under the power of the truth. The King favoured Popery; and therefore Zahera and some other Priests found it expedient to do the same. Clement VII., rejoiced at this partial declension of the old Hussite zeal in Bohemia, sent thither an Italian courtier in the quality of Legate, who, on his arrival at Prague, wrote to the Consistory, to Zahera, and to other influential persons, gently expressing a desire for the reunion of the two Churches. To promote the Popish reaction, a man of similar views was by this time raised to the chief magistracy at Prague, and the Calixtine Clergy were generally awed into obedience. Zahera, in the name of the Consistory, replied to the Legate, professing a cordial desire to be "constantly found in unity of faith, and obedience to the Apostolic Chair," and entreating his reverend paternity to promote the restoration without delay. New articles, resembling the *compactates*, or terms of agreement that had been accepted by both parties some years before, but found impracticable, were admitted by the servile Consistory, and whoever refused to subscribe them was driven from the city. Six Clergymen were banished, together with sixty-five principal citizens.

Banishment did not satisfy the united Papists and Calixtines. A false report was made, that the evangelical Hussites had conspired against the leaders of the movement, and three persons were put to the rack; but there was no conspiracy, nor could the torture force them to confession. The masters of Prague were induced to enter into an agreement, that no Picards, as their pious brethren were called, nor any Lutherans, should be employed in workshops, nor allowed the rights of citizenship. Dishonest debtors accused their creditors of Picardism, and, without examination, had them banished. A cutler, in whose possession was found a book containing evangelical doctrine, was scourged in the market-place, and then banished.

* By Œcolampadius, and given by Foxe, Acts and Monuments, book vii.

Another was punished in the same manner, and also branded in the forehead. A Diet * was held soon after the meeting of the Consistory; and there, by the influence of Zahera and his party, it was determined, that those who communicated in one kind or in both, should be considered as one body, and that the late edict against the Picards should be enforced. The churches wherein this decision was not received were closed, and divine service prohibited. One venerable man who, for many years, had preached repentance in the streets and market-places of Prague, known as "the hermit Matthias," and followed by multitudes, was summoned to a conference with Zahera, whom he told that men were not to be brought to the faith of Christ by imprisonment, scourging, or torture, but by the holy Scriptures. Zahera handed him over, as incorrigible, to the Sheriff, who imprisoned him for a considerable time, and then banished him.

Death, as usual, followed, when lesser penalties availed not to suppress the Gospel. Nicholas Wrzetenarz, an aged and learned man, was accused of Picardism, and brought before the Senate. Zahera questioned him respecting "the sacrament of the altar." "I believe," he affirmed, "that which the Evangelists and St. Paul teach me to believe." "But do you believe that Christ is really present in his flesh and blood?" "I believe that when a faithful Minister of the divine word announces to a believing congregation the benefits gained through the death of Christ, then the bread and wine become the supper of the Lord, in which the people partake of the body and blood of Christ, and the blessings wrought out by his death." A few more such answers established his right to the reproach of Christ, and the Senate condemned him to the flames. An old widow, his housekeeper, confessed the same faith, was included in the same sentence, and led away, with him, to the place of burning. The emblems of cup and sword might be a sufficient badge for mere Calixtines, but these martyrs went to the stake for nothing less than Christ. They refused to pray towards the east before a crucifix, because the law forbids such kind of worship, and said, in the hearing of the bystanders: "We will only worship the living God, the Lord of heaven and earth, who is alike in the south, west, north, and east." Kneeling with their backs towards the crucifix, they raised their eyes, and lifted up their hands towards heaven, and, like Stephen, invocated the Lord Jesus. Nicholas then took leave of his children, and cheerfully ascended the pile, pronouncing the articles of the Apostles' Creed. Looking steadfastly upwards, he cried aloud, "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, born of a pure virgin, who hast vouchsafed to die upon the cross even for me, a vile sinner, thee alone I adore, to thee I commend my soul. Have mercy upon me, and pardon my sins." After this prayer he recited the Psalm, "In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust: let me never be put to confusion." The executioner brought Clara, his old servant, tied them both down to a stake, laid on them the books found in their house, and set fire to the pile.

The subject of the next recorded execution exhibits heroism, at

* Seckendorf., Hist. Lutheran., tom. iii., p. 35.

least, if not piety. A woman, named Martha Porzicz, underwent examination as to her faith, both before the University and the magistracy of Prague. Her confession of faith was bold; and she fearlessly charged the flatterers of the Pope with folly. Zahera, first flatterer, stung by the reproaches of the woman, and probably retorting some expression of hers, bade her prepare herself for a robe of fire. "My cloak and my veil," said she, "are ready: let me be led thither as soon as you please." The crier published her alleged offence,—reviling the sacraments. Her voice rose higher: "No; I am condemned because I will not confess, as the Priests wish, that Christ is present in the sacraments, in his bones, hair, sinews, and nerves." She harangued the people with some vehemence on the wickedness of Priests, turned her back on the crucifix, looking towards heaven, and exclaimed, "Thither, where our God is, must I look," and then mounted the faggots and died with fortitude. With equal fortitude, and with superior piety, two German mechanics, accused of Lutheranism, and condemned to be burnt, meekly submitted to the sentence. "During the last procession they conversed out of the Scriptures with such devout feeling, that some were affected to tears. Being bound to the stake, they exceedingly encouraged each other. 'Since Jesus,' said one, 'has suffered so much for us, we will endure this death; yea, and even rejoice, that grace has been given us to suffer for the law of God.' 'On my wedding-day,' replied the other, 'I did not feel so happy as I do now.' When fire was put to the pile, they prayed with a loud voice: 'Lord Jesus Christ, in thine agony thou didst pray for thine enemies. Thus we pray: forgive the King, the people of Prague, and the Clergy; for they know not what they do. Their hands are full of blood.' Then, turning to the people, they said, 'O dear friends, pray for your King, that God may grant him the knowledge of the truth; for the Bishops and Clergy mislead him.' At the conclusion of this exhortation they peacefully expired."

We presume not to attribute to the judgment of God everything, humiliating or painful, that befalls a persecutor; and therefore many such circumstances are omitted in the composition of these pages. Yet it is impossible to shut one's eyes against an accumulation of extraordinary facts, that every believer in divine providence must think to be retributive. Such facts constrained Lactantius, in his day, to affirm, that "they were fallen who had fought against God; they who had overthrown his holy temple were crushed with greater ruin; they who had treated righteous men with scorn, gave up their noxious lives under heavenly plagues, and deserved torments." * And of Zahera, more guilty than Nero, it may be affirmed, in the language of the Christian Cicero: *Nec tamen abiit impune*, "He did not escape unpunished." Under pretence of conducting an inquisitorial persecution of Picards, he had been exciting political disturbances, and when detected, was banished by a royal mandate (August 9th, 1529). He sought refuge in Misnia, but, as an infamous disturber of public peace, was banished thence again, and died miserably in Franconia.

* "De Mortibus Persecutorum."

His chief assistant in shedding innocent blood, the very Burgomaster Passek, who had been placed over the magistracy of Prague for the sake of crushing all opposition of the laity to Rome, was sent into perpetual exile, and spurned from the feet of the King, whom, as well as his predecessor, he had obeyed in despite of humanity and conscience. A servile underling, one Duchoslaw, who had pandered to Zahera, raging perpetually against the Brethren, and saying, that he earnestly desired to hang, behead, or burn all the Picards with his own hands, became involved in debt, and hanged himself in his own house. His relatives removed the body secretly, and buried it in a remote part of the country. The peasants of a neighbouring village found the grave, and dug up the carcass, which was then judicially delivered to the executioner, and burnt. For a season, the people of God had peace; and the Reformation of Europe came to unite with and strengthen the work of Huss, and the yet superior work of the Bohemian Brethren. The King, Ferdinand I., who banished Zahera and Passek, recalled some of those who had been exiled for the sake of Christ; not, indeed, under the influence of right principle, but to try an experiment of milder policy, which did not last.* Partaking in the general idea that the Reformation was dangerous to governments, he had issued a most severe edict (August 20th, 1527) from Buda, against Lutherans and Lutheran books, but including also every shade of nonconformity. It was framed after the edict of Worms, and contained citations of the worst laws that persecutors had ever made; † and, finding no other means of suppressing the Gospel, he tried severity again.

Religious innovation, rather than evangelical doctrine, ran high at this time in Poland. The affair was treated politically. Innovators were put down in Dantzic, first by craft, and then by armed force. The King, philosophically liberal, and willing to encourage attacks on Romanism elsewhere, would not allow a schism in his own dominions; and his fear that schism would be followed by revolution, may not have been unfounded.‡

The court of Rome, unable to fight its own battles fairly, besought every friendly or subservient power to use the sword in its defence. Clement exhorted Charles V. to unite with the Kings of England and France for the destruction of the new heresy; but the Emperor, after entering into a treaty with him, of which one article was an engagement to take up arms "against all disturbers of the Catholic religion, and wrong-doers towards the Pontiff," § (A.D. 1526,) turned these very arms against the Pontiff himself. Clement had acted with unpardonable duplicity, by entering into a secret treaty at the same time with Francis; and, to his terror, the Germans entered and sacked Rome, and made him prisoner (A.D. 1527). During fourteen days the soldiery pillaged the city, spoiled the churches of their precious ornaments and treasures, dressed themselves in priestly vestments, in derision

* The Reformation and Anti-Reformation in Bohemia, chap. ii.
† Seckendorf., Hist. Lutheran., tom. ii., p. 83.
‡ Krasinski, Reformation in Poland, part ii., chap. i.
§ Pallavicini, Hist. Conc. Trident., lib. ii., cap. xiii., sect. 3.

of the Clergy; in mockery proclaimed Luther Pope, and committed every imaginable excess. Babylon was thus visited with vengeance: but "the wicked, who are God's sword," in their turn, soon suffered retribution; for the stench of unburied bodies caused a plague that carried off the greater part of them. Charles barely dissimulated his joy on finding the Pope his prisoner, and bade prayers be offered in the churches for his liberation, yet kept him captive in the Castle of St. Angelo for seven months. It seemed that he might have made Rome the imperial city, dispersed the court, annihilated the Papal government, and reformed the Church. But the world cannot reform the Church; and an imperial headship would have been as anti-Christian as the Papal. God had determined to "consume that Wicked with the spirit of his mouth, and to destroy him with the brightness of his coming," in an advent of spiritual truth and power. Cæsar was not to be the saviour of Christendom. So the Emperor, actuated by a crooked policy that neither friend nor foe could understand, surrendered the grand advantages that he might have enjoyed without a second effort, took sureties and hostages of the Pope for the fulfilment of certain conditions of liberty, promised to allow him to quit St. Angelo, and sent his commands to the eternal city. They were presented by his Envoy, Pedro Veira, a Spaniard, in a letter to the Roman people, before a solemn assemblage, consisting of the Pope and Cardinals, the Viceroy of Naples, and other personages. The contents were to the following effect.* Charles professed regret that the Pope and city had suffered hostile aggression, and so many vexations that had befallen him, the Cardinals and Prelates. The army, he affirmed, (who were not sent into Italy to fight against the Pope,) had perpetrated those enormities under the impulse of their own cupidity, lawlessly, and without his knowledge or consent; who had always desired to show the Pontiff reverence as a father, and veneration as the Vicar of Christ. His first care, therefore, on receiving the sad intelligence, had been to command that the licentiousness of the soldiery should be repressed, as far as possible, and its pristine dignity restored to the Apostolic See, both in things sacred and profane. But, as he desired nothing more ardently than peace among Christians, an expedition against the Turks, and the solace and concord of the Church, to which nothing appeared likely to be so conducive as a General Council, it should be first of all determined that the Pope and sacred college should with good faith and diligence endeavour to establish peace with Christians; and, especially, that the Church might again flourish, a Council should be convened in due and lawful manner, in a suitable place, with every legal observance, and as soon as possible, *for the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy*. Or, at least, that the Pope and Cardinals should use every effort to induce Princes to be at peace, in order that such a Council might be congregated. The Pope, with his Cardinals, formally accepted this demand, and was once more a free man, except that he lay under the necessity of convoking a Council, yet might be flattered in the hope that a Council would subdue the heretics. It is worthy of remark, that he had so little confidence in Charles, that after hav-

* Pallavicini, Hist. Conc. Trident., lib. ii., cap. xiv., sect. 13, 14.

ing ratified the compact, he would not trust himself to the imperial soldiers to be conducted from the castle; but, disguised as a merchant, slunk out at the gate, and so made his way to Civita Vecchia.*

Meanwhile, there was little extreme persecution in Germany, for the friends of reformation were too numerous and too powerful to be assailed openly. Yet its enemies failed not to catch at any pretext for vexing preachers of the Gospel. The Senate of Lubeck, an imperial city, imprisoned John of Osnabruck, for no other offence than that of preaching to the citizens at their earnest request. The Elector of Saxony wrote to the Senate in his behalf; but his interference only made them think too much of their own importance: they justified themselves by the edict of Worms; and Luther advised the Elector to say no more, lest the prisoner should fare worse. The Duke of Pomerania imprisoned another preacher whom they accused of sedition; but the accusation was disproved; and again the Elector employed his good offices, but with what success the narrator does not state. In the village of Poniz, a good man was seized by a party of soldiers under orders of the chief Magistrate, for having presumed to preach, being a layman. He was an Architect, named George Drosdorff; and in punishment of his offence in proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation, they took him to the neighbouring town of Glauchau, tied him to a post, cut off his ears, and part of his beard, and banished him from the province of Duke George.† Duke George figures high among the most zealous Papists of his day. Albert, Archbishop of Mentz, would gladly have put down the Reformation in his province; but it became too strong to be resisted. His Canons, however, ventured on a deed, (unless universal suspicion was unfounded,) that we must believe he never would have sanctioned. Assembled in chapter at Aschaffenburg, they summoned George Winkler, a Priest of eminence,‡ to answer for having administered the eucharist in both kinds at Halle, where also he had preached evangelical doctrine. For the former offence they might certainly have inflicted censure, at least; but they professed to accept his reasons, dismissed him with kind words, and gave him an escort on leaving the place. But their escort took him from the high road, and murdered him in a wood about two miles distant,§ (A.D. 1527,) without ever being called to account. Partly by force of authority, and partly by appeal to popular superstition, a similar crime was perpetrated in Cologne. Two learned men, Peter Flisted and Adolphus Clarenbach, had lain in prison during more than eighteen months, for having dissented from the Papists as to the doctrine of the mass, and some other points. The Senate put them into prison; and it remained for the Archbishop of Cologne, using a prerogative allowed him in that city, to give or take away their life. The Archbishop might think it hazardous, in such times, to kill two respectable men for the sake of religion, and therefore waited to do by craft what could not be ventured on by a bare effort

* Seckendorfii Hist. Lutheran., tom. ii., p. 79; Continuation de l'Histoire de M. L'Abbé Fleury, livre cxxxi., 1—36.

† Seckendorf., Hist. Lutheran., tom. ii., p. 51.

‡ "Bischoffswerda Misnicus."

§ Gerdes., Hist. Evang. Renovat., tom. ii., p. 190.

of authority. The sweating sickness had broken out in Germany, and, as the reader will remember, spread with fearful rapidity over the land, suddenly carrying off myriads; while a scarcity of corn and wine aggravated the calamity. The preachers who declaimed against heresy, affirmed, that pestilence, famine, and the sword, had fallen on Germany for the execution of the wrath of God, which could only be appeased by an execution of the wicked. The populace of Cologne were persuaded, that the death of those two prisoners would be acceptable to God; and as they clamoured for the sacrifice, the Archbishop seemed only to second the popular desire by having them brought forth to martyrdom. As they walked from prison to the fatal spot, they made profession, and gave the reasons of their faith in a loud voice, so that the multitude could hear; and Adolphus, especially, a man of noble bearing, head-master of a school, learned and eloquent, drew general attention. They expired peacefully, and left the people of Cologne half suspecting that the Priests had led them to cry for innocent blood* (A.D. 1529).

Just sixteen days after this martyrdom, Charles V. issued another proclamation, (October 4th, 1529,) addressed to all his faithful subjects in Brussels, commanding them to give up all books containing Lutheran novelties, under penalty of forfeiting liberty or life. But that all might know that he had no desire to take away the life or property of others, but was only moved by mercy, he offered, in special grace, the space of one week for consideration, to those who in private or public had thought or spoken heretically; by which time they were to make public abjuration, and be ceremonially reconciled to the Church within another fortnight.†

During the interval between the peasant war and the Diet of Augsburg, persecution was nowhere more severe on the Continent, than in the Netherlands. In the Hague a Monk, twenty-seven years of age, weary of dishonest celibacy, took a wife. His desertion from monasticism was to avoid licentiousness, not restraint, and he avowed and preached scriptural doctrine. They threw him into prison, and there employed the usual arts to induce him to recant, but without success. The President at his trial was Joost Lovering, an ignorant and most vulgar man, invested with the twofold dignity of Inquisitor and Civil Magistrate. The latter office he degraded by language that filled the hearers with disgust and horror; but, being armed with full authority, condemned Backer to be tied to a stake, strangled, and then burnt. His aged father, a sexton, lately discharged from his place for being the father of a Lutheran, and horrified at the ribaldry of the Judge, turning to his son, bade him be strong and persevere, declaring that he was contented, like Abraham, to offer up to God his dearest child, who never had offended him. Next day, (September 15th, 1525,) he was taken to a scaffold, degraded, and dressed up ridiculously, as a signal to the multitude that

* Sleidan, History of the Reformation, book vi.

† Gerdes., Hist. Evang. Renovat., tom. iii., p. 65, gives the original edict, from an apparently authentic source. Brandt, vol. i., book 2, gives one; but the two have little resemblance to each other.

they should show the usual signs of popular derision. But he was no further insulted. Stopping before the prison where he had so constantly confessed Christ, and where several others were imprisoned on the same account, he raised his voice to its highest pitch, and thus addressed them: "Behold, my dear brethren, I have set my foot on the threshold of martyrdom. Have courage, like brave soldiers of Jesus Christ, and, stirred up by my example, defend the truths of God against all unrighteousness." The imprisoned brethren listened to the familiar voice, and, when he had finished, shouted and clapped their hands. Backer proceeded, and they were heard singing ecclesiastical hymns, such as the Te Deum, and others in honour of martyrs; nor did they cease until the sound of the returning crowd told them that he had given up the ghost. When bound to the stake, he uttered a few ejaculations: "O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy victory?—Death is swallowed up in the victory of Christ!—Lord Jesus, forgive them, they know not what they do!—O Son of God, remember me, have mercy on me!" The executioner then stopped his breath. Some of the prisoners were released after long suffering, and others were put to death;* but each execution only weakened the power of the Inquisition, and, in spite of edicts, threatenings, and violence, field-preaching and meetings for prayer increased more and more, and men of eminence secretly or openly promoted the cause of truth. One who suffered imprisonment with Backer, afterwards attained deserved eminence by his writings. This was Gnaphæus. After two months' durance, he was allowed egress from the prison, under condition of not leaving the Hague for two years. He made no effort to escape, but waited upon God in secret, and appears to have used his pen for the defence of the Gospel. At the expiration of the term, he left the town, being discharged under a promise to appear on the first summons. Ere long, some one found that he had written a letter of consolation to a poor widow, containing evangelical sentences. To atone for that misdemeanour, they summoned him. He appeared, and was shut up in a monastery for three months, to do penance on bread and beer. Not long after this incident, some one printed a work he had written, on occasion of the persecutions in the Netherlands, and the discontent of the German peasantry. The book produced a deep impression, much aided the Reformation, and provoked the Priests. It went through several editions, and one of its printers was burnt alive. Gnaphæus wisely retreated from Holland; and when the agents of the Inquisition entered his house, to take him, he could not be found. But they did find something. They found a sausage in a pot of pease in his kitchen. It was the time of Lent. Could there be a clearer proof of heresy? The servant, probably, explained that it was there for the sake of a longing woman; and the desires of such persons, even though exorbitant, were usually treated with liberal consideration. The court of justice was convened. The chief Magistrates of the Hague were thrown into perplexity, and again summoned physicians to say whether it were possible that,

* Bernhard, for example, was burnt at Mechlin.—Seckendorf., Hist. Luth., tom. ii., p. 35.

during Lent, a pregnant woman could long for animal food. Two days were spent in disquisition, the Physicians were no wiser than the Magistrates, and the doubt lay still unsolved; but as for Gnaphæus, they determined that he should be taken, alive or dead, wherever he could be met with. He could not be met with, but some officers of justice made his house their own, as long as anything to eat remained in it; and the Magistrates, that it might not be said they had effected nothing, took his mother, an ancient, feeble woman, and threw her into irons; and his only sister they imprisoned.

The woman-haters of the Hague consummated their infamy by the murder of a widow lady, Wendelmoet Klaas, or Klaasen, of Monickedam, (usually called Wendelmutha,) known and beloved for every Christian excellence. Her they caused to be imprisoned in a castle in her neighbourhood, and then brought before themselves. Their interrogations drew forth an undaunted confession. The host, she told them, was but a piece of dough. Saints could not mediate for her, but only Jesus Christ. Threatened with torture, she calmly answered, "If this power be given you from above, I am prepared to suffer." "You do not fear death," said one, "because you have not tasted it." Her Master gave her the ready answer: "That is true, neither shall I taste it; for Christ has said, 'If a man keep my sayings, he shall never see death.'" From the Magistrates she was remanded to prison; and ladies with whom she had formerly been intimate, were sent to subdue her constancy, if possible. A noble lady, who had long been one of her most valued friends, entreated her to be silent. Silence, not apostasy, would save her life, and she could still cherish the love of Christ in her heart, and at the same time enjoy life, and hidden communion with God. "Ah! my sister," said she, "you know not what you say. 'With the heart man believeth unto righteousness; *with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.*'" From the dungeon she was taken before the Senate, a yet superior court, and heard an exhortation to be converted, and retract her error. Her reply was unsurpassed in dignity: "I cleave to the Lord my God, whom I never will forsake for the hope of life, or fear of death." Pluming themselves on long-suffering, in protracting her conflict for so long a time, they gave sentence of death, with confiscation of goods, and the favour of a bag of gunpowder to put her quickly out of pain. During her last moments she was rudely assailed by a Monk, who would have laid a crucifix on her lips, that she might kiss it. Turning away from the idol, she said, "I do not know this wooden Saviour, but Him who is in heaven, at the right hand of God the Father Almighty." Would she confess? he asked. Again she refused. "I have confessed all my sins to Christ my Lord, who takes all sins away. If I have offended any of my neighbours, I humbly ask them forgiveness." With a cheerful countenance she placed herself against the stake; and, while the executioner bound her to it, bade him see that it was firmly set. Then, clasping the bag of powder to her bosom, she closed her eyes, and meekly drooped her head, as if to shun the vulgar gaze, and fall asleep. The flames arose,

and death was instantaneous * (November 20th, 1527). Edicts for the suppression of Lutheranism, and for the reformation of the Clergy, succeeded to this triumph of faith over a dastard bigotry, and again the terror of a burning was tried to save tottering priestcraft. Henry, once an Augustine Monk, lay in prison at Tournay, for having, like many other enlightened brethren, changed Monkery for marriage, and preached the Gospel. Him they would gladly have spared, could they have persuaded him to say, that the woman was his concubine. For a Monk to live in concubinage, was rather creditable than otherwise, in the estimation of many;† and for Henry to have renounced his marriage as invalid, would have been more than enough to placate their anger at his Lutheranism. But he refused life on such dishonourable terms, and was burnt alive (A.D. 1528). William Zwoll, formerly trumpeter of the King of Denmark, maintained the cause of scriptural truth, in argument with Ecclesiastics in Mechlin, who closed their controversy by sending him to the stake (A.D. 1529).

Reform in Switzerland became yet more visibly an occasion of civil war. As a Diet was held at Zurich, or at Baden, the great majority of members present were Zuinglian or Popish. The adverse parties agreed to a proposal of Eck, already known as an antagonist of Luther, that there should be a conference of theologians on disputed points; and, in pursuance of this agreement, and by the management of the Papists, the place of conference was to be Baden, where their own influence was paramount. As Eck had refused to go to Zurich, so Zuinglius, yielding to the care of his friends, refused to trust himself at Baden, where fires had been already lighted; and, instead of him, Œcolampadius and Haller appeared on the side of evangelical doctrine. The issue of the conference did not depend on the skill of the disputants. Eck moved in gorgeous pomp, and, richly robed, ascended a magnificent pulpit, where he held forth with stentorian vehemence, and undisguised arrogance, surrounded by a throng of Priests and Monks, who each morning went round the city in procession, chanting a litany, to implore victory for him over the innovators; while the two Zurichers sat on a wretched platform, with no array, save that of humility and poverty, scowled on, and often interrupted by the auditory. The members of the conference, as it was called, acted under the authority of a Diet of their own kind, and therefore issued a decree affirmatory of Popish articles on the mass, the Virgin, image-worship, purgatory, and baptism; forbidding innovation as to the sacraments and ceremonies of the Church, requiring all persons to await the decisions of a General Council, and ordaining that persons should be appointed in every canton to watch for innovators, and report them to the Magistrates, who were required to inflict the usual penalties ‡ (May, 1526).

* Brandt, Low Countries, book ii.; Gerdes., Hist., tom. iii., p. 62; Foxe, book vii.

† Speaking of Switzerland, Sleidan says, "Nonnullis in ipsorum pagis hunc esse morem, quum novum quempiam Ecclesiæ ministrum recipiunt, ut jubeant eum habere concubinam, ne pudicitiam alienam tentet." Similar facts, in justification of the statement in the text, could be easily adduced, not only from history but from observation.

‡ Favre, Continuation de l'Histoire de Fleury, cxxx., 46, "Conférence à Bade contre Zuingle," et 47; D'Aubigné, book xi. chap. 13; Sleidan, book vi.

Well might the French annalist call this "a conference *against* Zuinglius." But one week before it assembled, and just after the Papists had asked for a discussion, that, if intended to answer the name, might possibly have ended in agreement on some points, a consistory, acting under the authority of the Bishop of Constance, condemned John Huglein, a Priest of Lindau, to be burnt at Mersburg. Their language was perfect, as characterizing the spirit of the sentence: "We condemn, cast out, and trample under foot, this man that is a heretic." Cast out, condemned, and all but trodden under foot, he walked, without trembling, to the fire, singing the Te Deum as he went. Peter Spengler was drowned at Friburg, by order of this same Bishop of Constance. But a few months before, the zealous Prelate had signalized his power of invention, by hanging another Priest, and beheading a peasant,* thus teaching his flock, that sword, fire, and flood, were his chosen weapons wherewith to fight against God.

The imperial edict was executed in Bavaria, too. One George Carpenter was imprisoned in that country as a heretic, and appeared before the Council to receive their sentence. According to the articles brought against him, he had denied priestly absolution, transubstantiation, and sacramental grace; nor would he recant anything. Persons were employed, after the sentence was pronounced, to entreat him, as friends, to save his life by recantation. Conrad Scheter, Vicar of the cathedral, and a Schoolmaster, were so employed. After some conversation, Scheter began to recite the Lord's Prayer, and a singular extemporaneous responsory was conducted by them before the Council.

Scheter.—"Our Father which art in heaven."

Carpenter.—"Truly thou art our Father, and no other: this day I hope to be with thee."

S.—"Hallowed be thy name."

C.—"O my God! how little is thy name hallowed in this world!"

S.—"Thy kingdom come."

C.—"Let thy kingdom come this day unto me, that I, also, may come unto thy kingdom."

S.—"Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven."

C.—"For this cause, O Father! am I now here, that thy will might be fulfilled, not mine."

S.—"Give us this day our daily bread." (They interpret this to be the host.)

C.—"The only living bread, Jesus Christ, shall be my food."

S.—"And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us."

C.—"With a willing mind do I forgive all men, both my friends and adversaries."

S.—"And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil."

C.—"O my Lord! without doubt thou shalt deliver me; for upon thee only have I laid all my hope."

Then the Vicar proceeded to say the Creed.

* Gerdes., Hist. Evang. Renovat., tom. ii., p. 308

S.—"I believe in God the Father Almighty."

C.—"O God! in thee alone do I trust, in thee only is all my confidence, and upon no other creature, albeit they have gone about to force me otherwise." (And thus they continued to the end.)

Then a Schoolmaster, who had already talked with him, resumed his part.

Schoolmaster.—"Dost thou believe so truly and constantly in the Lord thy God with thy heart, as thou dost cheerfully seem to confess him with thy mouth?"

Carpenter.—"It were a very hard matter for me, if I, who am ready here to suffer death, should not believe that with my heart, which I openly profess with my mouth; for I knew before that I must suffer persecution, if I would cleave unto Christ, who saith, 'Where thy heart is, there is also thy treasure;' and whatsoever thing a man doth fix in his heart, to love above God, that he maketh his idol."

Scheter.—"George, dost thou think it necessary, after thy death, that any man should pray for thee, or say mass for thee?"

Carpenter.—"So long as the soul is joined to the body, pray God for me, that he may give me grace and patience, with all humility, to suffer the pains of death with a true Christian faith; but when the soul is separate from the body, then have I no more need of your prayers."

Who does not admire the calm, collected spirit of this man, casting himself on the Redeemer, without the slightest perturbation, when in the jaws of a cruel death? Execution was summary. Out of his own mouth they had gathered abundant evidence, that his faith totally differed from their own. A hangman bound him to a ladder, where he preached to the people; and, when enwrapped in flames, gave a sign, as some brethren had asked him to do. The sign was, "Jesus, Jesus, Jesus!" Then the hangman turned his half-consumed body, and again he breathed forth the ever-blessed name, "Jesus!"* (February 8th, 1527.) With this overflowing charity towards the barbarians who condemned him, in George Carpenter, we may now contrast, also, the diabolical conduct exercised, in the same country, and within the same year, towards Leonard Keyser. There was a Priest-ridden family, in a village near Passau, consisting of a woman and her sons. The father seems to have had no part in the treachery that the Bishop incited them to perpetrate. Leonard was away in Wittemberg, and had embraced the Gospel: the mother and brothers informed against him, and were instructed by the Prelate how to decoy him to their clutches. They sent to say that his father was near death, and that if he wished to see him alive, he should hasten home. He was sitting in his study when the message came, and instantly obeyed the summons, setting out from Saxony to Bavaria, from the protection of the pious Elector to the territory of the sanguinary Duke William. Scarcely had he seated himself under his paternal roof, and interchanged the usual salutations, when that woman, with the brothers, seized on Leonard with their own hands, and delivered him to the Bishop. The

* Foxe, Acts and Monuments, book vii.

tribunal that condemned him consisted of the Bishop of Passau, the Suffragans of Passau * and Ratisbon, and Eck, who came attended by a strong military guard. Some relatives, for he was of noble family, endeavoured to get the trial deferred, in hope of gaining time. John Frederic of Saxony, and other Princes, wrote the Bishop on his behalf, while he lay in prison, but utterly in vain. The Duke of Bavaria commanded the civil Judge to burn him forthwith, in obedience to the edict of Worms. It was done. With prayer, indicating profound humility, and reliance on the Saviour, he cried, "O Jesus, I am thine, save me!" and gave up his wounded spirit.† The atrocity of his priestly and domestic murderers was emulated by the brutal executioner, who amused himself in mangling the body, that it might be consumed more quickly ‡ (August 16th, 1527).

Meanwhile, the marks of divine indignation rested on the Papacy itself, as a single paragraph from Fra Paolo (who follows Spondanus, and has the attestation of the Roman Bullarium) will sufficiently prove. "In Italy, itself, many persons favoured the new reform. For, having been two years without Pope, and without Roman court, the evils they had suffered were regarded as the execution of a sentence of divine justice against that government; and sermons were delivered against the Roman Church in private houses in many towns, and especially at Faenza, a town within the Papal domain; so that every day the number of Lutherans, who had taken the name of Evangelicals, was seen to increase" § (A.D. 1530).

How to put down those Evangelicals was the problem. The Pope, above all others, longed for their destruction. The superior Clergy dreaded and opposed the innovation. Despotic rulers saw that political change would become inevitable, as soon as ever men should be allowed freedom of conscience. The Reformation, therefore, might have been suppressed by their united hostility, but for the troubled state of Europe, preventing such a combination of forces as might suffice to raise a crusade, or rather an army, which they would think strong enough to eradicate the evil out of almost every European state. To say nothing of other disagreements, the Emperor of Germany and the King of France were at war, and bitterly hated each other. The Pope could not unite the "Catholic Princes," as they were called, to fight against their own subjects for "the Church;" and all Christendom was kept in terror by the Turks, who infested the east, and threatened the south, of Europe. At the first Diet of Spire, therefore, (A.D. 1526,) it was found expedient to yield some liberty to the reformed, who were allowed to continue their new mode of worship until a General Council should be assembled; but, after the humiliation of the Pope by the imperial army, Charles was disposed to soothe him by attacking them; and a

* The Bishop of Passau was, in reality, an Archbishop, but without the title, which had been given up to satisfy the jealousy of the Archbishops of Salzburgh, and therefore had his Suffragans.—Moreri.

† Luther, we must observe, sent him at least one consolatory letter, and was profoundly impressed with the circumstances of his martyrdom. "O Lord God," wrote he, "would that I were worthy, or might yet be made worthy, of such a confession, and of such a death!"—Seckendorf., Hist. Lutheran., pars ii., p. 85.

‡ Foxe, Acts and Monuments, book vii.

§ Hist. du Concile de Trente, traduite par le Courayer.

succession of victories had given him so much power, that he seriously thought of turning his strength against the followers of Luther and Zuinglius, in order to check any further movement that might encroach on the imperial power.

A second Diet assembled at Spire, (March, 1529,) presided over by his brother Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria. Ferdinand used his utmost influence to intimidate the dissentient States, and to divide them from the others. The assemblage was numerous, and the matter of religion first occupied attention. But one of the first acts of the Council of the empire, which sat before the Diet, was to exclude the Deputy of Strasburg from their sessions, because that city had recently set aside the mass. This alarmed the other cities, who perceived that if that precedent were submitted to, any of the free cities might be degraded in a day; but Ferdinand treated their expostulation with contempt. The Diet proceeded in the same spirit, and the majority agreed to a decree to the following effect:—That as many had abused the edict of the preceding Diet of Spire by the introduction of new and horrid doctrines, it was enacted and decreed, that those who had hitherto observed the edict of Worms should continue to do so, and enforce its observance until the meeting of a Council. Those who had changed their religion, and could not now retract without danger of sedition, should abstain from any further innovations until the meeting of the Council. In places where the new doctrine was taught, the mass should not be abolished, nor people hindered from going to it. The Anabaptists should be killed. Preachers should deliver their sermons according to the interpretation of Scripture approved by the Church, and on all controverted points be silent, until the Council should have decreed. All the States should live in peace. No State should protect refugees from another, under penalty of being put under the ban of the empire.

The Elector of Saxony, Marquis of Brandenburg, two Dukes of Luneburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Count of Anhalt, came together into the Diet, (April 19th, 1529,) and read a long protest. They considered the decree of the former Diet as still binding. They would obey the Emperor in anything, only saving conscience; but as their eternal salvation was concerned in this matter, they must be permitted to dissent. They conceived that every State had the right of managing its internal affairs, without the interference of others. Truly, there were great dissensions concerning religion; but it had been already proved, at the Diet of Nuremberg, who they were that caused those dissensions, and the Pope had himself confessed whence dissension sprang; but the grievances complained of by that Diet had never been redressed. They could not submit to acknowledge their perseverance in true doctrine to be the consequence of a fear of sedition, nor yet bind themselves to make no further innovation; but would render obedience, first of all, to the word of God. As to the Popish mass, it was well known that their Ministers had proved it to be absurd and idolatrous; and therefore, it being already abolished in their dominions, they could not allow it to be restored. They could not submit to any interference with their

internal jurisdiction, contrary to the constitution of the empire; and as to doctrine approved by the Church, it was not yet agreed which was the true Church. They would therefore abide by the infallible decisions of holy Scripture, and reject the traditions of men. They pointed out that the execution of the edict of Worms would be vexatious, unjust, and ruinous to all Germany. Finally, they refused to obey the decree; but promised to act legally in every respect, and, in due time, to give their reasons to the Emperor. They awaited a General Council, or a Provincial Council in Germany.

Several free cities* immediately added their subscriptions to this protest; and from the protesting States and cities of Germany, the professors of evangelical religion were, at least in that country, called PROTESTANTS.†

Deputies were then sent to the Emperor with a copy of the protest, a copy of the "hundred grievances," and other documents, with instructions to lay the whole case before him, and appeal. They found him in Italy, at Piacenza, and obtained an audience, (September 12th, 1529,) but under an injunction to speak briefly. Charles received them with extreme haughtiness and contempt, dismissed them without any hope of success; and they, after waiting a month, obtained his answer, severely condemnatory of the protest, *commanding* the States Protestant to obey the last decree of Spire until the assemblage of a Council, and threatening to compel them, if contumacious; but saying that, if the edict of Worms were observed,—that is, if evangelical religion were annihilated,—there would be no need for a General Council! Against this imperious reply the Deputies appealed; but Charles put them under arrest, and forbade them to send any communication to the States.‡ However, they fulfilled their duty by sending a letter secretly, which aroused the States to concert some measure of mutual defence. The Deputies were at last released from their confinement, and allowed to return, one excepted, who was compelled to go in the train of the Emperor to Bologna, where he held a long conference with Clement VII. as to the best means of making peace with France, driving the Turks out of Europe, and quelling the force of Protestantism. On the one hand, the Protestants were now united in a preparatory conference at Smalcald, to resist the execution of the edicts of Worms and Spire; and, on the other, the Emperor regarded their combination as a revolt, and determined to put it down by force of arms. Providentially, the sacramentarian controversy between Lutherans and Zuinglians retarded their union, and prevented the advocates of religious and ecclesiastical reform from placing it altogether on a political basis by one unbroken combination. They were afterwards compelled, how-

* There were fourteen cities, most of them of little political power, not being of the first order, that honourably ventured to protest: Strasburg, Nuremburg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempten, Hailbrun, Isny, Weissemburg, Nordlingen, St. Gal.

† Sleidan, History of the Reformation, book vi.; Seckendorf., Hist. Luth., tom. ii., pp. 127—131.

‡ Perhaps the conduct of the Emperor may be capable of palliation. It had been thought well to send persons of no rank, who might travel less conspicuously, and with less danger. The men were not *respectable*, and conducted themselves foolishly.

Melanchon.

ever, to resist a manifest oppression, yet, when placed in such a position, were in the utmost danger of losing religion in politics, and grieving the Spirit of God. Luther foresaw this, and dreaded and advised against the league, although it was lawful, constitutional, justified by many precedents, and to the aggrieved Electors and Princes appeared to be necessary, not only to resist religious intolerance, but also to prevent an utter subversion of the liberties of Germany.* Luther objected, too, to any union with the Zuinglians, whom he believed to be in error in their doctrine of the eucharist, which was indeed far superior to his own; and although induced by the mediation of the Landgrave of Hesse to meet Zuinglius at Marburg, the controversy could not be settled. The most important event now to be noticed, is the presentation of a Protestant Confession of Faith at Augsburg.

The Emperor convoked a Diet of the empire to be assembled at Augsburg in Bavaria, on the 8th of April, 1530, to settle the religious disputes, and to unite for the conquest of the Turks. After summoning the Diet, he received the imperial crown from the hands of Clement at Bologna, having knelt at the altar in the habit of a Deacon, and sworn to defend the Church of Rome with all his might. Influenced, however, by the wiser counsels of Gattinara, his Chancellor, or under an impulse of artful policy, he promised in the letter of indiction, and afterwards repeated the assurance when the day of meeting was deferred, that the cause of religion should be treated with charity, gentleness, and meekness, in order that whatever had been hastily done by either party might be abolished, and that, as all were fighting under one Christ, unity of the Church and of religion might be established. But his vow to the Pope, and promise to the Germans, could not by any possibility agree. At last he appeared at the gates of Augsburg, (June 15th, 1530,) and found the Elector of Saxony, first of all the German Princes, ready to receive him with accustomed honours. But there were now two established forms of worship,—that of Popery, and another of the Reformation. The Protestant Princes had their Chaplains and preachers, and cautiously abstained from countenancing the old superstition; while Charles required them, and especially the Elector of Saxony, to attend him in processions and at masses. This at last they consented to do; but withheld every gesture of assent to the worship of the image or the host. He also managed to silence their preachers, by suppressing sermons altogether. The Priests tampered with the gentleness of Melancthon, who had been employed to draw up and present a Protestant Confession of Faith, and sought every artifice that could be covered under smiles, or insinuated in threatening whispers, to decoy the Protestant Princes into a compromise, elude the public reading of the Confession, quash discussion as to religion, and carry every measure by an array of secular authority. If Melancthon had stood alone, he might have failed. Luther was at Coburg, not always in possession of the latest or most complete intelligence, and his presence at Augsburg might

* Basnage (Hist. de la Rel. des Eglises Reformées, tom. ii., chap. 17) demonstrates that the league of Smalcald was perfectly legal, the Electors and Princes being independent, although confederated, Sovereigns.

have been misinterpreted as a defiance. But John of Saxony and Philip of Hesse led the federated Protestants, and would not consent that, having come thither for deliberation on the state of religion in Germany, the force of their Confession should be eluded by its exclusion from the open Diet, to be buried in some private committee. Neither would the Princes in general agree to a proposal, that war with the Turks should be discussed first, leaving religion to follow as a secondary matter.

The Confession was drawn up with exceeding caution. Every expression that might irritate was avoided; but it contained all the essential articles of Christian faith. Occupying two hours in the reading, it is too long to be compendiated here; but although long, it commanded fixed attention, as one of the Elector's Chancellors read it in German; so that all, except the Emperor, (a Spaniard,) could understand, and the united sovereignty of Germany thus heard the faith that had been represented as a scheme of sedition and impiety; and many of them could not but acknowledge their amazement, that so pure and lovely a doctrine should have been so grossly misrepresented. A copy in Latin was handed to the Emperor, and another in German to his Secretary. The document still remains a symbolical book of the Lutheran Church. To counteract the favourable impression produced on the Diet by its reading, the Legate, who had absented himself, lest his presence should give legality to the novel act of men answering for themselves, procured an attempted refutation. This was read, more than half despised, and a copy of it refused to the Protestants. During five or six weeks that were spent in preparing the so-called refutation, the Protestants were kept in continual suspense, and subjected to a wearisome alternation of threatenings and smiles, the means advised by the Legate for overpowering their firmness. But as they stood unmoved, the Popish majority, in subservience to the Emperor and the Pope, finally agreed to the following decision, which was read to the Protestants (September 22d, 1530) in public session:—The Emperor granted them time until the 15th of April following, to declare whether they would consent to all the articles of Catholic doctrine, in common with the Princes and other members of the empire, who, after a diligent reading and examination, had unanimously rejected their Confession, and approved the refutation; and whether they would renounce the articles in which they differed, and surrender other points of novelty that had come out in recent conferences. Meanwhile, they were forbidden to commit any further innovations, or allow anything to be printed within their territories contrary to the faith of the Roman Catholic Church. Neither were they to make any converts to their sect, nor to hinder any Catholics from returning to their old worship, nor to prevent Priests and Monks from saying mass again. They were to unite with all the other Princes, with all their powers, to exterminate Anabaptists and Sacramentarians (Zuinglians) from the empire. After all this, the Diet promised that the Pope should be requested to convoke a Council within eighteen months.* The Protestants declined

* Maimbourg apud Seckendorf., Hist. Luth., pars ii., p. 199.

accepting time for further consideration, attempted, in reply, to rebut the implied charge of complicity with sectarians and rebels, and once more offered to defend their cause. They also presented to the Emperor a written apology for their Confession, which he would not so much as look at, but gave it back to the speaker, and told them he would change nothing, but, if they were not content with that, would give them something stronger still; and threatened the Elector of Saxony to withhold the imperial investiture of that State, and thus have him expelled from the dukedom as devoid of right to govern. He even commanded them to return the landed property, now occupied by them, to the Church, and restore everything to its original condition. Well might Luther exclaim, on hearing of this, "Then let them restore Leonard Keyser to his original condition!" Notwithstanding this unreasonable treatment, the Emperor required them to make full contribution towards a war with the Turks. This they declined to do, and, having presented themselves with the usual courtesies to the Emperor, withdrew from Augsburg. The Landgrave of Hesse, apprehensive of some plot, had left privately a few days before. There will be no further colloquies. The German Protestants are now driven to God, their only refuge.*

CHAPTER III.

ENGLAND *and* SCOTLAND—*Latter Part of the Reign of Henry VII.—First Acts of Henry VIII.—Suppression of Monasteries—Marriage Affair—Persecution in England and Scotland—Breach with Rome—Confiscation of Church Property—Advances of Evangelical Reformation—Death of Henry VIII.*

WHILE German states and Swiss cantons were framing new systems of discipline and forms of worship; while Electors, Landgraves, and Councils of state were casting their weight into the scale against the court of Rome and its Clergy; the United Brethren of Bohemia and Moravia, in some provinces of continental Europe, and the Lollards of England, were laying a surer foundation for the superstructure of the sixteenth century. This they did by persevering in the doctrine of holy Scripture, under the healthful discipline of persecution. In traversing the dark ages, it was convenient, according to a more usual division of time, to mark our survey by centuries. With the events related in the last chapter, we have begun to prefer the distinct phases of history itself, and have attended the progress of Reformation, from the rise of Luther to the presentation of the Protestant Confession at the Diet of Augsburg. Returning to England, we now find the witnesses of evangelical truth persevering, amidst severe persecution, at the close of the fifteenth century, in the reign of Henry VII., and making way for the great change that was to be accelerated by his successor. The last nine or ten years of Henry VII., and the entire reign of Henry VIII., will next pass under review; and this chapter will be entirely devoted to the affairs of our own country.

* Sleidan, History of the Reformation, book vii.; Seckendorf., Hist. Lutheran., tom. ii., pp. 152—208.

"Observable," says Fuller, "was the carriage of King Henry (VII.) towards the Pope, the Clergy, and the poor Lollards. Submissive, yet not servile, to the Pope; to the better sort of Clergy, respectful and liberal; to the dissolute Priests, severe; to the Lollards, more cruel than his predecessors." This is perfectly true. Abjurations had become very frequent, although the forced penitents often relapsed; and the sight of persons carrying faggots in processions, or standing with them in the congregation at St. Paul's, especially during Lent, was no longer strange. Thirteen Lollards were once marched through London in this manner; and often were such penitents compelled to bring their books and throw them into fires at Paul's Cross and other public places. The King of England, like the "Catholic" Kings of Spain, was ambitious to minister at the fiery altars of Romanism. Being at Canterbury, (May, 1498,) when "all the Clerks and Doctors then there being" were hot in controversy with a Priest, whom they could not move from his faith, Henry VII. condescended to add his royal influence to their arguments. The Priest was brought into his presence, heard his persuasions, or arguments, or threatenings, and, in honour to the sovereign advocate, was said to have revoked his confession of the Gospel. But this is not likely; for the King sent him forthwith to the flames. The name of this Priest is not known; nor is that of an old man burnt in Smithfield. A man, named Babram, was also martyred somewhere in Norfolk (A.D. 1500).* We read, incidentally, of Richard Smart, a devoted teacher and circulator of good books at Salisbury, who was burnt in that city, (A.D. 1503,) and cannot but suppose that many, in those times, gave up their life for Christ, whose names are irrecoverably lost. But such deeds of cruelty alienated the laity of England from the Clergy more and more; and contempt of image-worship and the host, with a desire to become acquainted with the word of God, was inwrought into the public mind. In country, as in town, persons met together to read, converse, and pray; and when it was known that the doctrine of the Bible had gained acceptance in any neighbourhood, the more zealous took new courage, and did not hesitate to attack the traditional idolatry, and exhort its adherents to cast it off. Sometimes their zeal would lead to aggression on the old system, sometimes to holier efforts for the spread of Gospel truth; and, as love of Christ or desire of innovation predominated in those who became exposed to persecution, impatience and cowardice, or a firm and saintly meekness, would be displayed by them when suffering.

William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln, found that a great part of his flock were disaffected to Popery, and applied himself to the expurgation of his fold. His residence was at Woburn, in Buckinghamshire; and, of all places in England, perhaps Amersham, in that county, had most freely welcomed the word of God. The sacred volume, copied by industrious hands,—for it had not yet been published from the English press,—was concealed in many houses, and read in nocturnal meetings, by numerous companies; or, when the door was shut, by individual inquirers, who sought clearer light in

* Fuller, Ecclesiastical History, book iv., cent. 15; Foxe, book vi.

prayer to God, who seeth in secret. At last, the multitude of such persons rendered secrecy impossible; and Smith proceeded according to the laws, and had one William Tylesworth convicted of heresy. The good man was led out of the town into a place called Stanley-Close, and bound to a stake. About sixty Lollards, men and women, who had also been convicted and forced to abjure, were conducted to the same spot, each carrying a faggot, and ranged around him. Among them were his daughter, Joan, and John Clerk, her husband, brought thither to witness the martyrdom of their father, and be rebuked by his superior constancy. To refine this cruelty yet higher, the young woman was compelled to take a brand, light the faggots, and stand by while her father was consumed by the fire her own hand had kindled. The suttee being ended, Joan Clerk and her husband, with twenty-four others, were made to travel over the country, and at Aylesbury, Buckingham, and other towns, and some of them even at Lincoln, be exhibited in the sordid garb of penance, with faggots on their necks, by way of warning to concealed heretics. Having performed this humiliating pilgrimage, they were brought back to Amersham, tied to posts, towels bound round their necks, their hands held, and their cheeks branded with red-hot irons,—branding * being probably introduced into England now, for the first time, as an ecclesiastical penalty,—and made to wear a piece of red cloth, like a faggot, on their sleeves. One of the number, Robert Bartlett, being proprietor of some land, was sent to the monastery of Ashridge, and kept in durance for seven years; while his persecutors enjoyed the revenue of his estate. On the same day as the "act of faith" at Amersham, or the day after, father Roberts, a miller of Missenden, was burnt at Buckingham. About twenty faggot-bearers were brought to add effect to the execution. But the unsated vengeance of the Bishop was indulged in the secret, and unhappily not unexampled, murder of one of the Amersham penitents. Thomas Chase, wearing the badge of a faggot, was brought to the Episcopal palace at Woburn, and thrust into one of the vaults or dungeons usually built under those edifices. To stand upright was impossible, and he sate on the damp ground, heavily laden with chains, manacles, and fetters, and tormented with hunger, thirst, and cold. Frequently the Bishop's Chaplains amused themselves by looking into the place, and assailing him with scoffs and taunts; but, seeing that no torture could overcome his faithfulness to Christ, they, or some other ruffians, beat him to death in the night. His body was buried out of sight: women who had heard his cries divulged the murder; but no judicial investigation anticipated the severer vengeance that Smith and his creatures might expect at the bar of God (A.D. 1506).

Two or three years after this persecution, Amersham was again visited. Thomas Barnard, a husbandman, and James Morden, a labourer, were burnt in the same fire; and two old men, Rogers and Reive, were branded, with thirty others. Reive ended his earthly career at the stake. Rogers was taken to Woburn palace, for the

* The import of this punishment was fully expressed in a vulgar adage: "Put it off and be burned; keep it on and be starved."—Fuller, 7 Henry VIII.

gratification of the Bishop; and, after being bowed in irons, in, probably, the same dungeon as Thomas Chase,—called "little ease," because no one could stand upright in it,—for fourteen weeks, his sufferings being cruelly aggravated with cold and hunger, he was discharged, but could never after walk erect.

The Bishop of Norwich, emulating the zeal of his brother of Lincoln, burnt a Lollard, named Thomas Norris, at Norwich, on the last day of March, 1507. Wherever there was even one person burnt, there were, usually, many forced to abjure; and it may therefore be taken for granted, that there would be many such in Norfolk, in the year marked as that of the *great abjuration*. There were a few in London, where the offence generally consisted in ridiculing images and pilgrimage to the shrines of saints.*

The western counties witnessed the same contest as the eastern. In Salisbury there was a little flock, of whom Lawrence Ghest was one of the most eminent, if not the chief. He was a man of some consideration in the city, of tall and comely figure, and great firmness. After Wycliffe, and in common with the spiritual descendants of Wycliffe in Bohemia, Ghest denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, and suffered imprisonment for two years on that account. The Bishop and Clergy would fain have gloried in a recantation, and avoided the peril of burning a man of his rank and influence; but, every effort to pervert him having been spent in vain, at last they bound him to the stake. The fire was not kindled, a crowd of spectators were waiting to witness a sacrifice not yet quite familiar to the people of Wiltshire; and in that interval of suspense, while every eye was turned towards the victim, his wife and seven children came upon the ground. The husband—the father—the man—struggled hard under that sudden onset. Pardon was waiting for him if he would pronounce the single sentence, "I recant." His heart-broken wife prayed him to accept release. The children would have unbound him. Brothers and kinsfolk added their entreaties. But he bade his wife be content, and not hinder him from attaining to the heavenly recompence; "for he was in a good course, running towards the mark of his salvation." Lest more converts should be made by such discourse, the wood was lighted, its heat drove out the weeping circle, and, as they were turning away with horror from the half-burnt martyr, one of the Bishop's men wantonly threw a smoking brand at his face. A brother saw the man, and, drawing his dagger, would have killed him on the spot, had not some one caught his arm, and the wretch escaped. The incident became a legend in Salisbury; and for many years the branded faces of Lollards kept up the memory of that scattered congregation. About the same time, (A.D. 1508,) the little town of Chipping-Sudbury was the scene of an extraordinary display of cruelty, and also of retribution. A Christian woman, whose name is not preserved, was brought out to the stake. The only fact recorded, in relation to her suffering, is, that the Bishop's Chancellor, one Dr. Whittington, stood by to superintend the execution. The

* Burnet's History of the Reformation of the Church of England, part i., book i.; Foxe, book vi.

remainder shall be told in the words of John Foxe. "The sacrifice being ended, the people began to return homeward, coming from the burning of this blessed martyr. It happened, in the mean time, that as the Catholic executioners were busy in slaying this silly lamb at the town's side, a certain butcher was as busy within the town, slaying a bull; which bull he had fast bound in ropes, ready to knock him on the head. But the butcher, (belike not so skilful in his art of killing beasts, as the Papists be in murdering Christians,) as he was lifting his axe to strike the bull, failed in his stroke, and smote a little too low, or else, how he smote, I know not: this is certain, that the bull, although somewhat grieved at the stroke, yet not stricken down, put his strength to the ropes, and brake loose from the butcher into the street, the very same time as the people were coming in great press from the burning; who, seeing the bull coming towards them, and supposing him to be wild, (as it was no other like,) gave way for the beast, every man shifting for himself, as well he might. Thus, the people giving back, and making a lane for the bull, he passed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor child, till he came where the Chancellor was: against whom the bull, as pricked with a sudden vehemency, ran full butt with his horns, and so killed him immediately; carrying his guts, and trailing them with his horns, all the street over, to the great admiration and wonder of all them that saw it."

Henry VIII., a youth of eighteen, succeeded to his father, with every advantage of popularity. Perhaps the usages of those barbaric times may serve to palliate his conduct in sending his father's Ministers, Dudley and Empson, to the Tower, on the morrow, if not on the very day, of their master's death. They could not have been more subservient to the pleasure of their Sovereign, than his own servants were required to be to him; but they found no sympathy in the people of England, who rejoiced at their fall, because they had diligently extracted wealth from the nation, to gratify Henry VII.; and an Englishman in 1850 must not be in haste to pass judgment on the conduct of a King in 1509. Even under this extenuation, the character of Henry VIII. will not bear examination, by even the lowest standard of morality; and we need not be anxious to justify any of his acts. He was not the father of the English Reformation;—for that title must be allowed to Wycliffe, if to any man;—but has been more justly styled the postilion of the external or political reformation, that merely consisted in casting off the Bishop of Rome.*

* No one, after studying the history of the period on which we now enter, will hesitate to approve the following passage of M. Basnage:—"The schism of Henry VIII. has scarcely any relation to the reformed religion. We abandon him as a vicious Prince, who could not do it any honour, and as a despotic King, under whom the Clergy bowed down, and whose licentiousness the Pope himself authorized. Why should the crimes of Henry VIII. be charged on us? He lived before the Reformation [formal and ecclesiastical]. It is true that he separated himself from the Pope; but he failed not to persecute those who made an open profession of the truth, and, shortly before his death, was within a very little of putting his own Queen to death for heresy. Indeed, he had already signed the order for her condemnation [or imprisonment]. The first Christians thought themselves honoured by the proposal that Tiberius had made to the Senate, to place Jesus Christ in the number of the gods; but they never were

Abjurations went on, as usual, after his accession to the throne; and the Clergy admired him not less than the Commons. Within less than a year after his coronation, Pope Julius II. expressed his favour towards him by a special act, which is recorded in a letter to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. Julius, desiring to bestow some signal apostolic gift on his dearest Son in Christ, Henry, most illustrious King of England, whom he embraced with a peculiar charity, in order to do him honour in the beginning of his reign, sent him a golden rose, anointed with sacred chrism, sprinkled with odoriferous musk, and blessed with his own hands, after the manner of the Roman Pontiffs, to be given to His Majesty at mass, with ceremonies prescribed, and an apostolic blessing.*

After an interval of about three years, persecution broke out again in the bishopric of Canterbury. A numerous congregation of praying people in Tenterden, Kent, was to be dispersed. Archbishop Warham had several small companies of them brought before him at his residence in Knoll, where they were examined, convicted of heresy, and required to abjure. The court then adjourned to Lambeth, and continued to examine, convict, exact abjuration, impose penance, and make the penitents swear that they would discover all whom they knew to hold prohibited opinions. Either from a prevalent notion that compulsory oaths and abjurations were not binding, or from terror prevailing over conscience, many submitted, and a few betrayed their brethren; but three failed to satisfy the Priests. William Carter would not deny that it was enough to pray to God alone, and therefore needless to address prayer to saints; and some who had been united with him in the meetings at Tenterden swore that he had taught them other obnoxious truths. He was pronounced an obstinate heretic, and given up to the secular power. Agnes Grevill was indicted on the same articles. She pleaded, "Not guilty;" but her husband and two sons were brought as witnesses. Her husband swore that, for twenty-eight years, she had persisted in holding forbidden opinions; and her sons deposed, that she had always endeavoured to imbue them with her sentiments. Robert Harrison also pleaded, "Not guilty;" but witnesses were found to prove the contrary; and the Archbishop, on the same day, signed the writs for certifying the sentences to the Chancery, concluding in these words: "Our holy mother, the Church, having nothing further that she can do in this matter, we leave the forementioned heretics, and every one of them, to your Royal Highness, and to your secular Council." John Brown

loaded with the shame that covered Tiberius, because of his cruelty and other crimes. France has gone yet further. France has canonized Clovis, and regards him as the founder of the Christian religion in this kingdom; and perhaps even my Lord of Meaux has often invoked him in his prayers, and taught Monsieur the Dauphin to trust in the merits of that Prince, as in those of St. Louis. Yet this father of the Christian religion disgraced his life by enormous and innumerable crimes.* * * * * But how can it be said that Henry introduced new and unheard-of dogmas when he combated the tyranny of the Pope, image-worship, and some other abuses, of which the reform had been a thousand times demanded; and seeing the Lollards and Vaudois professed in England the same religion, of which Henry VIII. began to form the establishment?"—Histoire de la Réligion des Eglises Réformées, partie IIme., chap. 9me.

* Burnet, book i., Collection of Records, ii.

and Edward Walker were dealt with in the same manner. A plea of "Not guilty" availed them not. If they thought that by any casuistry the peril of confessing Christ might be eluded, they were deceived. The circumstances of their execution are not related; but of the fact there can be no doubt * (A.D. 1511).

Disobedience to the inquisitorial discipline of the Church was as grave an offence as heresy, and to be punished with equal rigour, as is exemplified in the execution of William Sweeting and James Brewster. The former of these had served the Prior of St. Osithe's for sixteen years, and so effectually taught him scriptural truths, that he became suspected of heresy, and was compelled to abjure. The faithful servant was committed to the Lollards' Tower at St. Paul's, then abjured in the Cathedral, was made to carry a faggot at the Cross, and to do the same at Colchester, his native town, with the perpetual penance of wearing a faggot on his left sleeve. For two years he carried the badge, until the Parson of Colchester employed him in the service of the church, and, as it would be unseemly for a holy-water Clerk to carry a mark of heresy, caused him to put it off. From Colchester he removed to a place under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Winchester, where he was holy-water Clerk for another year; thence to Chelsea, where he obtained employment as neatherd, and kept the cattle for the town. One morning, as he was driving the kine to pasture, he was apprehended and taken before the Bishop, and his chamber searched for books. The charges were, that he had conversed with heretics, dissuaded his wife from going on pilgrimage, and burning candles before images, and said something contrary to the doctrine of transubstantiation. These offences were irremissible, because he had thrown aside the faggot. James Brewster, another Colchester man, was also apprehended, and convicted of having taken off his faggot, at the command of the Comptroller of the Earl of Oxford, who employed him on one of his Lordship's estates, and would not allow a servant under his direction to wear a badge of priestly tyranny. He was also charged with having been "five times" in the fields with his townsman, Sweeting, together with some few others who were named, hearing him read out of a prohibited book. He had worked at the same bench with a heretical carpenter. He possessed a little book of Scripture in English, of an old writing, almost illegible for age. He had heard one Master Bardfield, of Colchester, say, "He that will not worship Maozim † in heart and thought shall die in sight;" but, being so ignorant as not to know that the word means "mass-god," or "host," gave Master Bardfield sore offence. And he had expressed himself heretically in some private conversations. The two friends made no defence, but meekly submitted themselves to the mercy of their Judges, who gave judgment that they should be released from excommunication; but the Bishop of London sentenced them, notwithstanding, as relapsed heretics,

* Burnet, part i., book i.

† מָעֻזִּים "strongholds." The title of a Syrian idol, (Dan. xi. 38,) sagely applied to their "massing god" by some Romish triflers. Amused with a similar alliteration, they translate מִסָּה "a sufficiency," by *missa*, "the mass!"

delivered them to the secular arm; and they were burnt in Smithfield at one fire * (Oct. 18th, 1511).

So did the church of God yield her victims to Antichrist at intervals of every few years. A persecution in some part of the kingdom would disperse or burn the most devoted members of the humble brotherhood, and impose the brand or the faggot on some other more conspicuous confessors. A calm succeeded, but to be followed by a like tempest in some other quarter, ending again in fire and faggot. This state of things continued for, at least, thirty-five years after the burning of Sweeting and Brewster; but a new train of events, having no relation whatever to spiritual religion, began to open the way for Christian liberty in England. The exemption of the Clergy from criminal jurisdiction had long been found subversive of public order and morality; and in the preceding reign † an Act of Parliament prescribed, that Clerks convicted should be burnt in the hand, unless they could produce their letters of orders, or a certificate from their Ordinary, within a day. But criminous Clerks were not to be restrained by so slight a terror. The layman who should dare to read his New Testament exhibited openly a seared cheek; while the incorrigible mass-Priest only carried a scar on the palm, quite out of sight. This expedient was too feeble to avail: robberies, assaults, and murders were still perpetrated with impunity under the shield of ecclesiastical privilege. The House of Commons, therefore, enacted, that *all* murderers and robbers should be denied the benefit of their Clergy; but the Lords would not consent to so heavy a blow on the power of the Church, and limited the Act to persons in lesser orders, still exempting the Bishop, Priest, and Deacon (January 26th, 1513). ‡ The Clergy ought to have submitted to this compromise; but, seeing that the whole body of unordained Monks, all Nuns, and swarms of holy-water Clerks, and menials in the service of the churches, were thus made amenable to the same tribunal as other men, and that the charm of personal inviolability would be broken, clamoured against the Act. The Abbot of Winchelcombe denounced it in a sermon at Paul's Cross, as contrary to the law of God and the liberties of holy Church; and declared, that all who assented to it, as well spiritual as temporal persons, incurred the censures of the Church. The temporal Lords and the Commons took fire at this demonstration of monkish lawlessness, and called on the King to repress the insolence of the Clergy. The King summoned his Council, and all the Judges, to hear and to debate the question. Dr. Standish, chief of the King's spiritual Council, argued for the new law; and, on the other side, the Abbot of Winchelcombe represented the Church. Worsted in dispute, he was desired by the Council and Judges to go to St. Paul's Cross and recant his offensive sermon; but he refused, and all the Bishops sustained him in the refusal. Both parties were immovable, yet each dreaded the consequences

* Foxe, book vii.

† An. 4 et 5, Hen. VII., c. 12. No credential had been previously required from those who claimed the benefit of Clergy. If a criminal could but read, he enjoyed immunity as a Clerk.

‡ An. 4, Hen. VIII., c. 2. "Such as ben within holy orders only exempt." The lawyers did not acknowledge the lesser orders to be included in the term "holy."

of a rupture between the spiritual and temporal powers. The quarrel was suspended, not settled, and an incident soon occurred to raise the question again.*

Meanwhile a new personage appeared on the field of ecclesiastical and civil politics, but fell, unconsciously to himself, into the grasp of the Sovereign Providence that made him, almost from that time, a chief instrument in breaking off the Papal yoke from England.

Thomas Wolsey, Chaplain and Almoner to the King, son of a butcher at Ipswich, but afterwards eminent for learning in Oxford, now about forty years of age, and, by promotion from the University to the court, stimulated to insatiable ambition, already exerted great influence over Henry, a well educated, but impetuous, young man of one-and-twenty. Wolsey found him strongly addicted to the study of scholasticism and canon law, proud of his fancied attainments as a theologian, fervently attached to the Church of Rome, and anxious to shine in the eyes of Christendom as a brave, magnificent, and religious Prince,—*religious*, as the word was understood, however godless. Wolsey conceived the design of making himself so useful, acceptable, and necessary to the King and to the court of Rome, as to render both subservient to his own advancement. Occasion offered. Maximilian I. and Louis XII. were at war with each other; and as Maximilian was then leagued with the Pope, and Louis, on the other hand, was prosecuting by force of arms some dynastic claims in Italy, the latter was regarded as an enemy of the Church. Wolsey persuaded, or, if he did not persuade, assiduously encouraged, Henry to make war on Louis, and invade France, in compliance with an exhortation from Pope Julius. The King professed to undertake the war according to his duty to God and to his Church, for the defence of the Church, and for the extinction of a detestable schism, aiding such of his confederates and allies as should join him "in that God's quarrel." "Faile ye not to accomplish the premises," wrote he to Sir David Owen, with a command to bring a hundred men for the expedition, "as ye tender the honour and suretie of us, and of this our realme, and the advauncement and furtheraunce of this meritorious voyage." † The royal Chaplain displayed his zeal by going over to Calais with the King, and discharging the unclerical office of victualling the army, deeming this diligence so far meritorious as to entitle him to future compensation from Rome and from the Emperor. The Church rewarded him speedily, the Emperor courted him, and his successor gave him a promise of assistance for election to the Papal throne on the first vacancy. This promise was not kept; Wolsey became disappointed and disgusted; and, while revenging himself on Charles V., unwittingly promoted a schism in the Church. His very zeal for Popery thus led to our deliverance from its oppression; when, after a long career of power, his haughty spirit had suddenly brought him to a fall.

Henry had not long returned from France when the dispute concerning clerical privilege was renewed. Richard Hun, a merchant-

* Burnet, part i., book i.

† Strype, Memorials Ecclesiastical, vol. i., part ii., Appendix, No. 1.

tailor in the city of London, a man of unblemished reputation, reputed to be "a good Catholic," and possessing considerable property, sent a child to nurse in a neighbouring parish.* The infant died at the age of five weeks: the Parson, Thomas Dryfield, claimed a bearing-sheet as his perquisite; but Hun considered the demand unreasonable, and refused to pay. Dryfield sued him in the spiritual court; Hun found himself obliged to take legal advice in his defence, and, at the instance of his Counsel, sued the Priest in a *præmunire* † for having brought a subject of the King before a foreign court, that court sitting under the authority of the Pope's Legate. The Priests, and especially Fitz-James, Bishop of London, were exceedingly provoked at a proceeding that tended to lower their temporal power in England; and, to perplex the case and baffle the civil court, they charged Hun with heresy, and shut him up in the Lollards' Tower, (the tower of St. Gregory's church, which was contiguous with the cathedral, and so called because used as a prison for heretics,) where none of his friends were allowed to visit him. Dr. Horsey, the Bishop's Chancellor, undertook to manage the affair, and being, *ex officio*, Warder of the Tower, he also acted as prosecutor of the prisoner, and brought him before Fitz-James, in his new palace at Fulham, on Friday, December 2d, 1514. The Bishop, seated in his chapel, proceeded to take evidence of the Lollardism of this persecuted citizen. Horsey and some other Priests were the only persons professing to be witnesses: their affirmation passed as proof sufficient: and they had no difficulty in making out six articles to the effect, that Hun had disputed against tithes; compared Priests and Bishops to the Scribes and Pharisees who crucified Christ; spoken freely of the immorality and covetousness of the Clergy; sympathised with Joan Baker, a woman recently abjured; and "that the said Richard Hun hath, in his keeping, divers English books prohibited and damned by the law: as the Apocalypse in English, Epistles and Gospels in English, Wycliffe's damnable works, and other books containing infinite errors, in which he hath been a long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily." In all this there was nothing unlikely; for thousands gave expression to such views, and possessed and read such books. The episcopal register contained no answer to these charges; but, in another hand, the following words were found written: "As touching these articles, I have not spoken them as they be here laid; howbeit, unadvisedly I have spoken words somewhat sounding to the same, for which I am sorry, and ask God mercy, and submit me to my Lord's charitable and favourable *correction*." There was no signature, nor any evidence that the writing was of his hand. Now it is remarkable, that while Horsey and his victim were away at Fulham, Horsey's cook and other servants, gossiping in their kitchen in London, were predicting that he would suffer a *grievous penance*. Some, indeed, went beyond the notion of penance; and, probably interpreting words they had

* St. Mary Matfilon.—Foxe.

† *Præmunire* (for *præmoneri) facias* A. B. "You shall summon A. B. to appear," &c., are the first words of the writ issued in prosecution of one who has resorted to a foreign judicature, or obeyed a foreign authority, as, for example, of the Pope. The offence itself, also, is hence called a *præmunire*.

heard from their master, who wished the rumour of a grievous penance to be circulated, in order to lull suspicion, said, that before that day sevennight, or before Christmas, he should have a *mischievous death*. Hun was reconducted to the Lollards' Tower, made fast in the stocks, the doors locked, and the keys kept by Horsey and one Charles Joseph, his Sumner,* as usual. How to impose this grievous penance, of which "all who should hear would marvel," had to be arranged without delay. The idea of penance was to be impressed on Hun: his fears were to be excited: a servant in my Lord of London's kitchen was made to report, that when the keepers put his feet into the stocks, he asked for a knife to kill himself; saying, that such cruel treatment was more than he could bear. On the other hand, a witness deposed that a knife had actually been left by the keepers, but lay unnoticed by him, while he was calmly praying over his beads.† On the Saturday, Horsey further carried on the feint of penance. He mounted to the cell, knelt down before Hun, as if he were to be the reluctant executioner of a superior sentence, given after his examination of the day preceding, and, lifting up his hands, "prayed of him forgiveness of all that he had done to him, and must *do* to him." While Hun might be supposed to be pondering on the hangman-like supplication of the Chancellor, a present of salmon was brought in, and set before him. The Sumner, Charles Joseph, was the messenger, with one or two others; and, after pleasant conversation, and seeing him take a hearty meal, they turned the keys on him, and left. Horsey, waiting in the church below, gave leave of absence to his Sumner,—who suddenly pretended to be in danger of arrest, on account of some misdemeanour,—gave the keys to the bell-ringer, John Spalding, "a poor innocent man," a simpleton, with strict orders to let no one enter the cell. Spalding took charge, and was officious in attention to the prisoner. On the Sunday, Horsey kept a strict eye on the progress of his plot. Spalding was duly sent up at nine o'clock, to ask him what he would choose for dinner. In the forenoon Horsey called his Penitentiary,‡ and desired him to take holy bread § and holy water to Hun. This recognition of his Christianity was probably intended to relieve him from any apprehension of death for heresy, and prepare him from the "grievous penance" that the Chancellor was going to *do* to him. Spalding next took him an abundant dinner, giving him the Sumner's boy, as company, for two hours. At six o'clock in the evening, the bell-ringer took him a quart of ale to be drunk with supper, for draughts to encourage sleep. And after a day with so little like the dreariness and pain of a Lollards' prison, released, moreover, from the confinement of the stocks, the poor man unsuspectingly laid him on his bed, and fell into a sweet sleep.

* Summoner.

† Proving two things: that he did not intend to kill himself, or he would have attempted to do so with the knife; and that he was *not* a Lollard, or he would not have used a rosary.

‡ Or Confessor.

§ According to a Papal constitution, holy or blessed bread, that is to say, bread taken from the oblations of the people, should be blessed by a Priest, on Sundays, and sent to those who could not be present to communicate, in *token of communion*.

Charles Joseph, the Sumner, had been carousing all that holy day with a relative in the country, and, towards bed-time, left his companions, mounted his horse, rode hard, and on reaching his house near St. Paul's, sent his boy with it to the Bell at Shoreditch, with direction, that it should be kept saddled all night, as it was uncertain at what hour he might want it again. Then he hurried to St. Gregory's church. Horsey was there ready; so was John Spalding, the half-witted bell-ringer. Horsey took a wax-candle from an altar, lit it, put it into Spalding's hand, and bade him go first. They slowly mounted the tower-stairs, Spalding softly opened the prison-door, and, as the light gleamed in, they saw Hun in a deep sleep, for it was not yet midnight. "Lay hands on the thief," said the Chancellor. He laid his own hands on him first, and dragged him off the bed; the Sumner, too, held him down. Spalding stuck the candle on the stocks, and came to the bed-side to take part in the infliction of that "grievous penance." It was soon done. With one hand Horsey grasped his wrist, and with the other held down his head. Spalding did the same. The Sumner knelt on Hun, and, introducing a sharp-pointed wire into one of his nostrils, pierced the brain. The blood gushed, and a pool of it was found afterwards in that corner of the prison-house; while, rudely handled in the convulsive struggle, his neck was dislocated. Life being extinct, the murderers hung him up at a beam by his own silken girdle, then put his cap on his head, folded his clothes so as to conceal the blood, put the cell in order, and went down into the church again. Horsey was satisfied that he had done his sect a service; but his accomplices were trembling, and almost ready to divulge the crime. And it was divulged. Their confession furnishes our narrative; together with the reported inquest of a jury, convened, next day, by the Coroner of London, who suspected that his fellow-citizen had been murdered, when he heard that Horsey and a party of Priests had told the people that they had just seen Hun hanging, killed by his own act. The Sumner had ridden off again, before day; but on the Wednesday night following, as if unable to rest anywhere, he secretly came back to London, and confessed the whole, unquestioned, but requiring her under an oath to keep the secret, to his own servant-woman. Spalding confessed also; and the Coroner's jury gave their verdict accordingly. "And so the said jury"—these words are still on record—"have sworn upon the holy Evangelists, that the said William Horsey, Clerk, Charles Joseph, and John Spalding, of their set malice, then and there feloniously killed and murdered the said Richard Hun, in manner and form aforesaid, against the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity." (Signed) "Thomas Barnwell, Coroner of the city of London."

Horsey found refuge in the Archbishop's house, Charles Joseph betook himself to a sanctuary-town in Essex, and Spalding seems also to have tried to conceal himself; but while the Chancellor was allowed to remain at Lambeth, the two servants were examined, with several other persons, and on their concurrent confession and evidence the jury gave their verdict. The Priests could only hope to rescue

Horsey by disputing the integrity of the jurymen, as persons heretically inclined; by declaring, that the criminals themselves had yielded to terror, and borne false witness against their own lives, and by again charging Hun with heresy. One of Wycliffe's Testaments was found in his house after his murder; and from the preface they extracted propositions which, from the single fact of having owned the book, he was supposed to have entertained. The Bishop associated two other Prelates with himself, and several inferior Priests, so as to make the sentence appear to be that of the Clergy, and on that flimsy show of heresy caused the body of Hun to be taken from its grave, and burnt in Smithfield (December 20th). The citizens of London were indignant. The verdict of the Coroner was sent up to the House of Commons, who immediately passed a Bill for the restoration of Hun's property to his children; even the Lords accepted and also passed it; and the King not only gave his royal sanction, but issued a writ to the murderers, commanding them to restore the property to his family, which they, under pretext of his alleged heresy, had considered to be forfeited. Had not Horsey and his accomplices been under the protection of the Church, they would certainly have been hanged; but, while the Parliament met, the Convention held their sessions also, and contended for clerical immunity. Fitz-James, in the House of Lords, besought the members to look upon the matter, for the love of God, and to protect him and his brethren from the heretics, who so abounded, that if their Lordships did not, he should soon not be able to keep his house for them. The jury he denounced as perjured caitiffs. He also wrote to Wolsey, and implored him to stand good-Lord to Horsey; to intercede with the King's grace, that the case might be tried over again by other Judges; and that after the Chancellor's innocency should be declared, the King would instruct the Attorney-General to confess the indictment for murder to be untrue. Sure he was, that no twelve laymen could be found in London—so maliciously set were they all with heretical pravity—who would not find any Clerk guilty, though he were as innocent as Abel. "Wherefore, if thou canst, blessed father, *help our infirmities.*" Wolsey, helping their infirmities, conniving at their crimes, represented to the King the peril of contending with the Clergy, and incurring the censures of holy Church; and Henry, seeing the two Parliaments, temporal and spiritual, arrayed against each other, and fearing consequences, left with the Clergy the persons of the murderers, but required them to give up the property of the murdered.

But the matter did not end here. The Convocation resumed the question of clerical privilege, and called Standish to their bar to answer for advice he had given to the King. On the other side, the Judges delivered their opinion, "that all those of the Convocation who did award the citation against Standish, were in the case of a *præmunire facias.*" This judgment alarmed the Clergy, who began to feel a diminution of power, and heard themselves execrated from one end of England to the other as murderous persecutors. A special assembly of all the Lords, spiritual and temporal, the Judges, and some members of the House of Commons, was convened before His

Majesty in Baynard's Castle; and there Wolsey, although Legate, knelt before him, and, on the part of the Clergy, said, "That none of them intended to do anything that might derogate from his prerogative; and, least of all, himself, who owed his advancement to the King's favour. But this matter of convening of Clerks (by the civil Magistrate) did seem to them all to be contrary to the laws of God, and the liberties of the Church, which they were bound, by their oaths, to maintain according to their power." Therefore, in their name, he humbly begged "that the King, to avoid the censures of the Church, would refer the matter to the decision of the Pope and his Council, at the court of Rome." After some disputation between the two parties, the King said these memorable words:—"By the permission and ordinance of God we are King of England; and the Kings of England, in times past, had never any superior but God only. Therefore know you well that we will maintain the right of our crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample a manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time. And as for your decrees, we are well assured that you of the spiritualty go expressly against the words of divers of them, as hath been showed you by some of our Council; and you interpret your decrees at your pleasure; but we will not agree to them more than our progenitors have done in former times." Yet the Archbishop of Canterbury persisted in entreating the King to refer the case of Horsey to the court of Rome. At that moment Henry said no more. He received the insolent request in silence; but afterwards, yielding to the counsel of his more trustworthy advisers, he instructed his Attorney to withdraw the criminal prosecution.*

Horsey then walked out of the Archbishop's palace, where he had taken refuge, and retired to Exeter. The Church seemed to have gained a trifling advantage, but the dispute between the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions was still open; and Henry VIII. had pronounced a sentence soon to be executed in the emancipation of these realms. Thus did God send ample retribution on the Popish Clergy for the murder of Hun.

Retribution might seem to linger, for nearly twenty years elapsed before it was completed; and for nearly so long did Henry himself persecute the followers of Christ. Indeed, he never ceased to be a persecutor.

Not even the Pope ventured to remonstrate with his son, the King of England, for daring to assert civil supremacy over every Englishman. The Priests were daunted for a time. The reproach of Hun haunted them, and they could only wait for opportunity to renew the work of death. Such an opportunity occurred with a suddenness that must have gratified my Lord of London. A barge was conveying passengers down the Thames from London to Gravesend, a Priest being in the mixed company on deck. In a moment of ill humour he chose to remind his fellow-passengers of his priestly dignity, and claim reverence, which, perhaps, they had forgotten to render amidst the qualms of nausea. Beside him sat John Browne, one of a noted

* Foxe, book vii.; Burnet, part i., book i.

family of Lollards, who had himself carried a faggot seven years before, and probably bore the patch on his sleeve at that moment. The Priest gathered himself up, found that Browne was sitting on his cloak, and thus opened an angry conversation.

Priest.—"Dost thou know who I am? Thou sittest too near me, thou sittest on my clothes."

Browne.—"No, Sir, I know not what you are."

P.—"I tell thee I am a Priest."

B.—"What, Sir! Are you a Parson, or Vicar, or a lady's Chaplain?"

P.—"No; I am a soul Priest. I sing for a soul."

B.—"Do you so, Sir? That is well done. I pray you, Sir, where find you the soul when you go to mass?"

P.—"I cannot tell thee."

B.—"I pray you, where do you leave it, Sir, when the mass is done?"

P.—"I cannot tell thee."

B.—"Neither can you tell where you find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done: how, then, can you have the soul?"

P.—"Go thy ways, thou art a heretic, and I will be even with thee."

The dialogue ended. In due time the bark touched the bank at Gravesend, the passengers landed, John Browne, without delay, went on his way to Ashford, where he had lately had an increase in his happy family; and the Priest, too, losing not a moment, required two fellow-passengers to accompany him on horseback towards Canterbury, to lay information of heresy. Just three nights after his return, John Browne's wife had been churched, and he was bringing in a mess of pottage to the board to their guests, when some one called him out, as if wanted on business. No one suspected any harm; but, while the company were taking the meal, their host was in the hands of ruffians, who gagged him, set him on his own horse, bounden hand and foot, took him away under cover of night, and brought him to Canterbury, where they lodged him in prison before daybreak. None but the familiars who had made the seizure knew whither he had been taken, none except Warham, the Archbishop, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. They bound him in a dungeon, and tortured him by applying hot coals to the soles of his feet, until the bones were laid bare; but he would not recant. It was Low Sunday * (A.D. 1517) when the day dawned on him in Canterbury, and his distressed wife and family and friends were seeking for him in Ashford and the neighbourhood. On the Friday evening before Whit-Sunday, he was again mounted on horseback, taken from Canterbury, and, some time after night-fall, set in the stocks at Ashford, to the surprise of the inhabitants. His wife hurried to the place, heard from his lips what he had suffered, and what he yet was to endure. The poor woman sat by the stocks all night, that for those few hours she might testify her love to her Christian husband, and be witness and partaker of his constancy. She examined his swollen feet. "The two Bishops," said he, "put hot coals to them, and burned them to the bones, to

* The Sunday after Easter.

make me deny my Lord, which I will never do; for if I should deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter deny me. I pray thee, therefore, good Elizabeth, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously, and in the fear of God." The next day was spent in preparing for the martyrdom. In the evening they bound him to a stake, where, lifting up his hands, he repeated a prayer that had probably been often recited, in far other circumstances, at his fire-side:—

> "'O Lord, I yield me to thy grace;
> Grant me mercy for my trespass;
> Let never the fiend my soul chase.
> Lord, I will bow, and thou shalt beat,
> Let never my soul come in hell-heat.'

Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord of truth." And so he ended. One Chilton, the Bailyarrant, seeing Browne's children there, roared out, "Throw them into the fire: they'll spring out of his ashes."

To follow up the terror of this execution, the Bishop of London headed an inquisition, and forced many to abjure. They appear to have been chiefly tradesfolk, one Ecclesiastic only being marked on the list, George Laund, Prior of St. Sithe. One of the persons then abjured, Elizabeth Stamford, confessed that she had been taught by one Thomas Beele, eleven years before, to repeat these words: "Christ feedeth, and fast nourisheth, his church, with his own precious body, that is, the bread of life coming down from heaven: this is the worthy Word that is worthily received, and joined unto man, to be in one body with him. Sooth it is that they be both one, they may not be parted. This is the wisely deeming of the holy sacrament Christ's own body: this is not received by chewing of teeth, but by hearing with ears, and understanding with your soul, and wisely working thereafter. 'Therefore,' saith St. Paul, 'I fear me amongst us, brethren, that many of us be feeble and sick; therefore I counsel us, brethren, to rise and watch, that the great day of doom come not suddenly upon us, as the thief doth upon the merchant.'" This recitation, retained in memory during eleven years, together with that made by Browne when at the stake, and many other examples of the kind, disclose a custom common to many bodies of Christians, especially in times of persecution, of preserving and propagating doctrinal truths, and quickening devotion, by means of familiar sentences, to be repeated in prose or verse. And this fact further exhibits the Gospel as inwrought with the tradition of a distinct people, and made the theme of household converse, communicated from friend to friend, and delivered from parent to child. And this was *the established tradition* of our "religion before Luther."

The report of Browne's faithfulness unto death must have produced great searchings of heart among many who had abjured. Two examples of the kind soon followed. Between five and six years had passed away since Thomas Man, in a parish of the see of Oxford, had so yielded. By way of penance he was made to carry and wear the faggot, and confined to the monastery of Osney, by Oxford. The Bishop, needing help for some work to be done in his palace, took Man from the

monastery, took off the faggot, made use of him as long as convenient, and then, by a formal act, confined him in Osney again, with the mark of penance. Weary, disgusted, and repentant of having denied Christ, he escaped, fled into another jurisdiction, and sustained life, by labour, in the counties of Essex and Suffolk. In the present persecution he was detected, and brought before Fitz-James in London. It then appeared, on evidence, and by his free confession, that, first at Newbury, and then at Amersham, he and his wife had associated with the praying people in those towns, assisted several who were in peril by persecution to effect their escape, and, chiefly at Amersham, had been the means of making about seven hundred converts. He was easily convicted of what, indeed, he did not deny, and, being sentenced as a relapsed heretic, was delivered to the Sheriff, who sat on horseback, waiting at the Bishop's door, in Paternoster-row. The sentence set forth that he deserved to be punished with "rigorous rigour, yet no dissolute mansuetude, *et tamen citra mortem*, and yet without death." That was written to be read in testimony to the tender mercy of the Church; but the Sheriff, who understood that Man was to be killed, took him from Paternoster-row into Smithfield, and burnt him there (March 29th, 1518).

Another such relapse suffered in a few months. He had been convinced of the truth of Christianity twenty years before. Richard Smart, one of the Salisbury martyrs, had instructed him out of Wycliffe's Wicket, and then given him a copy of the book, and of another book, containing an exposition of the Decalogue. In course of time he was apprehended, taken before the Bishop of Salisbury, and there he recanted, and was put under penance. But, when expecting to be apprehended, he hid the two books in a hollow tree, where they lay untouched for two years, when he went to the tree, took out the books, and secretly removed to London. The flame of love to God, half-quenched as it had been, then revived. He could no more keep silence, but, out of the books that had been bequeathed to him by his departed brother, taught many, affirming that Wycliffe, their author, was a saint in heaven. Of his trial little is recorded, except that the Archbishop of Canterbury laboured hard to bring him to a second recantation; and that Dr. Hed, Vicar-General, pronounced him a relapsed heretic, and gave him to the obsequious Sheriff, who burnt him in Smithfield the same hour (October 25th, 1518).

Of Christopher Shoemaker, Great Missenden, little more is known than that he frequently read to his neighbours out of "a little book," was honoured in the conversion of some of them, and burnt, at Newbury, about the same time.*

Some Christian parents at Coventry were wont to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in English. Here was family religion, and the beginnings, at least, of family prayer. But family religion, and, therefore, prayer so offered, have no place in Popery,† and are hateful to the Priests. Pious recitations in

* Foxe, book vii.

† It is not unfrequent to recite rosaries, or other Latin prayers, in Popish families; but *family prayer, offered in a vernacular language*, is a thing unknown.

English led to the religious instruction of children, tended to perpetuate a knowledge and love of the Gospel from generation to generation; and it was determined that, on the return of Lent, a strong effort should be made to put down that novelty of family prayer. Accordingly six men and one woman, a widow, who were known to have taught their children prayer, and obedience to the law of God, were apprehended on Ash Wednesday (A.D. 1519), and placed in solitary confinement; some of them in dungeons under ground. On the following Friday they were all removed to Mackstock Abbey, about six miles from Coventry, and their children sent for to the Grey Friars, where the Warden, Friar Stafford, examined them as to their belief, and as to what their fathers had taught them, and charged them not to meddle again with the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, on pain of suffering death, as their fathers were about to suffer. Meanwhile the Lent preachers had abundant opportunity to refresh the zeal of their people against heresy; and, this done, the ceremonies of the season were closed, by bringing back the seven heads of families to Coventry, on Palm-Sunday, condemning them as heretics, and burning them in one fire, in a place called the Little Park, one day in Passion week.* The widow, indeed, was to have been spared. She was exempted from the sentence, and the Sumner, with suspicious kindness, offered to accompany her from the court to her home, as the evening was rather dark. By the way, as she leant on his arm, he perceived something rustle in her sleeve, rudely searched, and drew out a scroll containing the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments. She was then his prisoner. They turned, retraced their steps into the presence of the Inquisitors: the scroll was sufficient testimony, and widow Smith was added to the martyrs. As soon as they had ceased to live, the Sheriffs ran to their houses, seized every article of property, and left the families to starve. To silence some expressions of dissatisfaction at this aggravation of the sentence, by inflicting a penalty on the survivers for merely repeating a Prayer and Commandments, the Bishop caused it to be reported that the real offence was one of greater gravity,—eating flesh on Fridays![†] The holocaust would have been of eight persons, had not one escaped. This one, however, (Robert Silkeb,) was discovered about two years afterwards, apprehended, brought back to Coventry, and burnt (January 13th, 1521).[‡]

While the widows of the Coventry martyrs were yet weeping, the Pope himself unconsciously gave the first signal for ecclesiastical reform in England. It was the Roman policy, at that time, to talk loudly of such reform, in order to satisfy, if possible, the Germans, by whom it was demanded, and to divert attention from questions of doctrine. Cardinal Wolsey, too, athirst for power, solicited Papal authority for reforming the Monks and Priests of England. A Bull

* April 4th. To revive the zealots, and to persecute Protestants, is the usual business of a Popish Lent, wherever practicable.

† Foxe, book viii.

‡ The names are, Mrs. Smith, widow; Robert Hatchets, Archer, Hawkins, Thomas Bond, shoemakers; Wrigsham, glover; Laudsdale, hosier; and Robert Silkeb.

to that effect was issued by Leo X., (June 10th, 1519,) as offensive to the Clergy of both orders, for the just severity of its censures,—it affirmed that they were lewd and ignorant, and given over to a reprobate mind,—as it was gratifying to the Cardinal. But Leo X. was not the man to preach morality, and Wolsey was even more unfit than he. The Bull, in effect, authorized him to visit the monasteries, to suppress the worst of them, and convert them into cathedral or collegiate churches. He was dissuaded from acting on it then, but he cherished the scheme, communicated it to Henry and to Secretary Cromwell, and, in doing so, suggested the beginnings of the work that was afterwards done by other hands, and with a far different intention.* True it is that Leo issued another Bull, for the suppression of heresy, immediately after that which empowered Wolsey to attempt his experiment of reformation of manners, and that the honoured names of Tyndale, Roy, and Brightwell, were therein associated with those of Luther, Zuinglius, Melancthon, and many others; but both Bulls were equally ineffectual to mend or to destroy.† A few abjurations were the only result.

If Fitz-James could have done it, a good man, who died this year, would have been killed long before. Dr. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, entertained many opinions in common with the "known men" of Buckinghamshire, who frequently resorted to his sermons. Fitz-James complained to the King against him, after having failed with the Archbishop of Canterbury; but, by the friendship of Warham, and the discernment of Henry, under the good providence of God, he was shielded from harm. His offence, at first, consisted in expounding St. Paul's Epistles, instead of Scotus and Aquinas, in the University of Oxford; and, when promoted to the deanery of St. Paul's, preaching like one who desired to win souls, in living godly, and disapproving of clerical celibacy. St. Paul's School is a monument of his beneficence and zeal for learning; and the circumstance of its management by lay-Trustees, is known to have arisen from his distrust of the Clergy of his time, and is supposed to indicate a premonition of the extensive impropriation of Church-lands that soon took place, and might have extended to that foundation, if held by Ecclesiastics instead of laymen.‡

Burnet conjectured that Wolsey was not displeased with the disaffection to the Church in England, but thought that heresy might give a salutary check to the power of the Clergy, whom he desired to humble, for the increase of his own. This conjecture does not receive confirmation from history. However willing Wolsey may have been to set the English Clergy at his feet, he was never indifferent to the spread of principles that tended to overthrow the See towards which he constantly aspired; and, if the elections of Adrian VI. and Clement VII. seemed to render his ambition hopeless, his dignities as Cardinal and Legate were still to be guarded against the peril of religious inno-

* Burnet, part i., book i.

† This Bull is cited, by Mr. Offor, from the archives of the Bishop of London, in his Memoir prefixed to the reprint of Tyndale's Testament; and by Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, chap. ii., and appendix ix., where Wolsey quotes it.

‡ Fuller, book v., sect. i.; Foxe, book vii.

vation, that endangered all. And, in fact, we find him busied in an effort to bring about a general persecution. Having fanned Henry's zeal during the composition of his book against Luther, he made the religious state of England a subject of report and appeal, in correspondence with the Court of Rome, whence came a Brief, exhorting Henry to explode (*ad explodendum*) heresy in his kingdom. A prohibition of Luther's writings was accordingly issued under royal authority, and followed by a letter from Wolsey, as Legate, addressed to the King and the kingdom, condemning the errors of Martin Luther, and referring to the above-mentioned Bull. After remarking that the Pope had *called* his Majesty Defender of the Faith, (although it must be observed that the title was not yet obtained,) he instructed the Clergy to the following effect:—That on the next Sunday or feast-day, at time of mass, when the largest congregations should be assembled, they were to publicly require all booksellers and stationers, with all other persons, ecclesiastical and secular, subjects of the realm, or foreigners, to give up all written or printed books or papers containing the writings of Martin Luther, in Latin, English, or any other language, within a fortnight, under penalty of the greater excommunication, and of punishment as abettors and promoters of heretical pravity. The Clergy, under the same penalty, were commanded to do the same; and, within ten weeks, to send him a certificate of having obeyed the mandate * (May 14th, 1521). In order to concentrate all power, pontifical and regal, in the one work of persecution, he obtained a Bull conferring on Henry the title of Defender of the Faith,†—yet

* Strype, Memorials, chap. ii., appendix ix.

† After the introductory sentences, Leo writes thus: "And as other Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors, were wont to confer special favours on Catholic Princes, (as the state of affairs and of the times required,) especially on those who in stormy times, and when the rabid perfidy of schismatics and heretics was raging, not only stood firm in the calmness of faith, and in the unstained devotion of the most holy Roman Church, but also, as legitimate sons and mighty wrestlers (*athletæ*) of the said Church, opposed themselves, spiritually and temporally, to the insane furies of schismatics and heretics: thus also We desire to exalt Your Majesty with deserved and immortal commendations and praises on account of your excellent and immortal words and deeds towards Us and this holy See, in which, by Divine Providence, We sit, and to grant them to you, that, for their sake, you may be watchful to drive away wolves from the Lord's flock, *and cut off, with iron and the material sword, those putrid members that infect the mystical body of Christ*, and confirm the hearts of those faithful who are wavering in the solidity of faith. For when, lately, our beloved son John Clerk, Orator of Your Majesty at our Court, in our Consistory, before our venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the holy Roman Church, and many other Prelates of the Court of Rome, presented Us, *to be examined by Us, and then approved by our authority*, the book which Your Majesty composed, kindled with charity that does nothing rashly, with zeal for the Catholic Faith, and with fervour towards Us and this holy See, as a noble and salutary antidote against the errors of divers heretics, often condemned by this holy See, and lately revived and introduced again by *Martin Luther;* and when he declared in a brilliant oration that Your Majesty was ready and disposed, not only to refute with true and irrefragable reasons of holy Scripture, and authorities of the holy Fathers, the notorious errors of the said *Martin, but also to persecute with the forces and arms of all your kingdom all those who presume to follow and defend him.*" Then follow compliments to the King for learning, &c., &c.; and the Bull proceeds: "And willing, not only to extol and magnify, with deserved praises, what Your Majesty has written against the said *Martin Luther* with most finished learning and not inferior eloquence, and approve and confirm it with our authority, but also to adorn Your Majesty himself with such an honour and title, that all Christ's faithful in our own and all future times may understand how grateful and acceptable your present has been to Us, especially as offered in such a time as this." "We, &c., have deter-

not given until after long reluctance,—and another Bull, giving ten years and ten quarantains of indulgence to the readers of his book against Luther. All that is essential in the former of these Bulls, is translated at the foot of the preceding page. And, in the same month, the King, probably informed of the despatch of those Bulls, when as yet they could not have reached him, on application from Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, under whose jurisdiction the "known men" were so numerous, that he could not venture to attack them without special authority and aid, sent that Prelate a letter, (October 20th, 1521,) addressed to all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, and other his officers, ministers, and subjects, charging and commanding them all to assist the said Right Reverend Father in God in the execution of justice on the heretics. Thus armed, the Bishop made a pitiless inquisition as far as his power extended. A multitude of persons was examined. Husbands and wives, parents and children, were made to inform against each other by artful questioning, by bribery, or by intimidation. They were accused of reading the Evangelists, which were said to be full of damnable errors, reciting prayers, learning by memory the Epistle of St. James, or some part of an Epistle of St. Paul, or select sentences of Wycliffe, or speaking slightly of the mass, or of pilgrimage or images. Many were convicted of having spent whole nights in reading and prayer, and in labouring to turn sinners from the error of their way. And most of the offences were registered as of so long standing, committed before the name of Martin Luther was known beyond his own province, that the dishonesty of calling those people Lutherans was flagrant. Foxe, with all his industry did not venture on the labour of extracting all the names of the abjured from the voluminous records at Lincoln. Brand, faggot, pilgrimage, fasting, imprisonment, and exposure to the public gaze in processions and on the *greecen* (steps) of crosses, were the usual forms of penance. But persecution was conducted systematically: some were always burnt, for greater terror of the rest; and the names of six * are on record, who thus finished their course (A.D. 1521). And that a perfect example of diabolical cruelty might not be wanting, the Priests compelled the daughter of one of them, John Scrivener, to light the pile on which her living father was bound;† teaching her, Brachman-like, that parricide is meritorious. A horrid doctrine; yet one that the Church of Rome has taught, in various ways, for many ages past. From this time there appears to have been no more burnings for several years in England, but important events occur in the interval.

Proud of his title and his roses, (for Leo, too, had sent him a golden rose,) Henry still waged war on Reformers and Reformed. To the

mined to give Your Majesty *this title*, to wit, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, by which title we have distinguished you in these presents, commanding all Christ's faithful that they name Your Majesty by this title, and that, when they write to you, they add *Defender of the Faith* after the word *King*." Some exhortation and good wishes follow, as of course. After the seal of "Ego Leo Decimus Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus," were appended the seals of twenty-seven Cardinals.—Rymeri Fœdera, tom. xiii., p. 756.

* Thomas Bernard, James Morden, Robert Rave, John Scrivener, Joan Norman, Thomas Holmes.

† Foxe, book vii. As the daughter of William Tylesworth was compelled to burn him. Page 125, *supra*.

Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, one of their bitterest enemies in Germany, he sent a magnificent embassy, with the insignia of the Order of the Garter, and wrote a sketch of a speech which Master Edward Lee, Archdeacon of Colchester, clerical member of the embassy, was to pronounce on investing Ferdinand with the garter. "And, in the latter end of his oration, the said Master Lee shall largely and amply extend the great lawd, praise, and estimation, which the said Duke doth attain, in that he, like a good Catholick and vertuous Prince, doth with all effect impugn the detestable dampnable heresies of Freer Martin Luther: saying that nothing can be more joyous or acceptable to the King's Highness, who, as well with his sword as with his pen, hath always endeavoured himself to the tuition and defence of Christen faith, than to hear and understand that his good cousin and nephew shall persist in this his godly and meritorious purpose" (A.D. 1523).* But this expensive embassy was not sent to Ferdinand without a special reason of religion and wicked policy. Clement VII. evidently regarded it as signifying readiness to join in a crusade against the followers of Luther, as appears by a Bull shortly afterwards issued, (March, 1524,) confirmatory of the title Defender of the Faith, granted by his predecessor. In that document,† after much ridiculous praise of Henry for pure and inviolate observance of the Christian religion, moderation, clemency, and every virtue of which he was notoriously devoid, the Pope inserts a gentle intimation of his hope. "A time followed not less injurious to Christian faith, than wicked; in which—when Luther was troubling Germany with impious and depraved opinions—there was no small decline in the souls of the faithful. In which time, *as thou hadst not* AN OPPORTUNITY *of employing arms for the protection of the faith,*" *&c.* Any reader could understand the reticence, and supply: But now thou hast: go and help the zealot Ferdinand.

In England, the remembrance of recent persecution unto death, the terror of legantine and royal edicts, and the vexation that good men daily suffered from the wicked, caused many to leave England, and, among others, William Tyndale, who went to Holland, and there diligently applied himself to translating, for the first time, the New Testament from Greek into English.

Wolsey, persisting in his desire to reform the Clergy, both secular and regular, and ever willing to display his authority as Legate, summoned a convocation from the provinces of Canterbury and York, (the letters citatory were dated April 22d, 1524,) "to deliberate concerning the reformation as well of the laics as of the Ecclesiastics." They were to "appear before him" in the church of Westminster. No such reformation came to pass; but it was well that, under the highest ecclesiastical authority, people should have liberty to speak of the acknowledged corruption of Priests and Monks. A letter from Fox, Bishop of Winchester, written to Wolsey about this time, contains charges against them as strong as any that were ever found in articles of inquisition against "known men," and expiated at the stake. He declares that, after devoting his energies, during three years, almost

* Strype, *ut supra.* † Rymeri Fœdera, tom. xiv., p. 13.

exclusively to the single object of ascertaining the state of his diocese, with a view to such a reformation therein as Wolsey contemplated throughout the kingdom, he found, far beyond all that he could have imagined, that everything that had contributed to the ancient integrity of the Clergy, and especially of the Monks, was so depraved by licentiousness and corruption, or abolished by the malignity of the times, or worn out or decayed by age, that he had so much the more ardently desired to devote the remainder of his life to the work contemplated. Yet the wickedness of the Clergy was so great that it took away all hope of his ever seeing a perfect and entire reformation in his single diocese. And his reference to the state of public opinion and feeling towards them is not less confirmatory of the statements of Protestant writers. His words are these :—"It appears to me that this reformation of the Clergy and of all sacred things will please the people who have been long and loudly murmuring, will enlighten the Clergy, will conciliate the most serene King himself, and all the nobility, to the Clergy. And, especially, it will please the most high God himself, more than all sacrifices, that I should employ and spend the remainder of my life most gladly in promoting it."* Then what hindered such a reformation? Wolsey, Pope of the West, this Bishop, and many other learned and well-meaning men, the King, the nobility, and most of all the people, desired and clamorously called for it. Two Popes had sanctioned the scheme. The cause of their failure is explained by our Lord in a few words: "Let them alone, they be blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch."

Already they are digging the ditch, and undermining their own house. God employs those to demolish who are utterly unfit to build. A favourite part of Wolsey's scheme was to erect new colleges, to be seats of learning from which a better race of Clergymen should go forth; and he thought that a few worthless monasteries might be well suppressed for the building and endowment of them. And Clement VII., perhaps to placate the Cardinal, who had been flattered with promises of election to the Papal See, not only confirmed him to be Legate for life; but gave him a Bull for the suppression of the monastery of St. Fridswide, Oxon, in order to the building of a college in that University.† Here began the suppression of monasteries in England;‡ the initiators of that great revolution being, not Henry VIII., but Pope Clement VII. and his Legate, Cardinal Wolsey. This Pope, however, did not claim an absolute right over the monastic property, but made an express limitation: If the assent of the King were given, and that assent duly signified, it gave authority for the execution of the Bull.§ The reader will not fail to remember that the first monastery suppressed, was that which had been made use of as a prison for Thomas Man, who escaped thence, and was

* Strype, Appendix, No. x.

† "First called Cardinal's College; then, King's College; and, at last, Christ's Church, which it retaineth at this day."—Fuller.

‡ Strype, vol. i., chap. 4; Burnet, part i., book i.

§ The words are: "Si ad hoc charissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustris accesserit assensus."—Rymeri Fœdera, tom. xiv., p. 15.

therefore burnt in Smithfield. Nor must we overlook the fact, that to drive away the "horrid Lutheran pestilence" was an object avowed by Clement VII. in renewing to Wolsey his authority for visiting the religious houses.*

But the raising of the Universities, which had never been so absolutely subject to the Popes as the monasteries, was simultaneous with the decline of those fraternities over which they had exercised, and now again exercise, a supreme disciplinary control. The holy Scriptures had not hitherto been read there; but were soon introduced into Cambridge (A.D. 1524). George Stavert, or Stafford, B.D., Reader of Divinity, Proctor of the University, and University Preacher, first read lectures out of the books of Scripture, instead of the *Sentences*. The Bible thus came into request, and his labours were appreciated by many who began to investigate for themselves the true sense of the inspired writings of the New Testament. After his death, his books were brought into the library, and an epigraph on the covers attested the gratitude of those who had been enlightened by his instructions,—

"Augustini opera ōia', Testamentum et utrumque
Hebraicè et Græcè, huc contulit ille Stavert.
Contulit ille Stavert, nostris studiis promovendis;
Qui Paulum explicuit ritè, et evangelium."

Which means that Stafford, who had correctly explained St. Paul and the Gospel, had bequeathed to that library all the works of Augustine, the Old Testament in Hebrew, and the New in Greek, for the promotion of their studies. One, at least, of those to whom he "rightly explained" the Epistles and Gospels, eminently profited by the instruction, rose to the dignity of Bishop, and the higher dignity of martyr, as appears by the following passage of Latimer's seventh Sermon on the Lord's Prayer:—"When I was at Cambridge, Mr. George Stafford read a lecture there. *I heard him.* And in expounding the Epistle to the Romans, when he came to that place where St. Paul saith, that we shall overcome our enemy with well-doing, &c., it was even at that time when Dean Colet was in trouble, and should have been burnt, if God had not turned the King's heart to the contrary." And Stafford was not alone. Nicholas Paynel, a Yorkshireman, mathematical lecturer, and John Thixtel, of the diocese of Norwich, also a University Preacher, were noted "Scripture men." Paynel afterwards published a small book containing a collection of passages from the Bible, classified for devotional use on various occasions; and Thixtel acquired so high authority by his use of the book which laymen suffered death for reading, that, as if he were a second Aristotle, the disputants used to cite him with "*Thixtel dixit*," "Thixtel has said it."†

From Cambridge the leaven spread to Oxford. Wolsey had brought a company of learned men from Cambridge to his new college of Fridswide's, as he himself named it; but the name was changed successively until it retained that of Christ's Church,—in

* Rymeri Fœdera, tom. xiv., p. 18.

† Strype, Memorials, vol. i., chap. 3.

order to give it the desired literary distinction; and especially for the counteraction of evangelical doctrine in England, as the royal warrant for the foundation of "the Cardinal's college" most distinctly set forth.* Among them were John Clark, John Frith, Henry Sumner, Richard Cox, and Richard Taverner, of whom we shall hear again, with some others, not of Cambridge; but equally distinguished by sound learning, and love of evangelical truth. But they were Bible men, and held frequent conferences together on the acknowledged corruptions of the Church, acknowledged and severely censured by their patron, the founder of the college. For this offence they were, with some few others, who afterwards cast away their confidence, locked up in a cellar under the building where salt fish was kept, all infected by the stench, and diseased by being fed on the fish; and, when removed to their chambers, still under arrest, three of them died. These were Clark, Sumner, and another named Bayley. Master Bettes, having no books in his chamber, obtained permission, with some difficulty, to be prisoner at large in the college, stole away to Cambridge, and became, eventually, Chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn. Wolsey heard with displeasure of this severe persecution of men whom he esteemed, however he might blame them for what was deemed heretical, and wrote to desire that they should be less straitly handled. And of Taverner he said, that as he was only a musician, referring to his skill in musical composition, he should be fully released. The others were dismissed on condition of not going beyond ten miles from Oxford. So they remained there, diffusing a good influence around,† (A.D. 1524,) except Frith, who fled to Antwerp.

Beyond Oxford there was little judicial persecution. Even under the Bishop of Lincoln there appears to have been but one process on accusation of heresy in the year 1525; but that one disclosed an admirable instance of pure Christian belief. Roger Hachman, sitting in the church-aisle at North-Stoke, in the earnestness of a familiar conversation, said such words as these:—"I will never look to be saved for any good deed that ever I did, neither for any that ever I will do, unless I may have my salvation by petition, as an outlaw shall have the pardon of the King." And he insisted that "if he might not have his salvation so, he thought he should be lost." Thus did he honour Christ, and no doubt suffered much vexation, yet enjoyed the blessedness of being persecuted for His name's sake.

Meanwhile, Wolsey is unwittingly contributing another occasion of separation from Rome. His ambition in heading an effort for reform had already marked a way of incipient reformation, and now his disgust, also, begins to sever England from the Pope. The Emperor of Germany, Charles V., was nephew of Catharine, Infanta of Spain, and Queen of England. He had been at war with his rival, Francis I.; and while Francis was his prisoner, entered into a treaty with him on unequal terms, and then released him. This same Charles V. had come over to England five years before, anticipat-

* Rymeri Fœdera, tom. xiv., p. 39.

† Foxe, book viii.; Fuller, book v., sect. 1.

ing an intended visit of his rival, to pay court to Henry VIII., in order to make use of his alliance to the prejudice of Francis. When here, perceiving that Wolsey exerted so great an influence over his master that his concurrence was indispensable to success in any negotiation, he made the Cardinal valuable presents, and promised him that when the Papacy should next be vacant, he would use all his interest to have him elected. Leo X. died much sooner than might have been expected, and Wolsey thought himself sure of getting the triple crown; but it was placed on the head of a Dutchman, who chose to be saluted Adrian, sixth of that name. After an uneasy reign of only twenty months Adrian died, and the English Cardinal again believed that the way to the Pontificate was assuredly open to him; but the Emperor a second time failed to procure his election, and Giulio de' Medici, an Italian, mounted the vacant throne. Wolsey brooded over the breach of promise in silence, and waited for an opportunity to avenge himself on the faithless Emperor. After the treaty of Madrid, drawn up and ratified while Francis was yet a captive, Wolsey encouraged the feeling prevalent at court that there had been much injustice, and even cruelty, in the transaction. He impressed this view on the ardent mind of Henry. At the same time he made a confidential overture to the French King, offering to induce Henry to break with the Emperor, and make a new treaty with him. Delighted with the proposal, Francis sent over a present of four hundred thousand crowns, as the retainer of so powerful service; and Wolsey, artfully suppressing the real motive of his enmity to Charles, obtained permission of his Sovereign to conduct secret preliminaries, and then to effect a treaty between England and France on terms of perfect reciprocity. Strengthened by this alliance, Francis broke his engagement with his former conqueror, and perpetual rival; the Kings of England and France became virtually allied against the Emperor, and the disappointed Cardinal enjoyed revenge (A.D. 1525). The Pope seemed, for a moment, to be delivered from the cumbrous patronage of Charles by this new movement; and, by showing favour to the newly-allied Princes, so provoked him that, by a vengeful stratagem of the Germans, the head of the Church, as already mentioned, found himself a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo, and Rome was pillaged for fourteen days by imperial soldiers (A.D. 1527). And, as if to testify more fully his orthodoxy, at the same time that he was covertly negotiating with the King of France, Henry issued a second book against Luther, in continuation of the theological controversy. "*Rex Anglorum Regi hæreticorum scribit.*" "The King of England," said a wit, "writes against the King of heretics!" But it is his last production of the kind. Alienation from the nephew of his Queen leads his thoughts into another channel, as a little time will show; yet, for the present, he is very zealous against heresy.

William Tyndale, Chaplain to Humphrey Mummuth,* an Alderman of London, foreseeing persecution, went to Wittemberg, where he translated the New Testament from Greek into English, assisted by

* Not Monmouth.

John Frith, one of the Cambridge men whom Wolsey had placed at Oxford, and by William Roy, a Friar, whose services were chiefly those of an amanuensis. At Cologne a small edition was first printed, (A.D. 1525,) and a corrected and more numerous impression was in the press, (A.D. 1526,) when Cochlœus, one of Luther's bitterest opponents, discovered every particular of the printing and intended circulation of the books, by making the printers drunk, and then drawing the information from them. While he was proceeding to seize the printed sheets, Tyndale succeeded in getting both types and paper removed to Worms or Wittemberg, and there the edition was completed. Without delay, packages of this precious volume were brought to England by persons who disguised themselves for the hazardous enterprise, and extensively circulated. Wycliffe's version (made from the Latin Vulgate) existed only in manuscript, and had been preserved, and even multiplied, in spite of searching inquisition; but now, without labour, and at comparatively little cost, an excellent translation was offered to the "known men" in all parts of England. A sudden and profound sensation of alarm pervaded the priesthood; and well it might. For the unexpected importation of the word of life delighted multitudes who had heard of the Cambridge readings, and were receiving scriptural instruction from the disciples of Stafford, and of his brethren, persecuted and martyred at Oxford. Families, wherein a scroll containing the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, or a few leaves with but an Epistle or the fragment of a Gospel written on them, had been their only store, now saw the entire volume for the first time. Many an Ecclesiastic caught a glimpse, and read with trembling such paragraphs * as this :—

"The Sprete speaketh evydently that in the latter tymes some shall departe from the fayth, and shall geve hede vnto spretes of errure, and dyvlysshe doctryne off them which speake falce thorow ypocrisy, and have their consciences marked with an hott yeron, forbyddynge to mary, and commaundynge to abstayne from meates, which God hath created to be receaved with gevynge thankes, off them which beleve, and have knowen the trueth, for all the creatures of God are good: and nothynge to be refused, yff it be receaved with thankes gevynge: for it is sanctified by the worde of God, and prayer. Yff thou shalt put the brethren in remembraunce of these thynges, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesu Christ which hast bene norisshed vppe in the wordes of fayth, and good doctryne, which doctryne thou hast continually followed. But cast awaye vngostly and olde wyves fables."

At the instigation of Wolsey, Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of London, friend and correspondent of Erasmus, a reputed lover of learning, and patron of scholars, was the first man to resist the circulation of the printed word of God. Without loss of time he issued a mandate to his Clergy, telling them that many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded by extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth, and the Catholic faith, had craftily translated the New

* Robert Stevens had not yet divided the chapters into verses. This he did in the year 1551, while on a journey from Paris to Lyons; *inter equitandum*, as he said.

Testament into our English tongue, mingling therewith many heretical articles and erroneous opinions, &c., dispersing that most pestiferous and pernicious poison throughout the diocese of London in great numbers. In short, he commanded them to call in all the books within thirty days, under penalty of excommunication. And opportunity was taken to publish a list of prohibited books at the same time, which list, as it appears to have been the first put forth by authority in this country, shall be copied at the foot of the page.* The books circulated, notwithstanding; and among other examples of zeal in distribution, one of the most prominent is Thomas Garret, Curate, of Honey-Lane, who dispersed them diligently in Oxford, and thereby enlightened many future Clergymen in the truths of Christianity.† For this he afterwards suffered at the stake.

With heresy in the people, heresy infecting the priesthood, heresy penetrating into the Universities, and heresy streaming into the kingdom at the sea-ports from presses at work in the strongholds of Lutheranism,—the Priests began to see that mandates, inquisitions, and burnings were insufficient to quell the rising peril to their craft. The King and the Bishop of Rochester had, as yet, been the only polemic writers; they alone had attacked Luther, and that in Latin; but it was now thought necessary to condescend to the vulgar tongue, and write something for general reading, in order to sustain their cause. So, after full deliberation, Tonstal made up a stout package, containing the books catalogued below, some few others, and the writings of the principal foreign Reformers, and sent them to Sir Thomas More, with an official licence empowering him to read the "pestiferous" productions without incurring excommunication or death. In a flattering letter to Sir Thomas, he asked him, since he could play the Demosthenes both in Latin and English, to steal a few hours from weightier labours, in order to declare to rude and simple people the craft and malice of their enemies. The books—"fond trifles"—were sent to Sir Thomas More, lest he should strive and contend blindfold, like the Andabatæ; and, being thus allowed an insight into the counsels of the enemies, he was exhorted to win for himself, by that holy work, an immortal name, and eternal glory in heaven. As

* The New Testament, translated by Tyndale.
The Supplication of Beggars.
The Revelation of Antichrist, written by Luther.
The wicked Mammon.
The Obedience of a Christian Man.
An Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans.
A Dialogue between the Father and the Son.
Luther's Exposition upon the Pater Noster.
Œconomicæ Christianæ.
Unio Dissidentium.
Piæ Precationes.
Captivitas Babylonica.
Joannis Hussi in Oseam.
Zuinglius in Catabaptistas.
De pueris instituendis.
Brentius de admiranda republica.
Lutherus ad Galatas.
De Libertate Christiana.

† Foxe, book viii.; Strype, Memorials, vol. i., chap. 23.

to immortality of name, if the author of Utopia attained it, it was not by his productions for the refutation of the Gospel.*

Clement VII. being in durance, (A.D. 1527,) Wolsey contrived to obtain the new office of Vicar-General, by which he was empowered to do whatever a Pope would do in England, without appeal, and to make definitive negotiations to restore the Pope.† This placed him at the zenith of his glory,—a spiritual Plenipotentiary. He thus assumed the supreme charge of ecclesiastical affairs, and being also Chancellor of England, and still in ascendancy over the royal counsels, the King was united with him in the joint administration of Church and State, and in the complication of sacred and civil attributes. It is therefore no matter of wonder that, after the fall of Wolsey, Henry should wish to retain the whole power in his own hands. In the exercise of this absolute authority, Wolsey forthwith applied himself to the extirpation of the obnoxious doctrines, and established a Court at Westminster for the inquisition of heretical pravity. Jeffrey Wharton, the Bishop's Vicar-General, presided there during the absence of the Bishop with the Cardinal in France; (A.D. 1527;) and the disclosures made by the examinates throw much light on the means employed by good men for spreading true religion in those times. The inquisitorial visitation of the diocese of London began in the month of January, and must have been preceded by a determination as to the course to be taken. There was no sentence of death, no employment of torture, no extremely severe penance; and, if we may judge by records, the most zealously-devoted persons were not the first apprehended.

One Hacker, or Ebbe, was first examined. For six years preceding he had travelled over a wide district of town and country, including London and the county of Essex. Some places he visited annually, others quarterly, and others more frequently. He was wont to read and converse with families, or with companies of the "brethren in Christ," as they called themselves, assembled to meet him on those visits; and he taught, one by one, those who desired instruction in Christian doctrine. Such inquirers he supplied with written papers, or small books, all in manuscript, written by his own hand, or by brethren who could write. Some he taught to write, that they might render that important service; and in one instance, in the house of John Stacy, a bricklayer in Coleman-street, a scribe was kept for the sole purpose of copying the Apocalypse in English; one John Sercot, a grocer in the same street, defraying the entire cost. Some of the brethren gave much time to reading and teaching, being guided by his advice, if not under his direction. Such an one was "Thomas Philip, pointmaker, dwelling against the little conduit at Cheap." Notwithstanding this great activity, and after persevering for six years, he was so timid, or so unfaithful, as to give the names of forty or fifty, at fewest, of those who had regarded him as their spiritual father and pastor, in London, Colchester, Branktree, (Braintree,) Witham, and neighbouring places. This sweeping information gave the Bishop and his Vicar abundant employment for

* Foxe, book viii.

† Rymeri Fœdera, tom. xiv., p. 198.

many weeks, until it no doubt became a question how far they might venture to enforce discipline on so many persons, connected, as they were, with multitudes yet undetected. Dr. Wharton, however, (February 24th,) sat judicially in the long chapel of St. Paul's church, and examined Sir Sebastian Herris, Curate of Kensington, who confessed that he possessed two books, Tyndale's Testament, and the Unio Dissidentium. The Curate was absolved, sworn on the holy Gospels not to possess the Gospels any more, nor any other book containing heresy; and seeing that London was a dangerous place to be the abode of a religiously-suspected person, he was required to leave it within twenty-four hours, and not approach within four miles during two years following. This proceeding was conducted with great solemnity, in the presence of several ecclesiastical dignitaries.

A more extensive inquest was made by "the reverend father in Christ, Cuthbert, Bishop of London, sitting judicially in his chapel within his palace at London." It continued, with some intermission, during three weeks (from 3d to 23d of March). John Pykas, of Colchester, was the son of a pious woman who lived at Bury St. Edmond's. About five years before this time she had sent for him, exhorted him to turn from the errors of Romanism, and given him a book of St. Paul's Epistles in English, to be the rule of his life, together with the Gospels. These sacred writings he studied, forsaking the services of the Church of Rome; and when a Lombard, or trader, from London, brought a supply of Tyndale's * New Testament to Colchester, he purchased a copy for four shillings, and read it through many times. When the prohibition of this book was published, he sent it back, with the others, to his mother; yet retaining in memory much of the sacred text, and still conversing and teaching from house to house, after the accustomed manner. When brought before the Bishop, he answered every question without reserve, and so freely disclosed the names of the known men, or "brethren in Christ," that it is scarcely possible to resist the impression that they must have agreed together no longer to attempt concealment. Several others were examined on oath, both to confess their own conduct, and to disclose that of others. Some few objected to take the oath, and one so determinately, that he was sent to the Lollards' Tower, and put into the stocks; but at last all yielded, and were sworn, examined, and abjured. Cuthbert and his Priests violated a first principle of humanity in confining each person in a separate cell, and in extorting from one relative information against another; but it is impossible to justify the facility with which they all abjured their faith, even on the supposition that a compulsory abjuration was considered to be invalid. During the remainder of this and the following year, many more signed confessions and abjurations; and, in order to complete his work, Dr. Wharton went into Essex on a tour of inquisition. At Colchester, in the monastery of St. John, a company of the wives of

* Tyndale was also called "Hotchyn." It was usual in those dark times, when the profession of faith in Christ was treated as a crime, for persons to bear assumed names, for the sake of concealment. The custom, however necessitated, was bad; and we may be thankful that, in our day, this method of concealment is only a necessity to rogues.

known men who had already made their submission, appeared before him and did the like. Having displayed his condescension in going down into the country to impose penance on housewives who might not have journeyed to the metropolis so easily as their husbands, the Vicar-General proceeded to Walden, rapidly dispatched his business there, and soon re-appeared in London covered with the easy honours of a bloodless victory.* That it was bloodless must be attributed, under God, to the policy of the moment. But it was illusive to the imaginary conquerors. They had gained nothing.

The Bishop of London, and whoever else undertook the repression of heresy, were but the commissaries of Wolsey, who thought fit to content himself with the imposition of penances. Another object engrossed his care, and that of Henry. Queen Catharine, aunt of Charles V., whom Wolsey hated, had been wife of Arthur, Prince of Wales. Arthur died six months after their marriage; from that union there was no issue, and Henry, obtaining a Papal dispensation, married his deceased brother's widow. The dispensation was supposed to have overcome all scruples in Henry as to the lawfulness of the marriage; but after the lapse of sixteen years, Catharine being still childless, Henry, who had married her for the sake of her dowry and political relations, rather than from affection, was quite ready to listen to a suggestion of divorce. Wolsey, having already disengaged him from alliance with the Emperor, prosecuted his design of revenge by making the suggestion; and application was made to the Pope, just after his liberation and flight from Rome, for a commission to examine the affair, in order to effect a dissolution of the marriage. Then (A.D. 1527) began those negotiations that led to the separation of England from Rome; but the narrative would be tedious, and must be sought elsewhere. The history of this reign is full of it. Clement, it is enough to say, would willingly have granted the King of England any request, however contrary to the law of God; but it was impossible for him to accede to this without incurring the vengeance of Charles V., whom he did not love, yet durst not offend. Other favours, however, he could grant. In addition to former gifts, he again issued Bulls for the suppression of many monasteries, in order to the building and larger endowment of the Cardinal's college at Oxford, and for another that Wolsey purposed to erect at Ipswich. And, yet again, he authorized the suppression of as many others as might be required for the fabric and endowment of royal colleges at Cambridge and Windsor Castle. In one Bull alone, twenty-two monasteries were named. The Pope is said to have expressed his gratification at hearing from Henry's Ambassadors, that an opportunity had occurred for abolishing such scandalous establishments, and diverting the property to the support of colleges wherein learning should be taught, and Lutheranism counteracted; and if an opinion were to be formed from the number and tenor of Papal Bulls in the years 1527—1529, we should say that Clement VII. was a zealous suppressor of monasteries, and even parsonages, in England. To

* Foxe scarcely notices these proceedings; but Strype records them at length. Memorials, vol. i., chapters 7, 8, and Appendix.

promote the interests of the colleges, to build new cathedrals, and to vacate houses where the Monks or Nuns were fewer than twelve, are the objects sanctioned "under the lead" of the Bishop of Rome; but always subject to the condition that royal assent be given to the proposed suppression,* and always pursuing the very track which has been followed in later years for bringing about the abolition of monasticism itself in other parts of Europe. Most fully, then, did the Pope establish the precedent for what, at Rome, is called spoliation.

North of the Tweed the darkness had been almost unbroken, and hitherto witnesses to the truth were so few and rare, that we have not digressed from the course of our narrative to mention them. But (A.D. 1527) Gospel light suddenly rose on Scotland, precisely when ecclesiastical freedom was approaching England. To gather up, however, the few testimonies afforded by the history of North Britain, it must be noted that, upwards of a century earlier, the city of Glasgow heard some evangelical truths from an English Lollard, James Resby, and saw him burnt to death—the proto-martyr of Scotland. Another foreigner, Paul Craw, one of the Bohemian Brethren, was apprehended in St. Andrews, summarily examined, condemned, gagged by a piece of brass thrust into his mouth, that he might not confess Christ in the hearing of the people, and, as usual, burnt (A.D. 1431). Yet the martyred followers of Huss and Wycliffe did not preach nor pray in vain. By some unrecorded means, the word of God was introduced into Glasgow, and, it would also appear, into other parts of the country; for Robert Blackader, Archbishop of that city, (A.D. 1494,) detected no fewer than thirty persons, "some in Kyle-Stewart, some in King's-Kyle, and some in Cunninghame," who professed the doctrines held by Wycliffe, and had them brought before him on charge of heresy. But, unused to inquisitorial formalities, or afraid to try them, he allowed those heretics to be sheltered under favour of the King, to whom some of them were familiarly known, and in whose presence they spoke with so great confidence and such pungent wit, that the Archbishop allowed them to disperse without prosecuting the inquisition, much less pronouncing any sentence. They were called "the Lollards of Kyle." Into Scotland, also, the writings of Luther and others were brought by sea, notwithstanding the most rigid prohibitions; and a change of public opinion in matters of religion silently, but rapidly, advanced. The events of the Lutheran Reformation were not unheard of, nor were the Ecclesiastics indifferent to the controversy.

Patrick Hamilton, titular Abbot of Fearn, of a noble family, and closely allied to royalty, partook of the desire to know more of the Reformers and their doctrine. He was but twenty-three years of age, and, ardently athirst for knowledge, determined to visit Germany.† Taking with him three companions, he crossed over to the Continent,

* Rymeri Fœdera, tom. xiv., pp. 240, 241, 243, 246, 247, 249, 270, 272, 273, 291, 345; Burnet, part i., book ii.; Strype, Memorials, vol. i., chap. 14, and Appendix.

† M'Crie, in his Life of Knox, demonstrates the literary poverty of the Scottish Universities in that age. Students went abroad to finish their education. To learn Greek in Scotland from a living master was impossible.

and was soon found as a student in the University of Marburg, newly founded by Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, receiving instruction from Francis Lampert, first occupant of the Chair of Divinity, and holding intimate correspondence with men in whose heart the love of God was shed abroad. Already a keen logician, he reasoned closely, by a free communication that would have been impracticable in his native country, improved the talent, and, by diligent study of holy Scripture, attained to a clear perception of the word of truth, that sanctifies them who love it. With prayer he sought the wisdom that cometh from above, and, having received the liberal gift, became anxious to make it known in Scotland. No representations of danger could deter him from his purpose. With one of the three companions he quitted Marburg, and, as speedily as wind and carriage would convey, hastened to Glasgow. Although beneficed as pensionary Abbot of Fearn, he had no licence to preach; but, whether from pulpits or in private can scarcely be gathered from the history, he did preach Christ, more clearly, and therefore more powerfully, than the Lollards of Kyle; and aroused, as ever, the anger of an inexorable priesthood. Before going abroad, his views of religion began to be enlarged; and, had he not left Scotland, it is probable that he would have been then imprisoned, for already Bishop Beaton had summoned him to undergo an examination. On his return, when he appeared in Glasgow as a zealous Evangelist, Beaton contrived to have him decoyed to St. Andrews, as if to hold an amicable conference with the Doctors in that University; and in order that the young King, to whom Hamilton was distantly related, might not be induced, by interposing his authority, to save him from death, His Majesty was engaged to go on a pilgrimage beyond the Grampians, to the shrine of St. Dothe's, in Ross. The Conference at St. Andrews was conducted with apparent candour, and even kindness, nor were acknowledgments withheld that many things in the Church needed reformation. Several days had thus been spent, James V. (a child of fourteen) was taken beyond the reach of appeal, and Hamilton had one night retired to his chamber without the slightest suspicion of danger, when the Bishop's messengers entered, and took him to the castle, with an intimation that he would be required to appear before their master at a certain hour the next morning. He obeyed the summons with alacrity, found a numerous company of Priests and nobles assembled to hear the sentence, and to subscribe it with their names. Even children, being of the nobility, were compelled to give their signatures: a heap of wood and coals was made before the college, and, after his judges had dined, they saw him taken to the spot. The bystanders could not believe that a person of so high dignity and excellent reputation, after a lengthened and apparently friendly intercourse with the heads of the University, would be thus thrown into the fire. He was only twenty-four years of age, something might be allowed for youthful haste; and they thought the whole was but an effort to terrify him into submission. But it was not so: the plot was complete, and, after suffering severely from an explosion of gunpowder which did not ignite the wood, he was consumed by fire (February 28th, 1528).

When the torches were applied, he cried, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! How long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?" The fire burnt slowly, and one Campbell, a Black Friar, officious as cruel, persisted in reiterating, "Convert, heretic; call upon our Lady, and say, 'Salve Regina.'" "Depart, and trouble me not, ye messengers of Satan," was his first answer. But when the Friar persisted in that vexatious outcry, Hamilton remembering long-repeated interviews with the man, when they had freely conversed together on the faith for which he then was suffering, and contrasting that savage with the Christian brother, as he once had thought him, who, shut up in the same chamber, had exchanged professions of the most unrestrained confidence, the sight of such a transformation filled him with horror, and he could no longer refrain from saying plainly, "Wicked man! Thou knowest the contrary. To me thou hast confessed. I cite thee before the judgment-seat of Christ Jesus!" These were the last words that he could speak, and Alexander Campbell said no more, but went away to Glasgow covered with confusion; and, after a few days, died without giving any sign of repentance.*

Of all people in the world, the Scotch were least likely to be deterred from religious inquiry by force. Their country was profoundly ignorant, it is true; but a few rays of sacred knowledge had gleamed in from England and the Continent, just enough to show where further information might be found. And the Clergy, more impetuous than prudent, kept alive the rising excitement by waging open war on all who differed from them. Alexander Galoway, Canon of Aberdeen, went over to Louvain, and delighted the University by an account of the feat performed at St. Andrews in the burning of Patrick Hamilton. The professors of theology forthwith wrote a laudatory letter to their Scottish brethren, exhorting them to expel those ravening wolves from the sheep-fold of Christ, as they had themselves done, to employ inquisitors and examiners of books, and to imitate the example of the English zealots, in preserving Scotland clear from the plague of heresy by which it had not been hitherto defiled. Meanwhile, people asked each other with what reason Hamilton had been condemned. The following articles objected against him were read with avidity, and few could perceive in them anything worthy of death:—

I. Man hath no free-will.

II. A man is only justified by faith in Christ.

III. A man, so long as he liveth, is not without sin.

IV. He is not worthy to be called a Christian, who believeth not that he is in grace.

V. A good man doeth good works: good works do not make a good man.

VI. An evil man bringeth forth evil works; and evil works, being faithfully repented, do not make an evil man.

VII. Faith, hope, and charity are so linked together, that one of them cannot be without another in one man, in this life.

* John Knox, History of the Reformation in Scotland, book i.; M'Crie's Life of Knox; Foxe, book viii.

These became theses for universal discussion; and the propositions, although not all such as we can fully approve,* could not be entertained without leaving an indelible impression of new-discovered truth on the public mind. Some dared to affirm that Master Patrick Hamilton had died a martyr, and that his articles were true. Henry Forrest, a young man lately admitted to the lesser orders, was reported to have said as much. Beaton caused him to be forthwith immured in the tower of St. Andrews, and sent a Friar, Walter Laing, to confess him, with instruction to draw out, if possible, some avowal that might serve to his condemnation. The Friar succeeded perfectly, and disclosed the confession to the Archbishop and a council of the Clergy, who pronounced Forrest to be a heretic, equal to Patrick Hamilton, and delivered him to the secular arm. At a place between St. Andrews Castle and Monymaill, the Clergy assembled to degrade him; he was brought into their presence, and, on entering at the door, he saluted them with an indignant cry: "Fie on falsehood! Fie on false Friars, revealers of confession!† After this day, let no man ever trust any false Friars, contemners of God's word, and deceivers of men." Proof against shame, and not troubling themselves with the law of God, or even of their Church, they stripped him of his orders. When this was done, he asked them to take from him also "their own baptism," which he justly thought to be very different from Christian baptism. For such a deprivation they had no form in the Ritual; but, "at the north stile of the abbey church of St. Andrew, to the intent that all the people of Forfar might see the fire," they burnt the man whose sin—allowing them to think that he had sinned—they were bound to have buried in perpetual silence, because discovered in auricular confession (A.D. 1533).‡ Murmurings gave way to terror, and subsided; but the Cardinal, not considering that they must have been succeeded by silent reflection, stirred up the latent truth again by citing a brother and sister of Patrick Hamilton, James and Catherine, with a woman of Leith, and two others, to appear before him in the abbey church of Holyrood-House in Edinburgh, as accused of heresy. Young James was brought there, to

* Such as articles I. and III., to which latter, however, the Church of Rome had no reason to object.

† The law of the Church on this point is explicit, but has been *often* violated. It is found in the Gregorian Decretals, lib. v., cap. 38, *Omnis utriusque*. "But let (the confessor) beware lest by the least word, or gesture, or in any other way whatever, he in the slightest degree betray the sinner. But if he need more prudent counsel, let him cautiously seek it without any indication of the person; because he who shall presume to reveal a sin disclosed to him in penitential judgment, we determine that he shall not only be deposed from the priestly office, but shut up in some close monastery, there to do perpetual penance." Turning from this original statute of the Church to the authorized exposition of it made a few years after the perfidious breach by Archbishop Beaton and his accomplices, we find the Roman Catechism demanding people's confidence in confessors, and assuring "the *fideles*" of their honesty. "And because there is no one who does not earnestly desire to conceal his crimes and his uncleanness, the faithful are to be assured that they have no reason to fear that what they disclose in confession will be ever divulged by any Priest, or that any sort of danger could result to them at any time. For the Sacred Sanctions provide that those Priests shall be most severely punished who do not keep all sins, which any one may have confessed to them, buried in perpetual silence." (Cat. Rom., *De Pœnitentiâ*.) The Catechism here refers to a Decretal of Innocent III., which I find in its place, and have translated in this note.

‡ Foxe, book viii.

give regal authority to the procedure, appropriately dressed in *red*, the colour of their Church.* James Hamilton, informed of his danger by a secret message from the King, fled. Catherine appeared, and, after long reasoning with a professor of canon law, in presence of the court, recanted at the King's desire, "because she was his aunt." The woman of Leith also recanted; but the two others, Norman Gurley and David Straton, stood firm. Mr. Straton, a gentleman of St. Andrews, had quarrelled with the Bishop about some tithes which he refused to pay. The Bishop prosecuted; the circumstance led him to serious reflection, and this, by the divine blessing, to change of heart. He and his friends, the lairds of Dun and Lauristen, frequently read the Bible together. One day, when with the latter in a field reading in the Gospels, they came to the sentence of our Lord: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven." He fell on his knees, and, after some moments' silent and most earnest prayer, devoutly pronounced such words as these: "O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest thou withdraw thy grace from me: but, Lord, for thy mercy's sake, let me never deny thee, nor thy truths, for fear of death or temporal pains." Thus prepared, he stood before Beaton and the priestly court at Holyrood, and, in the strength of God's grace, sought in faith, preferred death to recantation. Mr. Gurley displayed equal constancy; and, after dinner, (August 27th, 1534,) they were taken to an open place near the rood (cross) of Greenside, and burnt to death. It appears that others, not named, were summoned to Holyrood at the same time; but that they escaped to England, whither many of the persecuted, by this time, betook themselves for safety.

Yet England afforded them a very precarious refuge, and those who would escape imprisonment or death, eventually endeavoured to make their way to Germany, or, at least, to the Netherlands; and there some of them laboured with eminent success, by committing their writings to the press, and sending them over into this country, where they were distributed by multitudes of willing hands, and read with avidity by persons of all classes. There was no society established for the purpose; but wealthy merchants and flourishing tradesmen, rendering spontaneous co-operation, bought parcels of those little books newly set forth in English, and trusty "known men" gladly scattered them abroad.

Such a distribution was made at Westminster Abbey on Candlemas-day, February 2d, 1528. Many thousands of candles received the blessing of the Bishop, and were placed, with the accompaniments of holy water, kissing, and genuflection, into the hands of Canons, nobles, and as many of the people as were fortunate enough to catch a lesser bit of the consecrated wax; and even His Majesty, who had already been honoured with rose, and cap, and sword, and pendent *bullæ*, headed the throng, and took his weighty, decorated taper, amidst the crowd of courtiers and Priests, while the choir sang a shrill antiphone.

* Henry VIII., of England, when going to burn Lambert, less honestly chose *white*.

This part of the ceremony being ended, and his portly person at ease in the chair of state, a cross-bearer moved towards the great western door, preceded by a band of choristers, and followed by the choicest hierarchy of England, and a long train of inferior clerks, all intonating the supplications of a litany, in sonorous response to the *soprano* invocation of the singing-boys. The train made their appointed circuit of the Abbey, carrying the newly-hallowed lights, and flanked by a rude but vigorous constabulary, who kept back the dense crowd of devotees and idlers. Every now and then you might have perceived a taper-flame dip. Its bearer had stooped to pick up a small book that lay at his feet. Or you might have observed a scowling Priest fold his left arm hurriedly under his robe, but half concealing a copy that had been dropped before him, too. Yet the procession must have halted for him to inquire by what daring hand it had been projected. The procession completes its round. The master of ceremonies and acolyths are hard at work in packing away the paraphernalia of the day: King, Abbot, Bishops, dignitaries, and common people go home to the banquet and the cup; but many a Priest, and many a Lord, half impatient of the festivity, burns to know the contents of the surreptitious libel in his pocket. Many an eye is kept open all night in curious perusal and uneasy thought.

The title is, "The Supplication of Beggars." The author speaks for the whole community of beggars, who complain to the King their sovereign Lord. His poor daily beadsmen, wretched, hideous monsters, on whom scarcely for horror any eye dares look; the foul unhappy sort of lepers, and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that live only by alms, "lamentably complaineth of their woeful misery." Their number is sore increased; all the alms of well-disposed people are insufficient to sustain them, and they die for hunger. This most pestilent calamity has come upon the King's poor beadsmen by reason that, in the times of his predecessors, another sort of beggars, not impotent, but strong, puissant, counterfeit, holy, and idle beggars and vagabonds, craftily crept into this realm, and, since the time of their first entry, by all the craft and wiliness of Satan, are not only increased into a great number, but into a kingdom. These alien beggars are not only the Mendicant Friars, formerly complained of, but Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Deacons, Archdeacons, Suffragans, Priests, Monks, Canons, Friars, Pardoners, and Sumners. This "ravenous sort" have begged so importunately, that they have gotten into their hands *more than the third part* of all the realm. Their territory consists of the goodliest manors; they also take a tithe of all produce and of all stock, and even a tithe of every servant's wages. The poor wife who fails to pay even her tenth egg, is branded as a heretic when Easter comes. They gather from probates of testaments, privy-tithes, pilgrimages, and masses; masses and dirges and mortuaries for the dead; confessions, (yet not kept secret,) hallowings, blessings, cursings, absolutions, extortions, citations, bribes, beggings; by all these things, in fraud, chicanery, and force, they drain the realm, and cheat the true beggars. The petitioners implore his Grace to mark, and he will see all things out of joint: here

it is made out that the Friars alone get, in the form of offerings, £43,333. 6*s*. 8*d*. *per annum*, whereof, four hundred years before, they had not one penny. Not only are the real beggars defrauded, but the King is cheated of his revenue, and the nation of defence; for the people cannot possibly pay necessary taxes, nor is there force sufficient to defend the kingdom from invasion. It is proved, by truth of history, that those sturdy, idle thieves have ever drawn the nation into disobedience and rebellion; that, by their celibacy, population is diminished, and that, by their gross immorality, it is depraved and enfeebled, while they perpetrate, by their benefit of Clergy, the foulest crimes with impunity. They are stronger than the Parliament. To them the laws are captive, or are shamelessly eluded; since whom they list they will murder as a heretic: that honest merchant, Richard Hun, for example. The utmost good they can pretend to do in return for half the wealth of the kingdom, is to pray men out of purgatory, which is but a region of their own invention. Therefore they will not have the New Testament translated into English; therefore they keep civil power in their own hands; and therefore the chief Minister of England is always a spiritual man, as Wolsey at this time.

The prayer of this remarkable petition probably surpassed in boldness anything as yet addressed to an English King. "Set these sturdy loobies abroad, to get them wives of their own, to get their living with their labour in the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God in the third of Genesis; to give other idle people, by their example, occasion to go to labour. Tie these holy thieves to the carts, to be whipped naked about every market-town, till they fall to labour, that they, by their importunate begging, take not away the alms that the good Christian people would give unto us, sore, impotent, miserable people, your beadmen. Then shall as well the number of our aforesaid monstrous sort, as of the profligate men and women, thieves and idle people, decrease; then shall these great yearly exactions cease; then shall not your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people be translated from you; then shall you have full obedience of your people; then shall the idle people be set to work; then shall matrimony be much better kept; then shall the generation of your people be increased; then shall your commons increase in riches; then shall the Gospel be preached; then shall none beg our alms from us; then shall we have enough, and more than shall suffice us, which shall be the best hospital that ever was founded for us; then shall we daily pray to God for your most noble estate long to endure."

The Supplication of the Beggars was thenceforth the subject of conversation; and Sir Thomas More made haste to publish an attempt to counteract its mischief, under the less nervous title of "The poor silly Souls puling out of Purgatory." But the puling of the souls could not cry down the Supplication of the Beggars. Cardinal Wolsey, with feverish anxiety, employed his servants to search narrowly for copies of the book, lest one should reach the King; but, despite his diligence, more than one were already in Henry's possession.

"If it shall please your Grace," said he, "here are divers seditious persons who have scattered abroad books containing manifest errors and heresies." His Grace said nothing, but, coolly putting his hand into his bosom, drew out a copy, and gave it to the spiritual Chancellor. In truth, that "supplication" was deeply lodged in the King's bosom; and a succession of incidents served to convince Wolsey that his master was already disposed to give ear to the complaints of no small part of the nation, expressed with so much ingenuity and pungency by one of the English exiles. And it soon became known that the King had read the book with great satisfaction. Anne Boleyn, now aspiring to be Queen instead of Catharine, who no longer occupied the same palace with her heartless consort, had commended the "libel" most warmly. He asked her who made it. "One Fish," said she, "a subject of your Grace, who is fled out of the realm for fear of the Cardinal." Henry then put the book into his bosom, whence he delivered it, three or four days afterwards, to the persecutor of its author. The King's footman, too, talking with him about religion, mentioned "a marvellous book," and offered to introduce persons who would present it to him. Two merchants were accordingly introduced into "a privy closet," and gave the same work to the King, who received it with a significant pleasantry, heard it read, locked it up in a desk, and then gravely said, "If a man should pull down an old stone-wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head." To pull down the old fabric was the thing he desired to do, if it could be done with safety to himself.*

Anne Boleyn also incited him to the demolition of, at least, the material system of Popery. She had imbibed the new doctrines, as they were called, and read the books as they were brought over from the Continent, and so did those around her. She introduced Fish's wife to the King, who immediately gave her permission to bring her husband into his presence; and, when the good man came, took him out a hunting with him for three hours, and gave him a ring from his finger, with a message to Sir Thomas More,—by that time the successor of Wolsey in the dignity of Lord Chancellor,—requiring his Lordship to protect him. And the degradation of Wolsey had been hastened by his interference with Anne Boleyn, on account of her religious opinions, independently of other causes of dislike in her towards him which have been conjectured. An incident is related which shows that new influences must have now obtained ascendancy at court. Anne Boleyn had lent Tyndale's "Obedience of a Christian Man" to a young lady in her suite, from whom a gentleman in the same service, being her suitor, caught it playfully, but afterwards read it with serious attention, and with much profit. The Dean of the King's chapel, suspecting that the book was heretical, rudely demanded it of him, gave it to the Cardinal, and Wolsey refused to return it. The lady ran to her mistress to explain the loss of the book, which she valued very highly; and Anne declared that it should be the dearest book the Dean or Cardinal ever had. Hastening to

* Foxe, Acts and Monuments, book viii.

Henry, she fell on her knees, desired help for the recovery of her book, and Wolsey was obliged to restore it. No sooner was it in her possession again, than she besought the King to read it, as he did, and expressed delight in the perusal, saying, that *that book was for him and all Kings to read.* Less than three years before, he had prohibited the reading, under the severest penalties, of the very book which he now accepts as a book for himself and all Kings; and, like one suddenly recovering from some illusion, perceives, or thinks that he perceives, that Wolsey has abused excessive confidence, partakes of the keen disgust entertained against him by Anne Boleyn, sends the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to deprive him of the Great Seal, commands him to leave "York Place,"—residence of the Archbishop of York in London,—and to confine himself to his house at Esher, a country seat near Hampton Court * (October, 1529). The sudden fall of this great but godless man, his abject humiliation, the fitfulness of the King, the cowardly triumph of his enemies, and his mournful end, abundantly described by our historians, are replete with instruction to the Christian, as well as to the philosopher.

It was when the Cardinal had fallen, condemned under a *præmunire*, —when the Pope had declared himself † unable to gratify the King with a bill of divorce from Catharine, and the Clergy agreed with him, generally, in thinking that a divorce would be unlawful,—just after Dr. Cranmer had suggested that the question should be submitted to the judgment of Divines, rather than to the authority of the Pope and vexatious policy of the court of Rome,‡—and while the laity were more alienated from the Clergy, and more willing to listen to evangelical doctrine than at any former time,—that a Parliament met at Westminster (November 6th, 1529). The first debate in the House of Commons related to the oppression of the temporalty by the spiritualty, and issued in a formal complaint of six grievances: 1. Exorbitant fines for probates of wills. 2. Unreasonable exaction for mortuaries, or burial-fees. 3. Monopoly, by Priests, of farms and granges. 4. Pursuit of trade and commerce by Monks and Priests. 5. Non-residence. 6. Pluralities. The King supported the Commons, and the House of Lords was compelled to pass bills for the correction of the grievances relating to probates, mortuaries, pluralities, and non-residence. While he gratified the Commons with these

* Strype, Memorials, vol. i., chap. 15.

† On the 9th of July Dr. Bennet had an audience of the Pope at Rome, and wrote to Wolsey, the same day, to inform him that Clement had declared, with tears, that he could not grant Henry's request, although "now he saw the destruction of Christendom, and lamented that his fortune was such to live to that day, and not be able to remedy it." (Burnet, book ii., collection 29.) Wolsey, however earnest in acting against the Emperor, would not act contrary to a decision of the Pope; and it was, therefore, no matter of surprise that his royal master should treat him as guilty of having used his legantine office to the prejudice of the kingdom. One in his position, even if such an one could possibly be single-minded,—which Wolsey was not,—could hardly have avoided that offence; and Henry, therefore, found no difficulty in making out a case, and accordingly took the Great Seal from him in September, before the commencement of the Michaelmas term.

‡ Cranmer became known to the King, and was consulted by him, in August, 1529, the time, almost to a day, when the intelligence mentioned in the preceding note reached England.

reasonable reforms, he repaid himself by forcing another bill to cancel all debts due from him to his subjects, in consideration of the heavy charges incurred during the military expeditions to the Continent, and as an acknowledgment of the prevention of war on England "by the high providence and politic means of his Grace."*

As he gave to the Commons with one hand and took away with the other, so did he make the Clergy feel his power by a similar policy. While slightly diminishing some of their revenues, he unreservedly supported them in carrying on persecution. "Of his most virtuous and gracious disposition," as he was pleased to proclaim, considering the long persistence of this noble realm of England in "the true Catholic faith of Christ's religion," and the laws previously enacted for the defence of the said faith "against the malicious and wicked sects of heretics and Lollards," who again perverted Scripture and sowed error and sedition, after the example of Martin Luther in some parts of Germany: considering, also, certain heretical and blasphemous books lately made, and privily sent into the kingdom by Lutherans and others, "his Highness, like a most gracious Prince, of his blessed and virtuous disposition, for the incomparable zeal which he had to Christ's religion and faith, and for the singular love and affection that he bore to all his good subjects of this his realm, and especially to the salvation of their souls, according to his office and duty in that behalf," willed to be put in execution all existing laws for the extirpation, suppressing, and withstanding of the said heresies. His Highness, therefore, charged and straitly commanded all authorities, both spiritual and temporal, and all his true and loving subjects, to aid in the execution of those laws, under penalty of his high indignation and displeasure. Again he forbade all preaching, teaching, and writing, openly or privily, that should contain any thing contrary to the doctrine of holy Church; as well as favouring those who so preached or *taught in schools*, or in any way disseminated the alleged heresy, or retained prohibited books in their possession, under penalty of immediate imprisonment. He also authorized Bishops to imprison and to impose fines; the fines, however, "to be paid to the behoof of the King," and "certified by the Bishop into the King's exchequer, there to be levied to the King's use," except where such persons were "totally to be left to the secular jurisdiction," in order to suffer death† (A.D. 1529). This proclamation stirred up persecution afresh: the Clergy almost seem to have imagined that the desired extirpation of Lollardy and Lutheranism would soon be realized, and, as their inquisition proceeded, pastorals and proclamations were issued to invest it with a more awful appearance of legality. Archbishop Warham, Chancellor More, Bishop Tonstal, and several others, met in a sort of convocation and issued an injunction (May 24th, 1530) to every Incumbent to publish in his parish, that the obnoxious books, as therein catalogued, were heretical and dangerous; and that, having consulted concerning a translation of the Bible into English, they had agreed that such a work was not necessary, and that, although it had been half promised when Tyndale's

* Foxe, book viii.; Burnet, book ii., and collection 31. † Foxe, book viii.

version of the New Testament was first prohibited, the King had done well in not authorizing the work.* Four days afterwards a voluminous document was published, in presence of the King, his Council, and a convocation of Clergy at Westminster, repeating and amplifying the contents of the former. Henry delivered an oration to the assembly, to incite them to a zealous execution of the mandate for search and destruction of the books; and a multitude of hands gave signature to the deed, Hugh Latimer, at that time a Papist, amongst them.† Yet the effect of this edict could not have been satisfactory to those who issued it; for in order to get a heap of books for burning in St. Paul's church-yard, the Bishop of London was obliged to buy them; and, within a month, another royal proclamation, which required all forbidden books to be delivered up within fifteen days,‡ was issued, as a further effort to force them out of people's hands. But Henry could not equal Diocletian.

Abjurations had been extorted incessantly. Many lay in prison, and of these one deserves especial mention. Humphrey Mummuth, an Alderman of London, had received William Tyndale into his house as Chaplain, believed the doctrine held by him, given money to him and his friend Roy when they went over to Antwerp, and assisted them when translating and printing the New Testament. He had scandalized the bigots by eating flesh in Lent, and affirming that a man is justified by faith without works of the law; and had spoken against saint-worship, pilgrimage, auricular confession, and Papal pardons. His former munificence to their Church, and to many Ecclesiastics, who were far from being Lutherans, did not engage the gratitude of his persecutors; nor did his eminently Christian deportment conciliate their esteem. He was arrested by order of Wolsey, and imprisoned in the Tower of London, where he lay when the Cardinal was degraded, but was afterwards forced to abjure, then released; and when the King's views had undergone some change, knighted, and made a Sheriff of London.§

Thomas Philip was another prisoner in the Tower. His brethren suspected that he had been betrayed by one of their own number, and conveyed to him a letter when on his way to the Tower, exhorting him to make a good confession, and, by the grace of God, stand firm. Upheld, no doubt, by their prayers, he steadfastly refused to recant the articles of his Christian faith, resolutely telling the Bishop of London that he would only abjure *heresy*, reserving to himself the right of judging as to what was or was not heresy. The Bishop would not yield, neither would he, but appealed to the King, who would have been well pleased to be called on to arbitrate; but the Bishop suppressed the appeal. In the Lollards' Tower, also, was immured a victim of personal malice. Stokesley, Bishop of London, having conceived dislike against Thomas Patmore, the Incumbent of Hadham,‖ in Hertfordshire, sought occasion to put him out of the way, and easily found it at a time when few earnest men had not expressed some sentiment unsanctioned by the Church. Patmore had,

* Burnet, part i., book ii. † Offor, Memoir of Tyndale. ‡ Ibid.
§ Foxe, book viii. ‖ Probably Much Haddam.

indirectly, at least, disapproved of clerical celibacy; and if he did not pronounce the nuptial benediction, yet, knowing that his Curate had secretly married a servant rather than live with her after the usual manner, had retained him in his church; and when the poor man was compelled to flee after the discovery of the fact, covered his escape. Bishop Stokesley, using the authority allowed him over his Clergy, and again and again confirmed by royal edicts, imprisoned the Parson of Hadham in the Lollards' Tower, without any trial or form of justice, and kept him there in solitary durance without the sight of a friend, or fire, or candle, for two years. He did not so much as allow him food, except what his friends sent him, who yet were not permitted to see him, not even when sick. The Bishop's Vicar-General, Foxford, like the Chancellor Horsey who murdered Hun in the same place, was the active man, and often endeavoured to entangle him by questions and the exhibition of articles of reputed heresy; but Patmore withstood the extreme suffering of two years in that dreadful chamber, and at length appealed to the King, who liberated him, at the end of the third year, on the intercession of Anne Boleyn. The King also commanded an investigation of the conduct of Stokesley in intercepting his appeal, with the view of restoring him to his benefice if it should be found that he was innocent of heresy. But it does not appear that such an investigation was prosecuted, probably, because the King would have been thereby committed to an execution of justice on the guilty Prelate, and that would have brought a revolt of the whole priesthood against him, as had almost happened in the case of Hun, whose murderers the King did not dare to punish. Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, signalized himself as a zealot, of which the register of his diocese gave ample evidence. A poor man, a painter, named Edward Freese, apprehended in Colchester for the single offence of painting some words of Scripture on a picture, was brought up to Fulham, imprisoned and tormented in the Bishop's palace, and then in Lollards' Tower, until he lost his reason, and was discharged in a state of idiocy. Perhaps that was the effect of grief, on account of the murder of his wife. When the poor woman heard whither they had carried him, she made her way to Fulham to implore pity of the Bishop, and was endeavouring to gain admission at the gate, when the brutal porter, observing that she was likely soon to become a mother, kicked her with violence, that at the same time destroyed the life of the unborn babe, and sent her to an untimely grave. These are but a few examples of the sufferings of reputed heretics at that time (A.D. 1530, 1531); a narrative of abjurations and penances, with the charges brought against the penitents,—often ridiculously trifling,—would fill a long chapter.*

But the Inquisitors could never be satisfied without blood.

The Martyrologist of England, to whom every subsequent writer must be principally indebted, and many of whose sources of information cannot be re-opened, as regards *his own* country, thus records the sole memorial of one: "Touching the memorial of Thomas Hitten remaineth nothing in writing, but only his name; save that William Tyndale, in his apology against More, entitled, 'The Practice of Pre-

* Foxe, book viii.

lates,' doth once or twice make mention of him, by way of digression. He was (saith he) a Preacher at Maidstone, whom the Bishop of Canterbury, William Warham, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, after they had long kept him in prison, and tormented him with sundry torments, and that he, notwithstanding, continued constant; at last they burned him at Maidstone, for the constant and manifest testimony of Jesus Christ, and of his free grace and salvation, A.D. 1530." *

An undaunted witness to the truth appears at Exeter. Thomas Benet, a native of Cambridge, Master of Arts in that University, and Priest, enlightened by the Bible readings and holy conversation of the few good men there, secretly cast off Popery. For the same reason that induced many of his brethren to do the like, he privately married; and finding the constraint of a perpetual concealment to be insufferable, removed to Devonshire. In the little market-town of Torrington, divested of the priestly robe, and in the character of a layman, with wife and children, he endeavoured to eke out their maintenance by keeping a school. But as in that rural population there was little demand for learning, he removed to Exeter, hired a house in Butcher-row, and pursued his new vocation of schoolmaster with better success. When not so employed, he spent the leisure hours in his library, absorbed in study or earnest in prayer; or he attended at sermons, gleaning the good, and fortifying his mind against the evil. Unable to associate with most of his neighbours, he slowly gathered around himself a small circle of serious and enlightened persons, whom he instructed, as a brother, with unobtrusive modesty. Amidst such exercises and such communion, his soul gained increasing power, and his conversation became increasingly instructive. He ventured to seek out for persons like-minded with himself, and enjoyed the mutual confidence that in those days shielded companies of praying people from detection. So, after he had been six years in the county, when William Strowd, Esq., of Newnham, (Gloucester,) was committed to the Bishop's prison on charge of heresy, he sent him letters written in Latin,—prisons in those days and for centuries later being easily accessible, although indescribably wretched,—and, to obviate mistrust, disclosed his history.† A man so devoted to the cause of Christ could not be content to hide his talent. He burned with desire to do something that should arouse public attention to the great doctrines of Christianity, and, perhaps, received a suggestion from some of the proceedings of the continental Reformers. Yet he knew that, sooner or later, any active endeavour would draw down the vengeance of those "antichristians;" and, therefore, making known his determination to his friends, distributed his books among them, strove to surrender himself as a living sacrifice to God, and, encouraged by their exhortations, prayed for power to confess Christ even unto death. But how should he carry out his purpose? He wrote a single sentence on scrolls of paper, and secretly affixed one

* Foxe, book viii.

† "Ut ne scortator aut immundus essem, uxorem duxi, cum quâ hisce sex annis ab istorum antichristianorum manibus in Devonia latitavi."

to each door of the cathedral. "The Pope is Antichrist, and we ought to worship God only, and no saints." Early next morning the mass-goers and passengers, entering the cathedral-yard from all parts of the city, were attracted by the white papers, read the sentence aloud, and in an hour it was repeated on every lip. The Clergy were strangely excited; and, as the thesis could not now be suppressed, it was determined that their Doctors should preach a sermon every day against the heresy. They delivered sermons, but similar placards appeared on the doors of other churches. Benet quietly marked the progress of his enterprise, and went to the cathedral, as usual, to the sermon on the following Sunday, casually seating himself by the two most zealous heretic-hunters of Exeter. They suspected him, but as he sat with no less decorum than they, devoutly conning a Latin Testament, their suspicion died away. At last, when no familiar had succeeded in detecting the author of the scandal, the Priests resolved to make a new effort for discovery. On an appointed day, a Priest, robed in white, ascended the cathedral pulpit, the Monks of St. Nicholas standing round, and a lofty cross erected near, illuminated with wax tapers. The Priest began with a flourish of rhetoric. "*Blasphemia est in castris,*"* "There is blasphemy in the camp." Then he delivered a vituperation of the foul and abominable heretic; and lastly an apostrophe to God, our Lady, St. Peter, the patron of that church, and all martyrs, confessors, and virgins, praying that they would make him known. Sermon being ended, the curse followed; and as it is as compendious a form of malediction as can be found, it shall be repeated here, and will render any similar recitation needless in this volume. A Priest in pontificals officiated, reading thus:—

"By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Peter and Paul, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whatsoever he or she be, that hath—in spite of God and of St. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saints, and in spite of our most holy Father the Pope, God's Vicar here in earth, and in spite of the reverend father in God, John our Diocesan, and the worshipful Canons, Masters and Priests and Clerks, who serve God daily in this cathedral church—fixed up with wax such cursed and heretical bills, full of blasphemy, upon the doors of this and other churches within this city. Excommunicated plainly be he or she plenally, or they, and delivered over to the devil, as perpetual malefactors and schismatics. Accursed may they be, and given, body and soul, to the devil. Cursed be they, he or she, in cities and towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places; standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. We separate them, him or her, from the threshold, and from all the good prayers of the Church; from the participation of the holy mass; from all sacra-

* No such sentence exists in the Vulgate, nor can I find it any where else. It was not the custom to name the *place* of Scripture, so that any scrap of Latin would serve as text. He might have meant to quote, *Educ blasphemum extra castra.* (Lev. xxiv. 14.)

ments, chapels, and altars; from holy bread and holy water; from all the merits of God's Priests and religious men, and from all their cloisters; from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, Popes of Rome, have granted to them; and we give them over utterly to the power of the fiend: and let us quench their souls, if they be dead, this night, in the pains of hell-fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out. (*He puts out a candle.*) And let us pray to God, if they be alive, that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is. (*He puts out another candle.*) And let us pray to God and to our Lady, and to St. Peter and St. Paul, and all holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone,—(*he extinguishes a third candle,*)—except they, he or she, come openly now and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance, as much as in them shall lie, make satisfaction unto God, our Lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this cathedral church; and as this holy cross-staff now falleth down, so may they, except they repent and show themselves."

The cross was removed; the staff that had leant against it fell upon the ringing pavement; the whole congregation shouted, and every hand was raised in savage imprecation. Benet alone stood unmoved, except to scorn. Scarcely could he repress laughter, which some one observing, asked how he could dare to laugh, seeing that that weighty curse must fall on some one. "My friends," said he, "who can forbear, seeing such merry conceits and interludes played by the Priests?" "Here's the heretic!" they cried: "here's the heretic! Hold him fast!" Yet no one touched him; for they could not conceive it possible that a man canonically deprived of peace, and almost of life, and the senses of whose body ought to have failed, if he were indeed the foul blasphemer, could be guilty. So the clamour subsided, the crowd dispersed, and Benet returned to Butcher-row to carry on the warfare. Very early next morning his servant-boy was sent with more bills, relating to these proceedings, to post them up in a few public places. As he was attaching one of them to a gate called the Little Stile, a devotee, going to hear a five o'clock mass, caught him in the act, and took him to the Mayor, who instantly caused Benet to be taken into custody. The Canons and chief men of the city came to institute an examination; but he rendered that unnecessary by plainly acknowledging that he had put up the bills, and would do so again, if it were possible, and maintain that what he had written was the truth. Next day he was sent to the Bishop, who first committed him to his own prison, where he was put into the stocks and laden with irons, until it pleased his Lordship, with his Chancellor, Dr. Brewer, and some others, to examine their prisoner. With perfect self-possession he entered into controversy, and argued so learnedly and so forcibly, that they not only thought fit to close the conversation, but could not conceal their admiration of the man. During a full week the Friars, after their usual manner, harassed him with threatenings and intreaties, hoping for the glory of an abjuration. His house was searched, and his wife ill-treated. The good woman brought him food,

and he soothed her grief with godly exhortations. Meanwhile a writ "for burning the heretic" was obtained from London, and on the 15th of January, 1531, he was delivered to Sir Thomas Denis, Sheriff of Devonshire, to be burnt. "The mild martyr, rejoicing that his end was approaching so near, as the sheep before the shearer, yielded himself with all humbleness, to abide and suffer the cross of persecution." In a place called Livery-dole, outside the city, he endured meekly, but triumphantly, the last trial. Two Esquires beset him with coarse abuse, and, as he was burning, excited the rabble to pelt him. But he had raised his voice in testimony to the Gospel, the surrounding crowd had heard it that day, and he was satisfied. Praying for his murderers, he for ever escaped their fury.

Another name that adds honour to Cambridge is Thomas Bilney. He studied there from childhood, graduated Bachelor in Canon and Civil Law, (*utriusque juris,*) and was a good Churchman. Of low stature, slender, active, temperate, and studious, as if fashioned for preferment, he was likely to become an earnest and eminent Ecclesiastic; but an incident, such as often determines a man's career, diverted him from the pursuits of clerical ambition. Hearing the Latinity of Erasmus's Paraphrase of the New Testament highly commended, he bought the book. It was then new, and to be desired as a literary luxury. At the very first reading, just on the opening of the book, before he had begun a consecutive perusal, this sentence caught his eye: "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief." The "faithful saying" could not have been found more opportunely; for his heart was already wounded with a sense of guilt, and he was endeavouring to find consolation in works of righteousness. At the moment he did not perceive the power of that precious sentence; but it was the first read, and the best remembered. The words, *Fidelis sermo, et omni acceptione dignus,* followed him every where; he pondered the faithful saying, he accepted it, confessing himself to be the chief of sinners, "and immediately felt a marvellous comfort and quietness, insomuch that his bruised bones leaped for joy." Profoundly studying the Gospel, he perceived that all his labours, fastings, watchings, all the spurious redemption of masses and pardons, being without Christ, who only saves from sin, were nothing better than error and delusion. Alarmed at the discovery, and under keen stings of sorrow and shame, he prayed earnestly for mercy, and after some time "was taught of God the lesson that Christ speaketh:" "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." Thomas Bilney believed; and while the paraphrast enjoyed the applause of Europe for a work written in darkness, the penitent at Cambridge, "taught of God," came to an understanding of the text, and walked in the light of His countenance, rejoicing in the loving-kindness that is better than life.

The same divine teaching and grace constrained him to cry to God for strength "to teach the wicked His ways, which are mercy and

truth." From that time he visited the prisons, and exhorted the "desperates" to repent and believe in Christ. He fearlessly ventured into the *lazar cots*, or "leper hospitals," wrapped the sufferers in sheets, and strove to win them for Him who cleansed the lepers, by displaying compassion towards both soul and body. Without any formal connexion with the "known men" in the country, probably without knowing any of them, he did as they did, exhorting his friends, bringing them over to his views, uniting them in a distinct company of praying brethren, and labouring with them to convert sinners. We now find him associated with Stafford, the lecturer on the Gospels and Epistles, with Arthur, of whom we shall have more to say, with Master Thixtel, of Pembroke-Hall, Master Fooke, of Benet-College, Master Soud, Warden of the same College, Master Parker, Master Powry, and others. Dr. Barnes and Lambert, afterwards martyrs, were converted by means of Bilney; and Hugh Latimer, cross-bearer, hitherto a most zealous Papist, proud of leading all the great processions, and on the way to high Church dignities, owned him as a spiritual father. The Priests charged him with propagating Luther's opinions, and bound him by an oath not to do so: but he preached Christ, not Luther; and at length left Cambridge, accompanied by Thomas Arthur, and proceeded through Norfolk and Suffolk towards London, delivering many sermons by the way, and in the metropolis excited much attention by a discourse at St. Magnus, (an obsolete saint,) where a large crucifix had just been erected, but was not yet gilded. Such images, he told the congregation, ought not to be worshipped, but taken down by Kings and Princes, as Hezekiah destroyed the brazen serpent. Neither should men worship saints, but God alone; nor should lights be placed before their images, since the blessed in heaven need not light, and the images cannot perceive it. He also denounced the Popes as holding keys of simony, not the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and pointed out the folly of pilgrimages, and the insufficiency of men's best works, who can do nothing meritorious. But he spoke plainly of the merits of the Saviour, expressed his joy that the Gospel was at last made known, and his hope that many other preachers would shortly confirm his words. And at the recitation of the Litany, the congregation pronouncing the responses, after the invocation of the Holy Trinity, when he came to *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, "Holy Mary, pray for us," he bade the people stop there, and pray to God alone. Scarcely had he left the church when he was apprehended, taken to the Bishop of London's coal-house at the back of his palace in Paternoster-row, together with Arthur, and thence conveyed to the Tower (Whitsun week, 1527). From the Tower he wrote no fewer than five letters to Tonstal, Bishop of London, containing an account of his conversion, and an undisguised confession of his faith; and, after half a year's imprisonment, he was taken to the Chapter-house at Westminster, before Cardinal Wolsey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Rochester, Ely, Exeter, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, and St. Asaph, with many others, both Divines and Lawyers, and interrogated by the Cardinal himself respecting his sermons in London and the neighbourhood,

Norfolk, and elsewhere. To every question he gave a clear and unequivocal reply, agreeing in many lesser points with the Church of Rome, displaying strong prejudice against Luther, yet maintaining the essential doctrines of the Gospel.* Four days afterwards Bilney and Arthur were recalled to the same place, Wolsey having commissioned the Bishops to proceed as his representatives, and gone to look after secular affairs. Two long series of articles were then exhibited against them, extracted from reports of their sermons and conversations. Arthur acknowledged some, explained or denied others, revoked the whole, and submitted himself to the judgment and discipline of the Church (December 2d, 1529). Thus closed the proceedings of the day.

The court re-assembled on the following day: Bilney, deserted by his companion, was exhorted to submit also, and return to the Church of Rome; but he steadily refused to deny Christ. Then the Bishop exhibited the five letters, delivered them to Notaries to be copied into the register, and the originals returned to himself. Bilney demanded a copy, which was granted, and the Notaries were sworn to transcribe accurately. Several witnesses made their depositions; a Friar from Ipswich brought up a long report of a private conversation concerning image-worship, written in Latin; and after spending the day in juridical formalities, the Bishops adjourned, and Bilney was reconducted to the Tower, to ponder the question of life and death until morning. When morning came, he was again set before the same tribunal, and called on to answer the single question, whether he would recant. The Judges evidently shrank from pronouncing the extreme sentence. Tonstal appeared perfectly sincere in his notion of doing God a service by persecution, and betrayed some signs of humanity struggling against the ruthless temper of his order. Bilney was no vulgar heretic, and his learning, self-possession, and dignified piety, called forth as much courtesy as could be found in such a place. Neither was his influence at Cambridge forgotten. The depositions of witnesses were once more read over, with his answers; and this done, Tonstal exhorted him to recant, and offered him permission to withdraw, in order to determine in private. This permission he did not accept, but intimated his wish for an immediate decision: *Fiat justitia et judicium in nomine Domini*, "Let justice and judgment be done in the Lord's name." Again and again the Bishops entreated him, but as often he reiterated the same sentence: "Let justice and judgment be done in the Lord's name;" and added at the last, "This is the day the Lord hath made: let us rejoice in it and be glad." The Bishops consulted for a few moments, and then Tonstal arose, put off his cap, and said, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen. Let God arise, and let his enemies be

* Yet not without retaining much that is erroneous. It is certain that he believed in baptismal regeneration, and in the "real presence." But in truth, the great doctrine of justification by faith in Christ seemed to him to be the sum and substance of the Gospel; and he went little further than the more obvious conclusions to which that necessarily conducted him.

scattered." * And having crossed himself twice, he gave sentence: "I, by the consent and counsel of my brethren here present, do pronounce thee, Thomas Bilney, who hast been accused of divers articles, to be convicted of heresy; and, for the rest of the sentence, we take deliberation till to-morrow." Next morning all were in their places in the Chapter-house again; and again the question was repeated. Bilney answered that he would not bring scandal on the Gospel by a recantation, and he trusted that he was not separated from the Church; but if witnesses to his conduct were admitted, he would have thirty in his favour to each one that had appeared against him. The Bishop replied, that after the delivery of the sentence, it was too late to summon new witnesses, and urged him to recant, which he still refused, but was told that he might withdraw and consult his friends in private, until one o'clock. On this consultation he began to waver, catching at some of those fallacies which, to a man so dealt with, and so wearied, grow into the semblance of reasons. After much difficulty on both sides, the Bishops fearing that he would appeal to the King, if allowed time, and he wishing to save life and conscience, two days were granted; and on the following Saturday, (December 7th,) he was brought up again, professed himself persuaded to submission by his friends, read an abjuration, and received a final sentence to be imprisoned as long as the Cardinal should please, after doing public penance. On the following day he walked bare-headed before the procession in St. Paul's, with a faggot on his shoulder, and, during the sermon at the Cross, stood in the same guise before the preacher.

About a year after this we find him at Cambridge again, which makes it probable that for so long he was a prisoner in the Tower of London. Latimer, who had received his friend and enjoyed his entire confidence, afterwards related, in a sermon preached before the Duchess of Suffolk, that he was overwhelmed with remorse, refused consolation, and declared that for having denied Christ he was excluded from all participation in the promises of God, and from all hope of mercy. In that wretched state he continued for some months, until, by divine grace, he was enabled to resolve that he would submit to die in proof of the sincerity of his repentance. This resolution was communicated to his more intimate friends; and one night, about ten o'clock, he took leave of them, saying, in allusion to our Lord's last journey when he went to be delivered up for death, that he was going up to Jerusalem. Under cover of darkness, he walked out of the college, (Trinity-Hall,) and by day-light was many miles on the way towards Norfolk, where he sought out the persecuted Lollards, joined in their cottage-meetings, and proceeded to Norwich, where he found an anchoress, whom he had previously brought, under God, to acknowledge the truth, still persevering. To her he gave copies of Tyndale's Testament, and his "Obedience of a Christian Man." But he had not contented himself with frequenting private meetings. Often had he gone into the fields, followed by a few per-

* A sentence that frequently occurs in the proceedings of the "Holy Office."

sons, and preached to them there, bewailing his fall, and exhorting all who had any knowledge of Christianity to take warning by him. His field-sermons began to be numerously attended: aware of the consequent notoriety, he had voluntarily appeared in the streets of Norwich, and it was then that Nix, Bishop of Norwich, caused him to be apprehended, and placed in custody at the Guildhall; and, as no trial was necessary for the condemnation of a known relapse, sent to Lord Chancellor More for a writ to burn him. So delighted was More on receiving the application, that he bade the messengers go their ways and burn him first, and afterwards come for the parchment, that would be engrossed at leisure. Meanwhile, Nix lost no time. His Chancellor examined the heretic, and had him degraded with great publicity, amidst an officious crowd of Friars and Doctors, and forthwith committed to the two Sheriffs of the city. One of these, Thomas Necton, was a friend of Bilney, and therefore provided him with every possible accommodation at the Guildhall, until the return of the persons who had gone to London for the writ, and refused to be present at the execution. During the two days that intervened, many of his friends from Cambridge and elsewhere came to see him, and were surprised to find their once broken-hearted brother cheerful as none had ever known him. The burden of guilt and shame had fallen off, and he ate his bread with gladness. He told them that he was following the example of men, who, having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow cost, as long as they may, to keep it up. "And so do I now with this ruinous house of my body, and with God's creatures, in thanks to Him, refresh the same, as ye see." The conversation turning on the pain of burning that he was to suffer the next day, and the power of the Holy Spirit that might be expected to sustain him, he did what he had often done before. While his friends were talking, he silently stretched out his hand towards a candle, and held his finger in the flame; and, when they were surprised at this, conversed in a strain that Plato never equalled. "O," said he, "I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire, by God's ordinance, is naturally hot; but yet I am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some, spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption; and I constantly believe, that however the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby: a pain for the time, whereon followeth, notwithstanding, joy unspeakable." Then he recited and descanted on a passage before marked in the margin of his Bible:* "Fear not: for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name; thou art mine. When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee. For I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel, thy Saviour." At the same time his finger was burning. All his friends, except

* This Bible is stated by the Rev. George Townsend (Foxe, vol. iv., p. 653, *note*) to be now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, so marked at Isai. xliii. 1—3.

one old scholar, left him: with him he retired to rest, and the Doctor perceived, in the night, that he was again holding that finger in the flame. "I am trying my flesh," he said, "by God's grace, and burning one joint, when to-morrow God's rods shall burn my whole body in the fire."

On the Sunday came the officers to receive him. A party of friends were standing at the prison-door when he came out; and one of them prayed him to be constant, and take his death patiently. Bilney compared himself to a mariner, biding the storm in hope of reaching the haven; but requested the benefit of his prayers. The procession then moved through the city, Bilney dressed as a layman, disfigured by the clumsy cutting off of his hair at the time of degradation, and wearing a tattered cloak, with Dr. Warner, an old fellow-student, at his side, who distributed alms for him among the poor. Thus they went out at the Bishop's gate, and down the hill towards a place called "Lollards' pit," where they found that the preparations for burning were not quite complete; and employing the interval in speaking to the people, he assured them of his steadfastness in the Christian faith, justified himself for having preached, contrary to the prohibition of the Church, and reverently recited the Creed. Then, putting off his unsightly gown, he walked to the stake, knelt on the ledge prepared for him to stand on, and offered private prayer with as much calmness and subdued fervour as if he had been in his chamber, ending with this Psalm, "Hear my prayer, O Lord, give ear to my supplications," &c.; and thrice, with deep meditation, repeated the sentence, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant," as if in remembrance of his former abjuration. Having finished this act of devotion, he rose from his knees, and asked the executioners if they were ready. Finding that he might now be released, he took off his outer garments, stood on the ledge, and was chained to the stake. Dr. Warner then came to bid him farewell; but his voice was choked with weeping. The martyr smiled, and, after a few words of thanks, most impressively concluded their earthly communion: "O, Master Doctor! Feed thy flock, feed thy flock; that when the Lord cometh, he may find thee so doing. Farewell, good Master Doctor, and pray for me." The Doctor hurried from the spot, sobbing aloud; and as he retreated, a company of Friars, Doctors, and Priors, who had assisted at his degradation, pressed in through the crowd, and their spokesman thus discharged his mission: "O Master Bilney! the people be persuaded that we be the causers of your death, and that we have procured the same; and thereupon it is likely that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, except you declare your charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter." Their prayer was granted in few words by the generous victim of their Church: "I pray you, good people, be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the authors of my death: it was not they." The reeds and faggots were then lighted, the wind drove away the flames, so that his sufferings were prolonged. But he uttered no cry, except "Jesus," or "Credo," *

* I believe.

until his spirit fled, and the lifeless body sunk forward on the chain, was dropped into the fire, covered with wood, and seen no more * (A.D. 1531).

Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor after Wolsey, displayed excessive zeal in the prosecution of heretics, of which we are reminded by one passage in the history of Bilney. During his imprisonment in the Tower, he met two brethren confined there by the Chancellor,—Frith, of whom we shall have more to say presently, and John Petit. This good man had been twenty years burgess for the city of London, wealthy, learned, and benevolent, and of so great influence and independence, that Henry VIII. would ask, when matters of supply were to be discussed in Parliament, whether Petit was on his side; and when the King required his debts to be cancelled by an Act, Petit opposed the measure, after having first surrendered to His Majesty a large loan that he had himself made. This honourable citizen favoured the promoters of what was then called the new doctrine, and contributed towards the cost of printing several of their books. Moneys advanced to them for this purpose, or for their private use when in distress, he entered in his accounts as "lent unto Christ," and directed in his will that payment of such debts should not be exacted. Sir Thomas More, who was in the habit of walking about London with the Lieutenant of the Tower, and committing to his custody any heretics he could find, called one day at the house of John Petit. Mrs. Petit came towards the door, and, seeing the Lord Chancellor, ran to her husband, who was at prayer in his closet, to announce the visiter. But More was close at her back; and Mr. Petit addressed him with great courtesy, thanking his Lordship for having honoured that poor house with his presence. After some general conversation, he attended Sir Thomas to the door, and, about to take leave, asked if his Lordship would command him any service. "No," said the Chancellor: "ye say ye have none of these new books." "Your Lordship saw," he replied, "my books and my closet." "Yet," quoth the Chancellor, "ye must go with Mr. Lieutenant. Take him to you." The Lieutenant seized Mr. Petit, took him to the Tower, and shut him up in a dungeon, with no other furniture than a pad of straw. After long solicitation, Mrs. Petit obtained permission to send him a bed, and he was eventually released; but the hardship of that imprisonment was so great, that he died immediately afterwards. The under-keeper, however, was a humane man, and used to allow Bilney, Petit, and Frith to meet at night, partake together of their prison-fare, and spend a few hours in spiritual conversation and prayer. Sir Thomas More, on the contrary, seems to have delighted in torturing his victims, and jesting as he did it. Once, for example, when examining a Lollard named Silver, he told him that Silver must be tried in the fire. "Ay," said the prisoner, "but *quick*-Silver cannot abide it." The pun pleased, and did what a thousand prayers would have failed to do. Sir Thomas laughed heartily, and dismissed the man.†

About the time that Bilney was apprehended in Norwich, Richard Bayfield was burnt in London. When Bayfield was a Benedictine

* Foxe, book viii. † Strype, Memorials Ecclesiastical, vol. i., chap. 28.

Monk at Bury St. Edmund's, Dr. Barnes, Prior of the Augustine Friars at Cambridge, frequently came to the abbey of Bury, to visit Dr. Ruffam, an old fellow-student. Two laymen, also, of London, Master Maxwell and Master Stacy, were wont to visit there. All being enlightened, they formed a Christian company, and, within the abbey, could converse on religious subjects without interruption. Richard Bayfield, as Chamberlain of the house, found lodging for the strangers, was frequently in their company, received a Latin Testament from Dr. Barnes, and Tyndale's Testament and "Obedience" from the other two visiters. The reading of these books produced an entire change of mind: at the end of two years, the brotherhood regarded him as a confirmed heretic; he was gagged, that his cries might not be heard, whipped, and then put into the abbey prison,—a necessary part of every "*religious* house,"—and kept there in the stocks for three months, until Dr. Barnes succeeded in getting him out, and having him sent to Cambridge with himself. At Cambridge he applied himself to study, and, having made some proficiency, went to London, where he became conspicuous for zeal in disputing with Papists, was examined, abjured, and made to carry a faggot; (A.D. 1528;) after which his friends Maxwell and Stacy concealed him, and then sent him over to Tyndale and Frith, whom he assisted in selling their works, and those of the German Reformers, both in France and England. In short, he became an itinerant bookseller, and made three successive voyages to England with large supplies of books in sheets, which he landed at Colchester, at St. Catherine's, London, and on the coast of Norfolk, whence he brought them to London in a mail. Some one saw him go into the house of William Smith, a tailor, in Bucklersbury, where he lodged, as did many other "known men," and he was thence dogged to his bookbinder's, in Mark-lane, there taken, and carried to the Lollards' Tower, where lay Parson Patmore, whom "he much confirmed," and thence to the Bishop's coal-house. In this place they tied him upright to the wall, passing cords round his neck, body, and legs, put his hands in manacles, and bade him tell who had bought his books. This he would not do; but stood firm in confession of Christ, offered to give a reason of his faith, and was brought into the Consistory of St. Paul's to undergo examination. The formalities of trial were disposed of in three hearings; and, the articles alleged against him having been fully proved, he was brought into the choir of St. Paul's cathedral, (Nov. 20, 1531,) before the Bishop of London, Abbots of Westminster and Waltham, Prior of Christ's Church, the Earl of Essex, the brother of the Marquis of Somerset, and the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, who were required to be there by letters from the Bishop, under statute of Henry IV. Before these witnesses the Bishop read the sentence of degradation, and delivered him to the secular power, ordering that he should be brought thither again on the following Monday. He came accordingly, was robed, and degraded with a circumstance of barbarism worthy of the man who so displayed his temper. The canonically-degraded Priest was kneeling on a step of the high altar, after having been stripped of the priestly

vestments, when the Bishop struck him on the breast with his crosier so violently, that he rolled on the pavement of the cathedral, and lay there insensible. When recovered, he thanked God that he was delivered from the malignant Church of Antichrist, and come into the true church of Christ militant here on earth: "And I trust anon to be in heaven with Jesus Christ, and the church triumphant for ever." The Sheriffs saw him taken to Newgate, where he spent about an hour in prayer, thence walked manfully into Smithfield, and, the fire being slow, was alive in it for half an hour. His left arm fell from him while he was yet fully conscious; but, standing unmoved in the flames, he was heard offering prayer until the spirit fled (November 27th, 1531).*

This constancy aroused a brother who had formerly abjured, to renew his confession. John Tewkesbury, a leather-seller, of the parish of St. Michael-at-Quern, had been enlightened by reading the New Testament many years before. He possessed a complete manuscript copy of the Bible, studied it closely, read several of the writings of Tyndale, and disputed openly on points of doctrine, even in the Bishop's chapel and palace. Tonstal cited him into his presence, and heard him argue with his Doctors, not a little mortified by the superior knowledge of the leather-seller. During seven examinations he defended the doctrine of justification by faith, and other fundamental articles of belief, before the Consistory, and was then taken from the Lollards' Tower to Sir Thomas More, at Chelsea, who endeavoured to extort a recantation, and force him to disclose the names of others. There he was confined for six days in the porter's lodge, with hands, feet, and head in the stocks, without relief, but would not yield. They then took him to a private garden, where he was tied to "Jesus' tree," whipped, and cords twisted round his head, until blood burst from his eyes; but he would not accuse any one. After being unbound in the Chancellor's house for a day, he was sent to the Tower, and racked. Under the torture he promised to recant the next day, and was brought thence, with faggot on shoulder, to Paul's Cross, and, having fulfilled the penance, was allowed to go home, under sureties to appear whenever called for (May, 1529). But he could find no peace; and, after the martyrdom of Bayfield, openly acknowledged the sin of abjuration, was soon apprehended, brought before the Lord Chancellor and the Bishop, sentenced as a relapse, delivered to the Sheriffs, and burnt (December 20th, 1531).†

Both Bayfield and Tewkesbury were burnt without any royal warrant, although the law required a writ *De hæretico comburendo*, and the employment of torture gave additional ferocity to the persecutors, and heightened the terror of priestly lawlessness. Familiarized with murder, they became less careful to cover it with the cloak of juridical formality, and there were precedents enough to justify secret murder to their blinded conscience. One of their victims about this time was John Randall, a relative of Foxe, the Martyrologist. This young man was a student in Christ's College, Cambridge, having one Wyer as tutor,

* Foxe, book viii. † Ibid. Strype, Memorials, vol. i., chap. 28.

who hated him because he had shown a disposition to read the word of God. His fellow-students had missed him for several days, and, at last, perceived a stench as they passed his study-door. The door was broken open, and Randall's body found hanging, and half putrefied, with an open Bible on a table by its side, and one finger pointing to a passage of Scripture relating to predestination. This was intended by the murderer to produce an impression that he had hung himself in a fit of despair produced by that doctrine, and so to discredit the study of holy Scripture; but, that a person dying by the halter could deliberately point, in the last struggles, to a particular sentence in a book, surpasses all power of belief.*

Although Henry VIII. read and commended some of the writings of Tyndale, he seems to have abandoned his subjects to the tyranny of the Priests and Sir Thomas More. Yet he was prosecuting unwelcome demands at Rome, and soon avowed a quarrel with the Pope. An embassy, or commission, consisting of Dr. Cranmer, the Earl of Wiltshire, father of Anne Boleyn, Dr. Lee, Archbishop elect of York, Dr. Stokesley, Bishop elect of London, and Drs. Trigonel, Karn, and Benet, were sent over to Paris, to confer with the Doctors there respecting his marriage with Catharine, and thence to Rome, to dispute with the Canonists of that court, and urge the Pope to grant a Bull for the divorce. The messengers obtained an audience of the "Holy Father," who expected the usual genuflexions to be made before him, being enthroned for the reception. Not supposing that the Englishmen would have kept their feet, he extended his foot for them to kiss; but the gesture produced no other effect than that of provoking the Earl's dog, which snapped at the embroidered slipper. "A Protestant dog!" exclaims the Jesuit Floud; on whom Fuller humorously retorts, "Let him tell us what religion those dogs were of that ate up Jezebel the harlot." Cranmer's book, written to establish that no man ought to marry his brother's wife, and that the Bishop of Rome ought not to dispense to the contrary, was presented to Clement; but received far differently from the volumes previously sent over, and long negotiations with him, and disputations with the lawyers, were spent in vain. He *would* have granted the divorce demanded, but for fear of drawing on himself the revenge of Charles V. Political complication thus led to the English schism, as, in the present day, political complication hastens the downfal of the temporal power of the Papacy. The embassy, guided by Cranmer, sought and obtained the judgment of several foreign Universities and theologians. Most of them gave it in favour of Henry; and with this, the only fruit of their labour, the messengers returned to England, (A.D. 1530,) when the King, fearing that Clement might interfere to hinder a formal repudiation of the Queen, issued a proclamation, (September 19th,) forbidding his subjects to "purchase anything from Rome, or elsewhere, contrary to his royal prerogative and authority, or to publish or divulge any such thing, under pain of his displeasure, and its consequences."

To prohibit the publication of Bulls in England, and yet leave the Clergy without a check in the exercise of their power, would have

* Foxe, *ut supra*.

been feeble policy. Their power was excessive. It impeded the civil authority, impoverished the nation, weakened allegiance, nullified laws, and spread immorality among both Clergy and laity. An indictment was therefore brought into the King's Bench against all the Clergy of England, who had involved themselves in a *præmunire*, together with Wolsey, by concurring in the proceedings of courts holden under his legantine authority, which was proved to have been exercised contrary to the law of England, and in violation of royal prerogative. The Convocations of Canterbury and York, on one side, endeavoured to maintain what they conceived to be the rights of the Church; Parliament, on the other, upheld those of King and country. The Convocations endeavoured to appease the displeasure of their Sovereign by cautious overtures of submission, couched in abject language, the only style of language that either Priest or layman used when addressing the King; but His Majesty would suffer no reservation, and released them from the penalties of that political offence only on condition of being acknowledged "Head of the Church," and of receiving a fine of one hundred thousand pounds from the province of Canterbury, and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds from that of York. The Convocations, with the Archbishops at their head, and justified by a formal judgment of both Universities, conceded the supremacy to the King, and denied it to the Pope. He then forgave them, became their head in reality, instead of the alien whom they had hitherto obeyed; and however confused his notions of supremacy may have been as to the Church, it is certain that those of the court of Rome were unspeakably more confused as to the State. They would have made the Pontiff supreme over all men and things for an alleged religious reason: Henry and his advisers would have made the King supreme over the Church in England for a political reason, disguised under an appeal to Scripture. Their notion of supremacy was carried too far, and the religious argument was abused in the controversy; but, after allowing this, and stripping the affair of what was extraneous, we must honestly acknowledge, that the real question was whether Henry or the Pope should reign in England; and we should, therefore, be thankful for the decision then reached, notwithstanding much inaccuracy of language and confusion of ideas.

Henry VIII. thus became head of the Church. The high Clergy rendered him the utmost reverence, in utter forgetfulness of their oaths to the Bishop of Rome, and on the next New-Year's day (A.D. 1532) outshone Dukes and Earls in sending gifts to His Highness.* As early in the spring as Members could well travel to London, Parliament assembled, and a national act of self-defence remitted the government of the Prelates from the hands of the Pope into those of the King. It had been required of every Archbishop or Bishop elect to send one year's

* For example: "By the Busshop of York, £50." The Bishops of Durham and Exeter gave each as much. "By the Duke of Norfolk, xx soveraynes, £22. 10*s*, and five pieces of gold, at 40*s*. the piece, £10." £32. 10. The soveraynes, suffereynes, or sufferaynes, of the Clergy far outnumbered those of the laity.—Strype, Memorials, vol. i., chap. 18.

rent to Rome in payment for the Bulls confirmatory of his election, in order, as the fiction went, to maintain a crusade against the Turks. But the Turks had nothing to fear from that source; for the money was otherwise employed than in troubling them. The people of England grudged the alienation of so much wealth; and the Bishops themselves were not well pleased to be compelled, as they generally were, to borrow on interest a sum equal to a year's revenue in advance. Often the aged dignitary died before his debt could be paid, and the creditor lost a great part of the money. Impatient of the impost, the Convocation first appealed against it in a letter to the King. They pleaded that a tax on the temporalties of a bishopric should only be paid to the King, if paid at all, because he is, indisputably, the temporal superior; and that if the spiritualties were taxed, such a contribution out of their fees ought to be paid to the Archbishop rather than to the court of Rome; and spoke of that court in language of strong aversion. They prayed the King to refer the matter to Parliament, in order that the payment of annates might be made illegal. This was done: the Parliament set forth, in a long Act, the manifold inconveniences of such a tax, and determined, subject to any negotiation that the King might make with the Pope to the same effect, that annates should be no longer paid. They allowed, however, a payment of five per cent. on the estimated amount of one year's income, and enacted, that if a Bull were refused to any Bishop nominated by the King, he should be installed notwithstanding; and that, if the Pope should see good to avenge this contumacy by an excommunication, or an interdict, such an act of pontifical authority should be set at nought.* Nor did the Legislature end here. No sooner had the King written the words of assent (*Le Roy le volt*, "The King wills it") on the parchment, than by some means he ascertained what he ought to have known before, that "all the Prelates, whom he had looked upon as wholly his subjects, were but half subjects; for at their consecration they swore an oath quite contrary to the oath they swore to the crown; so that it seems they were the Pope's subjects rather than his." † The King sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons: the oath that had been hitherto unobserved in the manuscript ordinals, as part of the mysteries of consecration in which no layman thought himself concerned, was put into his hand; he hastened back to the House, and communicated the King's command that those conflicting documents should be read and considered without delay. It was done: the Members were strongly excited by the disclosure, and would have passed a severe censure on the Bishops had not a report been brought that the plague was in London. They hurried to their homes with an additional feeling of mistrust towards the Clergy. The Clergy were astounded. Some murmured, most of them feared to murmur, a few flattered. The Carthusian Monks of Colen, (Cologne,) for

* Burnet, Reformation, book ii., collect. 41.

† Burnet gives both oaths, which have been often republished. The oath rendered to the Pope by every Bishop at his consecration is still unaltered and in full force. It now lies before the author in the Pontificale Romanum.

example, at the request of their fraternity in England, wrote an epistle dedicatory to Henry, prefixed to an exposition of the Gospel of St. Matthew, wherein they say, that "by his writings concerning the sacraments he had displayed his glory over his people. That he had put on the harness of Catholic doctrine, like a giant, and girt his loins with the warlike arms of the Scriptures in battles of disputation against heretics, and defended Christ's camp with the sword of his learning: that he was like to an evangelical lion, and a mystical lion's whelp, sent down from heaven to hunt the heretics." * On the other hand, Sir Thomas More, whose heart had been set on the exaltation of the Church, and who would fain have drowned heresy in blood, saw that it was time to retreat, and obtained leave to deliver up the Great Seal, which was given to Sir Thomas Audley, Speaker of the House of Commons, at the time when annates were suppressed, and the oaths of Bishops brought under debate.†

Collateral with the decline of Papacy in this country was the advance of evangelical truth; but still under persecution. Hugh Latimer began to excite notice as a Preacher. For many years he had been a zealot in the cause of Popery; but, under the influence of Bilney at Cambridge, his bigotry relented, and the grace of God began to subdue his nature. The change became apparent, information was laid against him, and he was summoned to answer charges of heresy before Archbishop Warham. Here Latimer first appears on the field of history. In London, before the Archbishop, with Stokesley, Bishop of London, and three or four others, he underwent a private examination. We know not in what building, but suppose it to have been the Bishop's Palace in St. Paul's Church-Yard, in an apartment hung with tapestry. During several weeks they met there thrice a week, and carried forward a system of interrogation intended to elicit information respecting the University, while their utmost artifice was employed to lead him to say something that might be turned against himself. One day he found the arrangement of the room altered. There was no fire; and the spacious chimney was covered by a piece of arras, as when apartments were furnished for the summer. Before the vacated fire-place there was a table, so that Latimer stood between it and the arras. At the further end sat an aged Bishop, rather dull of hearing, with whom he had been formerly very familiar, and who still passed for a friend. On putting a very subtle question, the old man bade him speak up, that he might be able to hear his answer, as well as those who sat at a distance. He raised his voice, and, on ceasing to speak, heard a pen moving on paper behind the hangings. However, he still spoke loud and clear, even in reply to the insidious question: "Master Latimer, do you not think in your conscience that you have been suspected of heresy?" But God gave him wisdom so to answer that they could make no use of the reply to his injury, and, for that time, he was delivered out of their hands.‡

Those closet investigations were not without reason. The spirit

* Strype, Memorials, vol. i., chap. 19. † Burnet, part i., book ii.
‡ Strype, Memorials, vol. i., chap. 22.

of Lollardism had not only arisen at Cambridge, and revisited Oxford, but revived throughout the country. Openly and familiarly people were calling the Pope Antichrist; and the King was not displeased at the unpopularity of a personage who had become his declared enemy. To counteract this impression, the Papists endeavoured to produce another, by circulating an obscure prediction that Antichrist would soon come into the world, a monster born of a Jewess, by a sort of Satanic incarnation; that he would perform miracles, pervert Princes, and that a host of preachers, precisely like the "known men," would travel over the whole world, and bring nations into subjection to Antichrist. Strype has printed this figment from a MS. of that time; * and one might fancy it to be a reproduction by some Monk, in a scarcely less monstrous form, of the old Jewish fable of Armillus, also invented to discredit Christianity.† Speculation led to action, as, whether good or bad, it always does, and therefore should be well guarded. In this instance, the bugbear of a Monkish Antichrist only served to quicken the spirit of inquiry; the persuasion that crucifixes and other images were idols became general, and iconoclasm began again. At Dover-Court, near Harwich, there was a crucifix called "the Rood of Dover-Court," an awful idol! No man, its worshippers believed, could shut the church-door as long as that rood remained within. No man dared to close the door, which therefore stood open, day and night; and pilgrims from remote parts of the country now and then strayed in to pay their honours to the god. But three good men of Dedham, Robert King, Nicholas Marsh, and Robert Gardner, with Robert Debnam, of Eastbergholt, were grieved at the stupid idolatry of their neighbours, and determined to demonstrate that "an idol is nothing in the world." They set out, accordingly, on a fine, clear, frosty night, conversing cheerfully during a walk of twelve or thirteen miles, made their way to Dover-Court church, entered by the open door, took the Rood from his shrine, carried him away to the distance of about a quarter of a mile, and, no power resisting, planted him in a heap of brush-wood, threw in the tapers taken from his altar, struck fire with flint and steel, set him on a blaze, and, lighted by him a good mile on the way, deliberately walked home again. One Sir Thomas Rose, the Priest by whose preaching they had been enlightened, afterwards burnt his coat, which they had carried away; but the men were indicted for felony, and all, except Robert Gardner, who escaped, were hung in chains about a year afterwards, giving evidence of true piety, and a sincere horror of idolatry, which then spread the more. Many crosses and images were destroyed in various parts of the country, as at Coggeshall, Great Horksleigh, Sudbury, and Ipswich.‡ Here again the Priests attempted an antidote, and by means of printing § too, circulating among the churches

* Strype, Memorials, vol. i., chap. 22, and Appendix, xlv.

† Leslie, in his "Short and easy Method with the Jews," gives their fable of this *Armillus* (ארמילוס). Edition of 1812, page 124.

‡ Foxe, book viii.

§ Romanism still hates this modern invention of printing, which the present Pope calls an evil art. A recent illustration of this hatred is furnished from an official

a book of Homilies, to be read on Sundays. It contained tales as wild and foolish as any that were ever fabricated in the thirteenth century, taken from the "Golden Legend." But, notwithstanding this variation of the tactic, the discipline of the Church proceeded with unvarying and unrelenting severity. Abjurations were incessant, as they had been for some years, and executions still continued.

One day in Lent, (A.D. 1532,) while the people of Chesham, in Buckinghamshire, were crowding their church, Thomas Harding, a good man, more than sixty years of age, walked into a neighbouring wood, with a book of English prayers in his pocket, sat on a stile near the edge of the wood, and peacefully communed with God, aided by the manual. For twenty-six years he had borne the honourable mark of heresy, having been, together with his wife, a member of the persecuted church of Amersham, and, until latterly, subject to penitential discipline,—walking in processions with the faggot, and performing compulsory pilgrimages. A zealous townsman passing by, saw Harding absorbed in meditation, and, unseen by him, ran into Chesham, and told some of the officers of the town that he had just seen Harding in the wood, looking on a book. The officers instantly ran to his house to search for books, tore up the boards of a floor, and found copies of the Bible, or of some parts of it, concealed. To have been seen looking on a book, and to have concealed the Bible in his dwelling, was criminality deep enough for them. They took him and his books to Woburn, where was Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, who received him with the usual expressions of contemptuous anger, to which he answered in very few words, putting his trust in God. They then threw him into the well-known dungeon, "Little Ease," * where he suffered pain and hunger for a time, like others before him, until brought again before the Bishop, who, from his throne, gave sentence that the relapsed heretic should be burned to ashes; and commanded one Rowland Messenger,

source. When the Austrians entered Florence in the spring of 1849, an edition of six thousand New Testaments was passing through the press, by permission of the Government, on the application of Captain Packenham, an Irish gentleman. The police seized the whole impression, and, after an interval of at least eight months, the printer was prosecuted. An enlightened advocate, Signor Marri, pleaded for Benelli, the printer, that, although the existing law prohibits any book treating of religion, *ex professo*, to be printed without a preventive censure, it cannot be said that the New Testament treats *ex professo* of religion. The Pandects of Justinian, he argued, or the Code Napoleon, do not treat of law, they are *the law*; and the New Testament does not treat of Christian doctrine, for it is *the doctrine*. This drove the venal court to a confession of the truth; and in the "Monitore Toscano," official gazette of the Tuscan Government, No. XXI., January 25th, 1850, we find a summary of the case, with sentence on Benelli to pay a fine of 50 scudi and costs, and forfeit the books. The court says, "Non sono i dogmi di religione che si sottopongono à censura, ma bensi la esposizione tipografica di quei dogmi,"—"It is not the doctrines of religion" (as contained in the New Testament) "that are subjected to censure, but the typographical exhibition of those doctrines." The typographical exhibition, then, of the words of our Lord and his Apostles, is at this day condemned by a tribunal acting in Italy under the direction of the Cardinals. *They* only use the press as a last resort, for the typographical exhibition of their own pleasure.

* Some other dungeons were known by the same name. Until the time of Howard, it was a part of English penal discipline to torment prisoners; and this was not to be wondered at, when Bishops gave the example.—See "Life of Howard," and "the London Prisons," by Hepworth Dixon.

Vicar of Great-Wycombe, to see it done. Rowland gladly undertook the charge, brought Harding to Chesham, preached the usual sermon in the church, the good old man standing before him in the accustomed manner, and next day led a party of armed men, who took their inoffensive neighbour outside the town, chained him to a stake, and would have burnt him alive. But the offer of forty days' indulgence to all who would throw a faggot on the heap had attracted a crowd of persons, old and young, all bringing faggots. Little children, sent by their parents, tottered to the place with wood upon their backs; and one man, in the height of zeal to earn forty days, flung a heavy block at his head, that crushed the skull, and instantaneously deprived him of life.

It will be remembered that Henry VIII., pleased with "the Supplication of the Beggars," received the author, Simon Fish, with extraordinary marks of kindness, restored him to his home, and charged the Lord Chancellor More to do him no harm. Fish died soon afterwards, and James Bainham, a Knight of Gloucestershire, married his widow. He was a lawyer, eminent for integrity and benevolence, a Latin and Greek scholar, a lover of the Bible, and a man of prayer, and therefore no favourite of the Priests; but his marriage with this lady, whom the Chancellor had already persecuted, drew fresh suspicion on him, and he was formally accused of heresy. Sir Thomas sent a Serjeant-at-arms to arrest him in his chambers in the Middle Temple, and bring him to his house at Chelsea, where he was kept in free prison for some time, until persuasion to renounce his faith had failed. He was then placed in close confinement, brought from the dungeon into the garden, tied to the "Tree of Truth," and whipped, but still refused to submit. Thence Sir Thomas conveyed him to the Tower, and stood by while he was racked; yet he would neither abjure, nor accuse any gentlemen of his acquaintance, nor tell where his books were hidden. Torture failing, he was taken to Chelsea again, to appear before Stokesley, Bishop of London, (December 15th, 1531,) and undergo examination. From the record of his answers it is evident that his views of Christian doctrine were scriptural, matured by study, and confirmed by personal experience. He gave them without hesitation or reserve, and subscribed them with his name. On the day following he was brought again into More's palace, and the Bishop would have accepted a reluctant and ambiguous submission, made under the pressure of weariness and fear, had it not been neutralized by many limitations. He therefore committed him to a common prison until further trial, to which he was brought after two months' confinement, and, struggling hard against his conscience, abjured. He then paid a fine of twenty pounds to the King, carried a faggot at St. Paul's, and returned home. But shame and remorse haunted him, he bewailed his fall, implored forgiveness of God, and could have no peace until he had professed repentance before all his friends, and made a public confession also. First, he repaired to the congregation of brethren, assembled in a warehouse in Bow-lane, and uttered fervent supplication for pardon in their presence. Then, on the next Sunday,

he went to St. Austin's church, carrying Tyndale's Testament in his hand, and the "Obedience of a Christian Man" in his bosom, and, standing up in his pew, and weeping, declared aloud to the congregation that he had denied God, prayed the people to forgive him the injury done to them by his weakness, and exhorted them not to follow his example. "For," said he, holding up the New Testament, "if I should not return again unto the truth, this word of God would damn me both body and soul at the day of judgment." He prayed the people rather to die than do as he had done; and assured them, that for all this world's wealth he would not suffer again such a hell as he had felt within him. Not yet satisfied, he made his repentance as public as his abjuration, by writing letters to the Bishop, his brother, and others, so that he soon found himself prisoner a second time, and lay in irons for a fortnight in the Bishop's coal-house. Thence they took him to my Lord Chancellor's at Chelsea, where he was chained to a post during two nights; from Chelsea to the Episcopal palace at Fulham, where, in various ways, they tormented him for a week. All this he suffered joyfully, and then was scourged with whips every day during a fortnight in the Tower of London. A brief examination before the Bishop's Vicar-General, and a few others, served to certify the fact of his "relapse;" the same officer caused him to appear once more in the church of All Saints, of Barking, read the sentence accustomed, and the letter of his Diocesan, committing the relapse to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London. Sir Richard Gresham, Sheriff, was in attendance, received the confessor, took him to Newgate, and by three o'clock of the same day saw him burning in Smithfield (April 31st, 1532). The Sheriff used gross barbarity in this execution. First gunpowder was employed, which mangled his body, but left the vital organs untouched. Then they set fire to a tar-barrel, in which he was placed; but when his limbs were half consumed, he told the bystanders that as they looked for miracles they might see one, for he felt no pain. Two remarkable circumstances are noted: one is, that he made a bold confession of the truth, declaring to the people that every person should read the Scriptures in English; that the Bishop of Rome is Antichrist; that there are no other keys of heaven than the Gospel, nor any other purgatory than the blood of Christ, and his cross, which is persecution; and that Thomas à Becket was a traitor to the crown and realm of England. The other is, that Pave, Town-Clerk of the city, who was busiest in the execution, and loaded the martyr with hard words, hung himself in his garret a short time afterwards.*

There is a brief record of two others burnt in the same year: John Bent, in Devizes, for denying transubstantiation; and a person named Trapnel, at Bradford, in the same county.†

The Church of Rome pretends to have power over the dead as well as the living, in both worlds, invisible and visible. The Convocation of the province of Canterbury attempted to exercise this jurisdiction. William Tracey, a gentleman of Gloucestershire, had presumed to depart from the usual form in writing his will; for, instead of saying,

* Foxe, book viii. † Ibid.

"I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, and to our Lady Saint Mary, and to all the saints in heaven," he began thus, "First, and before all other things, I commit myself to God and to his mercy, believing, without any doubt or mistrust, that by his grace, and the merits of Jesus Christ, and by the virtue of his passion and resurrection, I have and shall have remission of all my sins, and resurrection of body and soul, according as it is written: I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and that, in the last day, I shall rise out of the earth, and in my flesh shall see my Saviour. This my hope is laid up in my bosom." As touching the wealth of his soul, he proceeded to write, that he believed this faith sufficient, without any other man's merits or works; and that he accepted no other Mediator in heaven or on earth but Jesus Christ, in whose promises alone trusting, he did not bequeath money for any man to say or do anything for his soul. And as touching his temporal goods, he did not believe that by their means he could acquire any merit, his sole merit being "the faith of Jesus Christ only," by whom alone works of charity are good. He left nothing to the Church, but all to his family, a few smaller legacies excepted. When his son presented this will to the Archbishop of Canterbury to be proved, the Prelate took it to the Convocation and read it there, demanding their judgment; which was, that the body of the deceased should be taken out of the ground, where it had lain two years. This commission was sent to Dr. Parker, Chancellor of Worcester, for execution, who not only violated the grave, but burnt the body. The King, hearing of the outrage, which had caused general disgust, sent for the Chancellor, who threw the blame on his Lord of Canterbury. The Archbishop died meanwhile, and the living delinquent had to purchase pardon by paying a fine of three hundred pounds (A.D. 1532).

Henry VIII. seems to have been absolute on all points, but one. When his subjects were persecuted for heresy, he had not courage to protect them, Anne Boleyn and her friends excepted. His rebuke of the Priest had given umbrage to the Clergy, whom he hastened to placate, and an opportunity soon occurred. The Bishop of London, observing the utmost formalities,* sent him a certificate of having conducted an inquisition of heresy on John Frith and Andrew Hewet, whom he had judged and condemned as obstinate, impenitent, and incorrigible heretics, and, by his sentence definitive, delivered to the Mayor and one of the Sheriffs of London. Henry did not interpose to save them; and thus two of his subjects, one of them no ignoble person, were burnt the next day. Frith was a young man, but learned, one of the noble company of godly men at Cambridge, and also of those whom Cardinal Wolsey had brought to his new College in Oxford, but who were persecuted, and, after imprisonment, and a penance mitigated by favour of the Cardinal, forbidden to go beyond ten miles from Oxford. Frith, as we have seen that some others did, secretly left the University, went abroad, and was associated with Tyndale in the

* Certificates of this kind were generally sent to the Lord Chancellor, (when sent at all,) who issued the writ *De hæretico comburendo.*

translation of the New Testament. His learning was amusingly displayed at Reading, just after his return to England, when, being a stranger, and, no doubt, but meanly attired, the good folk mistook him for a vagrant, and he was put into the stocks. To some, who deigned to bestow a word on the vagrant in passing, he begged that they would bring him the schoolmaster of Reading, a learned man; and the schoolmaster, on his arrival, thought it incumbent on him to interject a sentence of Latin with his salutation. The Oxonian answered in good Latinity, conversation followed, and, after talking in Latin of universities, schools, and languages, Frith quoted Greek also, promptly rehearsing verses of the Iliad; and the enraptured schoolmaster hied him, like a hospitable Englishman, to the authorities of the town, complaining of the indignity done to so learned and excellent a person. Leonard Cox had thus the happiness of releasing John Frith, and the honour to have his name associated with that of his new friend in the ecclesiastical history of England. But Sir Thomas More inexorably pursued him, irritated by his superior power in controversy, which was especially displayed in a book on the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the first written in this country against transubstantiation. He wrote also against purgatory, and braved More, Fisher, and Rostal, the chosen advocates of Popery. After the fashion of his day he argued in syllogism; but, notwithstanding the rigour of that form, scarcely succeeded in producing evidence that would lead our reason captive. Some of the premisses were unsound. But the textual evidence was such as had not hitherto appeared in the vernacular; the reasoning, as far as it was purely scriptural, was good, and to this work Cranmer was afterwards much indebted for attaining to a right understanding of the subject. More wrote an answer; but, as soon as he could seize on his antagonist, he had him imprisoned in the Tower, and thence brought to Lambeth, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, then to Croydon, before the Bishop of Winchester, and, lastly, before an assembly of Bishops in London. When in the Tower he lay in irons; but even in that uneasy position, and without any books at hand, composed an unanswerable refutation of Sir Thomas More's book against himself. In presence of the Prelates he defended his doctrine as far as they would allow him to speak, and was overpowered by force, as a prisoner; but as a Christian theologian he proved himself unsubdued, and when a copy of his answers had been read, subscribed it thus, "I, Frith, thus do think; and as I think, so have I said, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my books have published." The Judges continued their importunacy, but could extract nothing more from his lips than, *Fiat judicium et justitia*, "Let judgment and justice be done." Sentence, delivery to Mayor and Sheriffs, and burning, ended the horrid ritual (July 4th, 1533).

Frith, as we have seen by the Bishop's letter to the King, was not alone. Andrew Hewet, apprentice to a tailor in Watling-street, had been imprisoned for heresy, but, by help of a kind brother, filed off his fetters, and escaped. Some persons of his own class, pretending to be friendly to the Gospel, inveigled him into their houses, and

gave him back into custody. The Bishops, now fairly constituted as the English Inquisition, but without the name, spent little time on him: he professed to believe as Frith did, plainly denied the "real presence," but, with a rustic simplicity that provoked their smiles, told them that he was quite content to burn with Frith; and although he might have saved his life by a word of recantation, preferred death and a good conscience. When the two were bound to the same stake in Smithfield, one Dr. Cook, a Priest of London, admonished the people that they should not pray for them, any more than if they were dogs. Frith smiled, and prayed God to forgive him; but a murmur of indignation ran through the crowd.* It is refreshing to observe that this was the last act of extreme persecution in England for the space of about five years.

Our ecclesiastical affairs underwent an essential change. The King was determined to divorce Catharine; and while his Ambassadors at Rome were instructed to use their utmost energy in negotiating with the Pontiff and the court, Cranmer was especially intrusted with the important service of disputing with canonists and theologians, and engaging the favourable opinions of learned men. We are far less interested in their judgment on a question which can as well, if not as easily, be decided by ourselves, than in this part of the history of Cranmer. He sustained the office of Ambassador, was called "orator to his Cæsarean Majesty," saw, for several months, the court of Rome, with its licentiousness, astute policy, and the extreme corruptibility of its members. In Germany he obtained a near view of the Imperial Court, with which, however, he had little personal intercourse; but derived an unspeakably greater benefit from correspondence with some of the leading Reformers. With Osiander, especially, that correspondence was intimate; and what Cranmer then thought of clerical celibacy may be inferred from the fact that he secretly married Osiander's niece. A married Archbishop presided at Lambeth for the first time; a married Archbishop—although no one at his consecration might be presumed to know it—began to sway the royal counsels in Church affairs. But previously to his return to England for the assumption of that office, he was in communication with the Elector of Saxony, the first of Protestant Princes, and making a private overture to Spalatinus, the Elector's Secretary, and an attached friend of Luther, of assistance from his master, the King of England, to the Elector and confederates, in the cause of religion (A.D. 1532). His master would have confederated with any one for the attainment of an object; and this is not the only example of a Sovereign who persecuted the Reformed in his own dominions, and patronised them abroad where they were powerful enough to be respected; but there can be no doubt that the enlargement of mind gained to Cranmer by intercourse with good men, and the influence of a Protestant wife, subsequently gave decision to his religious character. Henry VIII. might have separated his dominions from the See of Rome, just as the Czar separated his from the See of Constantinople, without the slightest spiritual advantage, had not the

* Foxe, *ut supra*.

good providence of God conducted many influential Englishmen, but especially Cranmer, into something better than a rejection of the Bullary, the Decretals, the Clementines, and the Extravagantes.

Dr. Cranmer was nothing higher in the Church than Archdeacon of Taunton, and King's Chaplain; except that the Pope had just conferred on him the dignity of Penitentiary-General of England. Strange coincidence, that this Penitentiary-General should be wedded to the niece of the Pastor of Nuremberg! What penance could atone, at Rome, for such a lapse? But Cranmer never exercised the functions of that office. While he was in Germany Archbishop Warham died: Henry resolved to raise his Chaplain to the vacated See; and, however sudden and long the stride of preferment, it was modest, indeed, compared with the career of Leo X., who had sent over the title "Defender of the Faith." Cranmer meditated religious change, while Henry meditated political. He therefore shrank from the perilous dignity of Archbishop, and, whatever Popish writers may say to the contrary, was undoubtedly sincere in wishing to avoid the mitre. But the King *commanded*, and disobedience to *his* command, and especially at such a time, would have been treated as a crime. However, he still expressed great reluctance to become an Archbishop, and, at last, told the King that "if he should accept it, he must receive it at the Pope's hand, which he neither would nor could do: for that His Highness was the only supreme Governor of the Church of England, as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal; and that the full right of donation of all manner of benefices and bishoprics, as well as *any other temporal* dignities and promotions, appertained to him, and not to any foreign authority. And, therefore, if he might serve God, him, and his country in that vocation, he would accept it of His Majesty, and of no stranger, who had no authority within this realm." To create an Archbishop was more than the King had expected to do when assuming the supremacy: he had already applied to Rome for Bulls, according to custom; and, for the moment, he hesitated to attempt so much, and desired proof of his right to make such an appointment. Cranmer produced passages from the Bible and from some Fathers, and, to strengthen his position, recounted instances of Papal usurpation, all tending to show that Kings have, and ought to have, ecclesiastical authority within their own dominions. The King appeared unwilling to interfere with the Papal authority over Bishops, and consulted Dr. Oliver, a canonist, and some civilians, who advised that Cranmer should take his oath to the Pope under protest. He acceded to their proposal; and, subsequently, at his consecration, protested "that he did not admit the Pope's authority any further than it agreed with the express word of God, and that it might be lawful for him at all times to speak against him, and to impugn his errors, when there should be occasion." Thus he was Archbishop elect, and in that character took part in solemnizing a private marriage of the King with Anne Boleyn, then Marchioness of Pembroke. Application had been made to the Pope for Bulls to authorize the consecration of the new Archbishop, and they came —no fewer than eleven parchments, each to give validity to some-

thing pertaining to the appointment, the pardon of Cranmer's sins among the rest, according to custom in such cases. But Cranmer handed the silken-threaded parchments* to the King, refusing to acknowledge any other authority, and, when consecrated, caused his protest to be recorded thrice during the ceremonies with every necessary circumstance of solemn publicity. By way of complying with a formality, he said, rather than in reality, *(pro forma potius quam pro esse,)* or as deeming it to be a necessary condition, he would recite the usual oath to the Pope, but would not abide by it.†

One of his first acts was to publish the divorce of Queen Catharine,—an act which, if done at all, ought to have preceded the marriage with the young Marchioness;‡ and the only plea under which Cranmer could be sheltered from the charge of participation in the immorality of his Sovereign would be, that he regarded the union with Prince Arthur's widow as incest, not marriage. The members of the court of Rome were indignant, but endeavoured, at first, to ignore the marriage and other acts prejudicial to the Pontifical authority, calling them *attempts* against that authority; until the Pope, excited by his more zealous advisers, issued a sentence of condemnation, threatening to excommunicate the King, unless he immediately restored every thing to its former state, abiding by his sentence as to the lawfulness of the marriage with Catharine. The King, on hearing this, appealed from the Pope to a General Council; and Cranmer, who had openly cast off the Papal authority at his consecration, did the same. Both these appeals were presented to Clement by Dr. Bonner, the King's Ambassador, in an audience obtained at Marseilles, who followed them up with threats so vexatious to His Holiness, that he was glad to make his escape to avoid the consequences of the wrath he had excited. Some ineffectual efforts were then made by the more wary Cardinals to appease the anger of their chief, and to encourage the King to hope for a favourable decision, after all, if he would again submit his case to their judgment; but, happily for England, the breach was too wide to be closed. Indeed, the failure to effect a reconciliation aggravated the quarrel, and the King carried his cause into Parliament, where several Acts were passed, (January to March, 1534,) releasing subjects from all dependence on the court of Rome, making unlawful all payments to Rome, and all reception or publication of Bulls, provisions, or dispensations, coming thence. High ecclesiastical functions hitherto discharged by the Pope, or his Legate, were thenceforth to be devolved on the Archbishops in their respective

* The leaden seals of Bulls of grace are attached to the parchment by silken threads; and those of justice, by hempen.

† No honest man can attempt to justify this trifling with an oath. But it is easily accounted for. Every Bishop in England took two *contrary* oaths. This was an established usage, and the bands of conscience were universally relaxed. Abjuration, too, became so common, that it was submitted to by multitudes as a necessary formality. The mass of society was so corrupted by Popish casuistry, that it is vain to look for pure integrity anywhere, except in those few noble martyrs, whom the Spirit of God fully enlightened, and who could not bow to customary equivocation. Cranmer was *not yet* so taught of God.

‡ The marriage took place on the 25th of January, the divorce on the 23d of May, 1533.

provinces, under the authority and sanction of the King, in conformity to the laws of Almighty God. The Commons received an appeal from Thomas Philips, whom the Bishop of London had imprisoned in the Tower, for possessing good books, and refusing to abjure after the usual form, and, although he appealed to the King, as head of the Church, had kept him there. They sent some of their number to the Bishop, requiring him to answer their complaint of his contempt of royal authority; but the House of Lords would not suffer the appearance of one of their number at the bar of the Lower House. The Commons, therefore, passed an Act concerning heretics, which abolished the inquisitorial practices hitherto permitted, declared that none should be troubled for speaking against any of the Pope's canons or laws, and provided the advantage of bail for persons under prosecution for heresy.

But the Clergy, notwithstanding the facility with which the Convocations had allowed the title of Head of the Church to the King of England, either covertly or openly, resisted him in their parishes and fraternities when he advanced, as in the appointment of Cranmer, from a temporal to a spiritual supremacy, and when they saw the kingdom separated from the Roman See. Then arose hot controversy on this question. The King—the former antagonist of Martin Luther—wrote a book against the Pope, whom he attacked in no measured terms as Antichrist. Many others wrote, giving an unprecedented activity to the English press; and some books were also printed by recusants to maintain the honours of their old spiritual head. The preachers on both sides were vehement; but, in the pulpit-battle, Henry would certainly have been worsted, having the warmest and most genuine zeal arrayed against him. No stone was left unturned. Travelling preachers were sent out over the country, to preach Pope *versus* King. Men of eccentric habits and effrontery seem to have been preferred for that papistical apostleship. One Hubbardine, for example, was "a great strayer about the realm in all quarters to deface and impeach the springing of Christ's Gospel." His circuit was the west of England. From the pulpits he poured forth torrents of vituperation against Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Frith, Tyndale, Latimer, and all others most excellent. He prayed long—if prayer it were—over his rosary, fasted with devout publicity, rode in a long gown, trailing to the horse's heels, and affected contemplative abstraction. But the intervals of public devotion were not filled up by private penance. He wore no hair-shirt. The same populace whom he harangued so fervidly, he entertained with merry episodes after the labours of the day were over, and conciliated by alms, a means of proselytism as old and as continual as Popery itself. Wondrously histrionic, he recited astounding legends, stamped and danced in the pulpit when wrought up by the excitement of his mission, and, at last, using excessive energy in one of those frail erections that had endured through centuries under slumbering occupants, shook it down, broke his leg in the descent, and finished at the same time his priestly perambulations and his life. He died of the injury.

Visions, too, had already come at the bidding of Priests. The spirit of Becket revisited Canterbury. Elizabeth Barton, otherwise called "the Maid of Kent," a poor sickly servant-girl of the parish of Aldington, fell into trances, was convulsed often, and talked incoherently. The parish Priest,* taking advantage of the girl's weakness, aggravated her irritability, and fed her vanity by persuading her that she was the subject of supernatural influence, or suggesting that she should profess to be, and, filling her head with the prevailing subject, got her to prophesy, and denounce terrible punishments on the King, if he persisted in divorcing Catharine of Aragon. By this sort of revelation she declared herself bound to make solemn visitations to a chapel of the Virgin Mary, exhibited herself there under the mysterious influence, and uttered oracles breathing sedition, amidst congregated thousands. Archbishop Warham had patronised her, Sir Thomas More encouraged her, dignified Clergymen paid her visits, some solicited private interviews in order to consult her, as if she had been a veritable pythoness, and crowds of Monks and Nuns made pilgrimage to her cottage. On the strength of a special revelation she removed to Canterbury, claimed admission into a nunnery, and, responding to the inspiration of one Friar Bocking, chose him, during a vision, to be her spiritual father. She was in the height of her glory, when the Parliament of 1533 assembled, where the affair was examined, her accomplices being subjected to a searching interrogation in the Star-Chamber, and, on their own confession, pronounced guilty of treasonable conspiracy. She, with six of them, was executed at Tyburn, where, from the scaffold, she confessed the imposture, and asked pardon of God and the King; and six others were imprisoned in the Tower, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, being among them, for misprision of treason. The Clergy of Yorkshire, of all in England the most ignorant, and, if their Archbishop spoke the truth when trying to palliate their conduct, the poorest, received the King's order in sullen discontent or with open murmuring. They would not preach any other supremacy than that of the Pope, and, eventually, broke out into rebellion. The Convocation of York refused to advance beyond an acknowledgment of the temporal supremacy, already made. In the south, More and Fisher plainly refused to take the oath required; and although the latter was not prosecuted any further on account of the maid of Kent, he still remained a state prisoner, and they were both executed with an unjustifiable severity, and died with a resignation that we might admire, but for the recollection, that for many years they had been sanguinary and pitiless persecutors of the children of God, had racked their victims in the very prison where afterwards they themselves lay, and had seen them, again and again, brought out thence to the fire.

The contest ran high between the supreme authority of the kingdom, and the discontented portion of the priesthood, with their adherents. The Lollards and their friends, rejoicing in the rejection of the Pope, hailed the improving spirit of legislation, and began to hope that they might soon be allowed to worship God without peril to life

* Like his Italian brother in our day, patron of the "Addolorata."

or liberty. These were a widely-spread and powerful party. While the King and Parliament stood ready to suppress rebellion, not only by statutes, but by the sword, Cranmer resorted to a legal, yet extraordinary, method of quashing controversy. He placed all the pulpits of his diocese under interdict, and advised the other Bishops throughout England to do the same, in order that political preaching might no longer keep the public in a state of agitation; but promised to permit his preachers to resume their vocation as soon as they should be furnished with an authorized manual for their guidance. He also set an example of episcopal diligence by visiting his diocese. The orders for the regulation of preaching and "bidding of the beads" * were published in due time, and contained a prohibition of "the General Sentence," a very comprehensive form of cursing that had been read in all the churches four times every year, for the terror of those who might have interfered with the functions of the Priests, meddled with the goods, disputed the honours, withheld the revenues, or infringed on the liberties of the Church. It was framed according to the highest ultramontane notions of Papal prerogative, and, of course, included heretics in the heap of transgressors to be swept away into perdition. In short, it was a punctual and diffuse counterpart of the Papal sentence against the King and Legislature of England that had been exhibited at Dunkirk, followed by a solemn excommunication like that pronounced and acted on account of Benet in the cathedral of Exeter. These maledictions were no more to fall upon the public ear. Bishops were strictly ordered to see that the King was mentioned in the bidding and prayers in the churches every Sunday under his proper style, "supreme head;" and for one year some specified points of doctrine in dispute were not to be treated of in sermons. Peace being so far attempted, Cranmer proceeded to a greater work. He had abolished the periodical cursing of heretics in the General Sentence. Shaxton and Latimer were made Queen's Chaplains, and, on the vacation of two sees by the expulsion of Campeggio and Ghinucci, promoted to be Bishops. By a slight exercise of prerogative, he had exempted two ladies of rank from the necessity of frequenting the parish churches, by allowing them chapels, anywhere on their estates, where worship might be performed with some degree of independence, imperceptibly opening the way for a reformed service, should that be found necessary. He therefore engaged his friends to support him in Convocation, when proposing that the King should be petitioned to order a translation of the Bible into English. The petition was agreed to without any difficulty; but, by way of counterpoise, the Convocation "unanimously did consent that the most Reverend Father, the Archbishop, should make instance in their names to the King, that His Majesty would vouchsafe, for the increase of the faith of his subjects, to decree and command that all his subjects in whose possession any books of suspect doctrine were, especially in the

* Delivering the *bidding* for prayers that the people ought to offer. It is used now, but rarely, by some of those Ministers who cling to antiquated usages. Before sermon they say, "Let us pray for," &c.

vulgar language, imprinted beyond, or on this side, the sea, should be warned, within three months, to bring them in before persons to be appointed by the King, under a certain pain to be limited by the King." The futility of such edicts had been proved abundantly; and therefore Cranmer and his supporters had little reason to be dissatisfied, now that the Convocation had committed themselves to a work which their own Church had always resisted, for which so many faithful men had shed their blood, and which, but four years before, they had solemnly declared to be inexpedient. The *law* of the Church, too, as far as ascertained, was absolutely against the reading of the Bible in a vulgar language; and the indulgence of allowing it, when accompanied by notes approved of by ecclesiastical authority, was, as yet, unknown in Popery. This act of the Convocation of Canterbury, (December 19th, 1534,) may therefore be marked as a formal commencement of reformation within the Anglican Church. And as for the petition to the King to call in Protestant books, it does not appear to have been acted on; but, on the contrary, he issued a proclamation (A.D. 1535) against "seditious books," written, to his prejudice, in favour of the Pope.

The execution of Queen Anne Boleyn furnished a mournful episode for the history of this reign. As Henry had sacrificed Catharine, his first wife, to a guilty passion for her successor, so does he devote his second to death, when he had become enamoured with Jane Seymour. Impatient of the obligation to "love, honour, keep, and protect her in sickness and in health," (*sanam et infirmam,**) he had regarded Catharine with disgust, on account of some infirmity; and now that Anne has disappointed him by giving birth to a dead child, and some enemies of religious reformation, and therefore her enemies, have suggested that this is a mark of God's displeasure, his morbid conscience is stirred up to serve his unbridled passion. Knowing that the gravity of Catharine's deportment had displeased him, Anne Boleyn studied to be gay. He suddenly loathed her caresses; and wretches were not wanting to report some trifling instances of girlish levity, with surmises, and even affirmations, of a criminality that was never proved, and which, considering her previous conduct when Henry himself would gladly have subdued her virtuous self-command, as well as her reverence of religion, and knowledge of sacred truth, is utterly incredible. The only witness against her was a man whom she was not permitted to confront on trial, and who, it is reported, made a false confession under promise of pardon, but was afterwards hanged, in order to conceal the plot. While she was in the Tower, charged with treason, the King bethought himself of an expedient for evading the odium of having burnt his wife,—for, according to the letter of the law in such a case, an unfaithful Queen should have been burnt. As it was remembered that a former suitor, the Earl of Northumberland, had made her a promise of marriage, he caused the validity of his marriage with her to be called in question. That fact was insufficient. But the afflicted Queen, hoping that her doom might be made less dreadful by submitting to a divorce, and persuaded, in her simplicity,

* Thus it stands in the Manuals of Salisbury and York.

that she had been virtually married to Northumberland, said, in general, when questioned by Cranmer, as Archbishop of Canterbury, that there were "just, true, and lawful impediments." Cranmer could not avoid proceeding on that confession, and, to his grief, was obliged to pronounce the King and Queen divorced. It might have been enough to declare that the marriage itself was null: but terror and compulsion set aside legal accuracy, and Anne Boleyn, no longer called Queen of England, was beheaded, two days afterwards, on Tower-Hill, instead of being burnt, and the very day after the execution Henry married Jane Seymour, without a blush.

Convocation and Parliament soon met, (June, 1536,) and, as far as it pertained to each, gave assent and confirmation to the murderous transaction; the one acknowledging the divorce as just, the other the execution as legal. As supreme head of the Church, under God alone, and exercising over it royal prerogative, which with him was absolute, the King sent Cromwell, his Vicar-General, who sat beside the Archbishop, and saw the King's pleasure carried into execution by the Clergy. It was well that Henry allowed himself to be governed by Cranmer, except when wrought up by the more crafty leaders of the Popish party, particularly Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; and, at this time, Cranmer in reality wielded the regal as well as patriarchal authority over the subservient Clergy, and having the representative of the Sovereign beside him, and supported by the piety and learning of Latimer, and the zeal of Shaxton, Bishops of Worcester and Salisbury, he had no difficulty in effecting a large innovation on the ancient system. A long catalogue of erroneous doctrines, as they were called, was sent up from the Lower to the Upper House. It consisted of soundly evangelical propositions, and absurd perversions, mere individual fancies, or popular follies, mingled therewith in order to discredit them. Cranmer and his friends, on the other hand, had cautiously prepared a plan of partial doctrinal reformation, wherein much error was retained, yet such essential truths were introduced as could not but lead to an eventual change. It was accepted, had the royal sanction, and was recorded in the Acts of Convocation.* The holy Scriptures, with the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, were declared to be the standard of faith, and the four Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon were acknowledged as authoritative interpreters. Scholastic authorities were rejected. *Worship* of images was declared to be idolatry, although the images themselves remained, and might be honoured as before, the preachers instructing the people that such honours were but non-essential ceremonies. Purgatory was declared uncertain. Auricular confession, however, was to be retained, and transubstantiation taught. But the door of reformation was opened yet wider by another act. The Pope had summoned a Council to meet at Mantua, and cited the King to appear there, he having previously appealed to a General Council. The King, on his part, was indignant that others had convened a Council without consulting him; and he entertained, in common with the Protestants, many well-

* Out of which Fuller copied it.—History, book v., cent. xvi., sect. 34, 35.

founded objections to the constitution and the place of the proposed assembly. The Convocation, therefore, gave their judgment against it; and Henry himself "protested against any Council to be held at Mantua, or anywhere else, by the Bishop of Rome's authority: that he would not acknowledge it, nor receive any of their decrees." The pens of both parties were again sharpened, and truths, for which many had been put to death in this very reign, were insisted on both by the King and the Reformers.

Parliament advanced another step. By one enactment every emissary of the Pope "still practising up and down the kingdom, and persuading people to acknowledge his pretended authority," was to be liable, after the last day of that month,* to the penalties of a *præmunire*. The preamble of the Act is exceedingly, but justly, severe on the Bishop of Rome, who "had long darkened God's word, that it might serve his pomp, glory, avarice, ambition, and tyranny, both upon the souls, bodies, and goods of all Christians, excluding Christ out of the rule of man's soul, and Princes out of their dominions." By another Act, passed three days after the former, all Papal immunities, privileges, and pluralities were abolished; and all persons who enjoyed such by virtue of Bulls, were commanded to deliver those documents into the Chancery, or to such persons as the King should appoint. But it should be lawful for the Archbishop of Canterbury to grant them anew, *under the Great Seal*, to those who had held them.

All this time the visitation of the province of Canterbury was going on by the Archbishop, or under his direction; and it became necessary to visit that of York, where the Convocation openly resisted the Acts of Parliament, and desired that they might be repealed. But the York visitation was made impracticable by a simultaneous insurrection of the Papists in several counties, which it required a little army to subdue, having almost risen into civil war. The visitation of monasteries still proceeded, and the discovery of scandals, as the Priests would gently designate monastic abominations, called forth universal indignation. We blush while reading the authenticated records of licentiousness, too filthy to be transcribed on pages intended for general perusal; and as for the superstition that was fostered in those "dark habitations," it can only be regarded with pity, derision, and contempt.† A few monasteries and convents merited exemption from

* The bill passed its last reading on the 14th of July, 1536.

† Strype gives "the Inventory of the Relics of the house of Reading. *Imprimis*,—Two pieces of the holy cross. S. James's hand. S. Philip's stole. A bone of Mary Magdalene, with other mo. S. Anastasius's hand, with other mo. A piece of S. Pancrate's arme. A bone of S. Quintin's arme. A bone of S. David's arme. A bone of Mary Salome's arme. A bone of S. Edward the Martyr's arme. A bone of S. Hierom, with other mo. Bones of S. Steven, with other mo. A bone of S. Blase, with other mo. A bone of S. Osmund, with other mo. A piece of S. Ursula's stole. A jawbone of S. Ethelmoln. Bones of S. Leodegary and of S. Herenei. Bones of S. Margaret. Bones of S. Arnal. A bone of S. Agas, with other mo. A bone of S. Andrew, and two pieces of his cross. A bone of S. Frideswyde. A bone of S. Anne, with many other." A visiter, writing to Cromwell from Bristow, (Bristol,) does his relics greater honour. Instead of placing them in inventory, he sets forth their merits. "By this bringer, my servant, I send you relics. First, two flowers, wrapped in white and black sarcenet, that on Christen-Mass even, *horâ ipsâ, quâ Christus natus*

this general censure, and were recommended to be spared; but, first, about three hundred and seventy, and eventually all, were suppressed. Never had the public mind been so powerfully awakened to examine into the reasons of established customs, the rights of ancient institutions, and the verity or falsehood of doctrines hitherto commanded to be believed on peril of damnation. Neither the King, nor even Cromwell and his brethren, could reach the conclusions avowed by the old Lollards, revived by the continental Reformers, especially the Sacramentarians, so called, of Switzerland, and now maintained by multitudes in England. Injunctions were issued to the Clergy, who differed widely among themselves, to bend the people to the half-way doctrine sanctioned by the Convocation and its royal head, and some were imprisoned for going beyond the mark prescribed; but as well might the clouds have been bidden to refrain from raining.*

We stay again to look beyond the Tweed. The King of Scotland was in utter subjection to the Priests, and flattered by the tinsel honours of the Roman Bishop, who feared lest he should be drawn into closer alliance with his uncle, Henry VIII. Yet the very man into whose ear he had committed confession of sins,—and they were many,—received the truth of Christ into his heart. Alexander Seyton, his Confessor, was a Dominican Friar, a man of good learning, and well read in holy Scripture. During the days of Lent, (A.D. 1530,) he preached in St. Andrews, affirming that the law of God had not for many years been truly taught, because men's traditions had obscured its purity. In his sermons were reiterated and proved the following propositions:—"Christ Jesus is the end and perfection of the law. There is no sin where God's law is not violated. Man cannot make satisfaction for sins, which are remitted on unfeigned repentance, with faith, apprehending God to be merciful in Jesus Christ his Son." The devotees and Priests listened to hear him tell of purgatory, indulgences, pilgrimages, relics, saintly miracles, and such like; but he passed on, intent on preaching Christ, finished the sermons, left St. Andrews, and went to Dundee without having honoured Romish mummery with so much as a sentence of approbation or denial. They then took the pulpit, and endeavoured to preach down the salutary truths. Hearing of this, he hastened back, caused the bell to be tolled, and sent round the town a notice that he would preach once more. It was an earnest sermon, clearer and fuller than any one preceding, and contained such sentences as these: "Within Scotland there are no true Bishops, if Bishops are to be known by such notes and virtues as St. Paul requires." "It behoves a Bishop to be a preacher, or else he is but a dumb dog, and feeds not the flock, but his own belly." How far it was wise and right for him to preach to the *people* the

fuerat, will spring, and burgen, and bare blossomes. *Quod expertum est*, saith the Prior of Maiden Bradley. You shall also receive a bag of relics, wherein ye shall see by the scripture (writings). As, God's coat, our Ladie's smock; part of God's supper, *in cœnâ Domini; pars petræ, super quâ natus est Jesus in Bethlehem.* Besides, there is in Bethlehem plenty of stones, and sometimes quarries, and maketh their mangers of stone. The scripture of everything shall declare you all."—Memorials, vol. i., chap. 35.

* Foxe, book viii.; Strype, Memorials of Henry VIII.; Burnet, and Fuller.

duty of the *Bishops*, may be a question. It might have been much better for him to keep to the exposition of evangelical doctrine, and the disproof of error, for the benefit of his congregation, leaving the Bishops at the bar of God; but so it was. He had caught the prevailing spirit of opposition to a most degraded and licentious priesthood, and could not keep silence. Informers ran to the Bishop of St. Andrews, and the same hour Seyton stood before him charged with having vilified his order. The preacher's defence was wise, and delivered with the rude wit that marked the old Scotch Reformers: "My Lord, the reporters of such things are manifest liars." The reporters were confronted with him, and they insisted that he had so spoken, which he steadily denied, to the amazement of all the company, until, addressing the Bishop, he concluded thus: "My Lord, ye may hear and consider what ears these asses have, who cannot discern betwixt Paul, Isaiah, Zachariah, and Malachi, and Friar Alexander Seyton. In very deed, my Lord, I said that Paul says, 'It behoves a Bishop to be a teacher;' Isaiah said, 'that they that feed not the flock are dumb dogs;' and Zachariah says, 'they are idle Pastors.' I, of my own head, affirmed nothing; but declared what the Spirit of God before had pronounced." The Bishop was mortified by this unanswerable sally, and sought occasion to dislodge him from the confidence of his Sovereign. Nor was it difficult to do so. The Confessor had dealt faithfully with James; his counsels were unwelcome to the Prince who could not brook any restraint on the indulgence of his appetites, and to whom "he smelt," as he said, "of the new doctrine." He therefore gave ear readily to the courtiers who were engaged to speak evil of so uncourtly a Confessor, and gave such clear indications of displeasure, that Seyton, foreseeing its effect, withdrew into England. From Berwick-upon-Tweed, however, he sent a letter to the King, offering to return, meet the accusers in his presence, and bear the consequences, even unto death, if he might but have a fair hearing. But James would give no such guarantee, the messenger did not return, and he prosecuted his journey, preached in England, suffered persecution from Gardiner, and was at length compelled to make some kind of submission, and do penance at Paul's-Cross.*

The legislators of Scotland—if they might bear that honourable title—emulated the obedient Parliament-men of the south, and re-enacted a law made ten years before against them that should hold, dispute, or rehearse the damnable opinions of the great heretic, Luther, ordaining that, as that realm had ever been clean from "all sic filth and vice," no native or foreigner who might arrive in any sea-port should bring Lutheran books, nor should any one receive or conceal the same, nor countenance their doctrines or opinions. The penalties were to be confiscation of the ships and cargoes, and imprisonment of the delinquents. And the secular authorities were also empowered to punish, by seizure of their property, persons who contemned the horrible sentence of cursing, and had at the same time been fined, these fines being now legalized as recoverable debts (A.D.

* Knox, Reformation in Scotland, book i., an. 1534.

1535).* But the word of God, that cannot be bound, was already within the realm, and Monks read it in their cells. John Lin, a Grey Friar, threw off his habit. John Keiller, a Black Friar, and religious dramatist, represented the Priests and Bishops under the characters of Scribes and Pharisees, in a play having for its subject our Lord's passion. Keiller himself appeared on the stage in Stirling on a Good-Friday morning: the King was present, according to custom, amidst a large audience; and the satire was so obvious,—probably so rude,—that the Clergy and their followers clamoured for vengeance on the author. Friar Beveridge, of whose offence there is little distinct record, and Duncan Simpson, a Priest, with Robert Forrester, a gentleman, are only known as involved in the same persecution, for eating flesh in Lent, and assisting at the secret marriage of a Priest. Dean Thomas Forrest, a Canon regular, and Vicar of Dollar, obtains a more conspicuous position in the party. He preached every Sunday, unveiled the mysteries of Christianity by expounding the holy Scriptures to his congregation in the vulgar tongue, and added to these delinquencies the invidious aggravation of having remitted some part of their dues to his parishioners. Him the Bishop exhorted to refrain from practices that threw a shade of discredit on Ecclesiastics who never preached, nor ever abstained from receiving the accustomed contributions, and to content himself with merely preaching now and then from a good Epistle, or a good Gospel, if perchance he found one. The Vicar replied that, "to him, all the Gospels and Epistles were good." The Bishop thanked God that he never meddled with them, nor went beyond his Portesse† and Pontifical, and dismissed him as incorrigible. They were all burnt in one fire on the Castle-Hill, Edinburgh (February 28th, 1538).‡

Either to supply a verbal deficiency in the existing laws, or, more probably, to counteract the influence of the repudiation of the Pope by England, the Scotch Parliament further enacted, "That na maner of Persoun argou nor impugn the Papis Auctorite, under the Pane of Deid, and Confiscatioun of all thare Gudis, movable and unmovable." But the same Parliament acknowledged, that the dishonesty and misrule of kirkmen, and their deficiency of wit, knowledge, and manners, had brought them into contempt; and therefore the King's Grace exhorted and prayed openly all Archbishops, Bishops, Ordinaries, and other Prelates, and every kirkman in his own degree, to reform themselves and those under them in habit and manners towards God and man; and commanded them to provide due administration of sacraments, and celebration of divine service. On the other hand, conventicles were forbidden, and private meetings to converse about religion, unless authorized theologians, approved by famous universities, were present to instruct. Every abjured heretic was required by the King to keep utter silence touching religion, and submit withal to live in poverty and disgrace, holding "no honest estate, degree,

* Keith, Hist. of Church and State in Scotland, book i., chap. 1.

† Portesse, porthose, portass, portuse, portuese, &c., is the Breviary, or daily Prayer-Book.

‡ Foxe, book viii.

office, nor judicature, spiritual nor temporal, in burgh nor without, nor in any wise should be admitted to be of his council." Fugitives —and many of the worthiest subjects of the realm were then fugitive—were placed beyond possibility of restoration to their homes; and whoever should presume to solicit anything on their behalf, was to be punished as a favourer and assistant of heretics. The feebleness of persecuting laws, however, was acknowledged the same day, in a declaration that the obnoxious doctrine was taught and spread in secret congregations; and a moiety of the property confiscated was offered to any person who would discover the members or frequenters of such conventicles, even though he had himself been one (A.D. 1540).* Low, indeed, must have been the national standard of morality and honour; and with such *laws* before us, we can scarcely refrain from asking those who complain of the excesses of the early Scotch Reformers, whether the prevalent barbarism and impiety of Scotland in the sixteenth century is not equally manifest in the conduct of all parties. A contrast with England can scarcely be concealed; but the superiority of our own Legislature in those times, servile as it was, and cruel, may be attributed to the facts that, even long before Wycliffe, the Anglo-Saxon Scriptures were known, and that witnesses to evangelical truth arose from time to time. Such an one wrote "the Ploughman's Complaint."

Emulating the zealots of Edinburgh, those of Glasgow proceeded to destroy Hieronymus Russell, a Cordelier Friar, and Kennedy, a young man of eighteen. To urge the Bishop forwards, three persons were sent, probably by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, to assist at their examination. When Kennedy found himself in the presence of his persecutors, his courage wavered, and he would have recanted, had not the Spirit of God again empowered him to rise above dread of death. Then he knelt down, and with a cheerful countenance made confession thus:—"O Eternal God, how wondrous is that love and mercy that thou bearest unto mankind, and unto me, the most caitiff and miserable wretch above all others; for, even now, when I would have denied thee, and thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have cast myself into everlasting damnation; thou, by thine own hand, hast pulled me from the very bottom of hell, and makest me to feel that heavenly comfort which takes from me the ungodly fear, wherewith before I was oppressed. Now I defy death, do what ye please. I praise God, I am ready." His elder companion bore meekly the scoffs of their judges; and the Bishop, subdued by the spirit that sustained them, pleaded against putting heretics to death, and would have interposed authority to spare the victims. But in such a case he had no authority; and when he expressed his conviction that it would be better to spare those men than to put them to death, the emissaries who surrounded him threatened to proceed against himself for heresy, if he failed to execute the pleasure of the Cardinal. He then pronounced the sentence, and the two brethren, comforting each other in hope of a glorious immortality, triumphed over death.†

* Keith, book i., chap. 1. † Knox, book i.

Historians variously characterize James V. One thing, at least, is certain, that from childhood he was enslaved to the Priests, and made, with scarcely any intermission, the instrument of their policy and pleasure. We have seen how he cast off his faithful Confessor, and sanctioned an Act of Parliament that made it criminal for any one even to pronounce a word in favour of Alexander Seyton in the royal presence. George Buchanan, whose reputation as a Christian poet yet lives, was employed as tutor of some illegitimate children of the King, who once, when out of humour with the Monks, and afraid to breathe his displeasure openly, bade Buchanan write a satire on them. He wrote "the Franciscan," a short piece of Latin poetry, and presented it to his royal master, who had the vileness to give him up to those very Monks on their demand for vengeance on the writer. He was imprisoned, and eventually fled the country.

Sir John Borthwike was one of the most eminent fugitives. He had spoken well of the English Reformation, declared against the Pope and ecclesiastical abuses, and professed some points of evangelical doctrine, gathered not only from Erasmus, but from the New Testament, and the writings of Luther, Melancthon, Œcolampadius, and others. A numerous company of Prelates and dignitaries assembled to pronounce judgment on his case after he had fled into England; condemned a series of articles which he afterwards maintained in writing; and sagely determined, that *for the terror* of other heretics, his portrait, a true likeness, should be painted, carried round the town, and burnt. The living original being beyond their jurisdiction, his picture was carried through St. Andrews in solemn procession, for the entertainment of the King, and Mary of Lorraine his consort, recently arrived from France. Sir John's property was confiscated, as of course, and his name consigned to infamy, by a sentence that, in reality, confers honour on them who suffer it (A.D. 1540).*

While the Scottish Parliament was framing the above-cited laws against heresy, and endeavouring to fence round Scotland against the irruption of "new doctrine" from England, the King of England, bent on counteracting foreign influence on the island, and anxious to unite both countries under one crown, held much correspondence with James, his nephew, and proposed to meet him for the purpose of conferring on measures that might promote the union. It was agreed that they should meet at York, and Henry went thither at the appointed time. But James did not make his appearance. The Priests had interfered, dreading intercourse with a heretic, and the King of England, not of a nature to brook the indignity, became hostile to Scotland. An irregular border-warfare followed: the Scottish nobility were cool; but the Clergy, who had promised to spend their wealth on a war with this country, in order to keep out heresy, and had obtained their King's promise to put a large number of noblemen to death on charge of heresy, in compensation for the liberal subsidy promised by the Church, collected a large force, and crossed the Solway, to attempt an invasion of England, but were shamefully dispersed without striking

* Foxe, book viii.; Knox, book i.

a blow. James was so shocked that he fled into the country, and died of grief. The Cardinal of St. Andrews forged, as it was believed, a document bearing the King's signature, but written on blank paper, to be afterwards filled up, appointing himself head of a regency during the minority of a Princess newly born. The Earl of Arran, supported by the nobility and people, successfully disputed the validity of the paper, and was appointed Governor of Scotland. A political change which then took place is described by the historians of both countries; but it chiefly concerns us to notice that, during a temporary reaction against the Cardinal and Clergy, the religious Reformation of Scotland began in earnest.

The first public act was performed by the same authority that had so recently legalized the utmost vengeance upon heretics. James, Earl of Arran, tutor of the infant Queen, and Governor of the kingdom, presided. Lord Maxwell, a representative of that party of the nobility which had been most jealous of the ascendancy of the Clergy in the preceding reign, proposed (March 15th, 1543) that it should be declared * lawful to read the Bible in the vulgar tongue. The Bill set forth that it was statute and ordained that it should be lawful to all the Queen's lieges to possess the Old and New Testaments in the vulgar tongue, in English or Scottish, in any good and true translation, and that they should incur no crime for having and reading of the same; "providing always that no man *dispute or hold opinions*,† under the penalties contained in Acts of Parliament." The Lords of Articles confirmed the Bill. They restored suspended animation, but bade their patient hold his breath. The Clergy knew that if Scotland lived it most assuredly would breathe; and therefore the Archbishop of Glasgow, Chancellor of the kingdom, presented a formal "disassent" on behalf of himself and all the Prelates present, requesting that it should be left to a Provincial Council to determine whether "the same were *necessary* to be had in the vulgar tongue or not," and thereafter to determine whether or not it should be allowed. This "disassent" hindered not the passing of the Bill, probably, without debate; the sanction was annexed; and two days afterwards the citizens of Edinburgh heard it proclaimed at the market-cross, that the New Testament might be read, and that a supply of authenticated copies would be published. Mr. Sadler, Ambassador from Henry VIII., at the request of the Governor, wrote to England for Bibles, and asked his Sovereign to send the Earl a copy of the statutes and injunctions issued by the English Parliament for the reformation of the Church and abolition of the Pope's authority. Thomas Williams and John Rough, both members of the Earl's household, preached against the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and adoration of images. Some preachers came from England, and the churches resounded with doctrine hitherto unheard. But the movement was too sudden, and depended too much on the will of the Earl of Arran, whose caution soon overcame his political zeal. He renounced the opinions so impetuously avowed, reconciled himself with

* As in England, nine years before.

† The same vain restriction was also attempted in England.

Cardinal Beaton and the Church, and dismissed his Chaplains, with every servant or retainer that was known to advocate the reformation of either discipline or doctrine.

In order to wash away the stain of heresy from himself, he turned hotly against the cause he had espoused; and a parliamentary record (December 15th, 1543) attests, that he himself caused it to be shown, and proposed to the assembled states, how there was a great murmur that heretics more and more arose and spread within the realm, sowing damnable opinions contrary to the faith and laws of Church and State. He exhorted all Prelates to institute a general search for heretics, and promised his help at all times "to do therein as accorded him of his office;" that is, to put them to death, which was all that the Inquisitors left for the secular power to perform. The Pope's Legate in Scotland, whose business was to deliver money for sustaining that country against England, to promote the interests of France, and exhort to persecution, fulfilled his mission, and returned to the thresholds of the Apostles, enraptured with the orthodoxy and zeal that he had witnessed. Cardinal Beaton, after some months had elapsed, determined to make a progress, or visitation, in search of heretics. Accompanied by the Earl of Argyle, Lord Justice General, Lord Borthwick, the Bishops of Dunblain and Orkney, and a train of gentlemen, they impressed awe on the trembling lieges in their course. At Perth they were gratified by the delation of several persons who had dared to "hold opinions" contrary to Act of Parliament. Three or four were banished; some were imprisoned. Five men and one woman* were condemned to die. Although the words of an Act cited above might have been interpreted to prohibit intercession, many did intercede for these good people, but in vain. Beaton was inexorable, and caused the men to be hanged, and the woman to be drowned (A.D. 1545). Yet, in the dialect of the Inquisition, they would hardly have been called *dogmatizing* heretics. They had not preached. The worst offence consisted in contradicting a Friar during his sermon, who had affirmed that without prayer to saints there could be no salvation. Another had treated an image of St. Francis with disrespect, and eaten roast goose on All Saints' eve. Another was suspected of keeping company with heretics. Another had carved a Papal tiara on the staircase of his house, which was considered contemptuous. The woman had refused to pray to the Virgin, when in child-bed, but called upon God, through Jesus Christ, the divine Mediator. When about to suffer for this offence, she took her infant from her breast, and begged the authorities of Perth to take care of it. She then saw her husband with the others scourged, then hung, and was herself, at last, plunged into the flood.

This done, and the visitation ended, Beaton assembled a Provincial Council at Edinburgh, to consult for the utter suppression of heresy, and, if we may believe them, for restraining the licentiousness of Clergymen. The Bishops had congregated, and were proceeding to

* William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Ronald, James Hunter, James Finlayson, and Helen Stark, his wife. It may be observed that the wife, in Popish countries, did not usually take her husband's name. Neither does she now in Spain and Italy.

deliberate, when a piece of welcome intelligence called them from deliberation to immediate action. Master George Wishart, a zealous Gospel preacher, was reported to be in the castle of the Laird of Ormiston; and his apprehension was, before all other things, to be effected. We must relate his history somewhat at length.

Many years before, people reported to the elder Cardinal Beaton that George Wishart, master of the Grammar-school at Montrose, was teaching his boys to read the Greek Testament. The Cardinal, or the Bishop of Brechin, acting under his instructions, dismissed the innovator; and it is even said, that Wishart was banished * for this offence. He left Scotland, and travelled on the Continent. The next notice of him is at Cambridge. He was known there (A.D. 1543) as Master George of Benet's College, a tall man, with black hair trimmed close, a full black beard, a mild and thoughtful countenance; wearing a "round French cap of the best," attired in a long frieze gown, that covered plain but good apparel, which he gave away to the poor whenever changed. His accent strongly national, his manners courteous. He abounded in information gathered in travel, and was learned, humble, apt to teach, abstemious, devout, and liberal in the charitable distribution of his private property,—which was considerable, he being member of a family of importance, the Wisharts of Pitarrow.† When Henry VIII. sent an embassy to Scotland after the death of James V., Wishart went with it, remained there, preached during the short period of the Earl of Arran's favour towards the Reformation, and continued to do so after his desertion. John Knox, who received much benefit from the instruction of Wishart, describes his ministrations while proclaiming the Gospel of salvation, and endeavouring to evade the pursuit of his enemies. First at Montrose, among his earlier friends, he expounded the doctrine of Christianity; and then proceeded to Dundee, where he occupied the pulpit, until one Robert Mill, a principal person of the town, and formerly a professor of the truth, publicly inhibited him, in the name of the Queen and Governor, from troubling their town any more. Wishart paused, raised his eyes in prayer, and then, looking sorrowfully at the speaker and the people, said, in few words, that he never intended their trouble, which would be far more grievous to himself than to them. He told them that at the hazard of his life he had remained at Dundee, and to chase him away would not deliver them from trouble, but rather bring them into it, for God would send them messengers that would neither fear burning nor banishment. But he would leave them, confiding the defence of his innocence to God. "But," said he, "if it long prosper with you, I am not led with the Spirit of truth: if trouble unlooked for apprehend you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, for he is merciful; but if ye turn not at the first, he will visit you with fire

* Of the dismissal there can be no doubt; but that Wishart was banished, or, if banished, by what authority, is not so certain.

† Of French extraction. Gerdes gives the name *Guiscard*. In a Scottish document cited below, it is spelt *Wischart*. Was there any Waldensian tradition in that family? His "French cap never changed," and his urbane manners, distinguish him remarkably.

and sword." Having thus spoken, he came down from the pulpit, and was surrounded by the Lord Marshal and many other noblemen, who begged him to remain, and offered shelter in their houses, and protection from violence; but he would not consent, and forthwith left Dundee, crossed the Tay, and, after preaching from place to place, "offered God's word" to the inhabitants of Ayr, who received it gladly. The Cardinal then desired Dunbar, Bishop of Glasgow, to proceed to Ayr with his retinue, take possession of the church, and try to preach down the innovation. The Bishop obeyed; and as he entered the town, a strong party of nobility and gentry entered also, and would have retained the pulpit by force; but Wishart refused to enter into so unseemly a conflict with an ecclesiastical superior, and took his station at the market-cross, where he delivered a sermon that confounded even his enemies. The Bishop, failing to get any better congregation than his own train, and a few poor dependents, withdrew after one brief attempt. Supported by men of influence, he preached in a church in Kyle, among the children of the old Lollards of Kyle, at Galston, Bar, and elsewhere, where the lay-patrons were favourable; but the sacred edifices were often closed against him. At Mauchlin, where the patrons shut the doors, some zealous parishioners would have opened them, led by one Hugh Campbell; but Master George would not be thus introduced to any pulpit. "Brother," said he, "Christ Jesus is as potent in the fields as in the kirk; and I find that himself oftener preached in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places judged profane, than he did in the temple of Jerusalem. It is the word of peace which God sends by me: the blood of no man shall be shed this day for the preaching of it." Taking Christ as his ensample, he walked out of the town, the multitude following, and, ascending a gentle eminence, soon saw thousands sitting or standing around. There he spoke from the fulness of his heart for more than three hours, was heard without weariness; and in that congregation Lawrence Ranken, Laird of Sheil, a notoriously wicked man, yielded to the demonstration and power of the Holy Spirit. Tears flowed down his cheeks, to the amazement of all, and the reality of his conversion was afterwards attested by a godly life. God honoured this wandering preacher as he never had mere court Reformers.

When Wishart had last preached in Dundee, and was forbidden, in the name of the Queen and Governor, to trouble that place any longer, he predicted * that God would send some judgment on the town for having

* Knox and others affirm that he possessed the gift of prophecy. To deny that God has ever enabled any of his servants, since the apostolic times, to utter a prediction of events that He only could foresee, would be to encounter facts that many of the wisest and best of men believe to prove the contrary. But to pronounce on any of those facts until after the most searching investigation, such an investigation as is in many instances impracticable, would be foolish. We are beset with error on either hand. Popery and fanaticism have their false prophets. Rationalism, too, has its prophets, its men of "insight," enjoying, as they boast, a perpetual inspiration, supplementary to, and perfective of, the inspiration of holy Scripture. That inspiration this sect reduces to a level with the pseudo-inspiration of Mohammed, Confucius, Milton, Byron, Newman, Froude, Carlyle, and any dreamer that may fancy himself under the afflatus, or taught by the inner light. If Savonarola, Wishart, and other good men did utter super-

rejected the Gospel. Four days after his departure the plague broke out, and carried off a very great number of persons daily. Reports of this visitation became, in succession, more and more alarming; until he, bearing no hinderance, resolved to hasten back and preach Christ to the smitten population, trusting that God would "make them now to magnify and reverence that word, which before, for the fear of men, they set at light part." No sooner did he reach Dundee than he gave notice for his first sermon at the east gate of the town, the healthy standing within, and the convalescent and suspected on the outside. The text was, "He sent his word, and healed them." The opening sentence, "It is neither herb nor plaster, O Lord, but thy word, that heals all." He told the people of the dignity and power of God's word; the punishment of contempt thereof; the promptitude of God's mercy to such as truly turn to him; the happiness of those whom God takes to himself. From the preaching-station he proceeded to visit the sick and the dying, and all his energies were spent in ministering the word of life, and guiding the distribution of temporal charity, afforded by the more affluent inhabitants. The force of Dundee was with him, and no common Inquisitor of heresy would then have dared to apprehend the honoured benefactor. Yet a desperate ruffian was found, John Wighton, a Priest, bribed by the Cardinal, as it was reported, to assassinate him. The man stood at the foot of the steps within the east gate, his gown hanging loosely, and a knife or dagger concealed under it, ready to strike. Wishart had eyed him closely during sermon, came down directly on him, and suddenly grasped his arm, exclaiming, "My friend, what would ye do?" The weapon was surrendered; the Priest fell on his knees, imploring pardon; the people rushed on him with vengeance; but Wishart embraced the intending murderer, and cried: "Whosoever troubles him shall trouble me; for he has hurt me in nothing, but has done great comfort both to you and me. He has led us to understand what we may fear. *In times to come we will watch better.*" Thenceforth a sword was always carried before him; and it is worthy of remembrance, that the sword-bearer of Wishart was John Knox.

The plague had abated, and some gentlemen of the west wrote to him, requesting that he would meet them at Edinburgh, where they would invite the assembled Bishops to refute him, if they could, in order that he might be heard in public disputation. Willing to confess Christ any where, he consented, and prepared to set out on the journey. First, however, he determined to revisit the church at Montrose, where he remained for some time, occasionally preaching; but chiefly occupied in study, meditation, and prayer, as if girding himself for the last

natural predictions, their gift will be distinguishable from the Popish and rationalistic counterfeit; but this is the very question to be decided. On the other hand, brutish and sensual infidelity scoffs at supernatural influence, and denies the reality of extraordinary spiritual gifts. This is the common expression of human unbelief, and against this every "spiritual man" most earnestly protests. The writer of this note believes that there have been a few instances of supernatural prediction,—a very few. But he does not commit himself to any judgment of such instances in the present work, since judgment must be sustained by *facts*, as well as arguments, adduced at far greater length than is here admissible.

battle. The Cardinal was also meditating—how to evade the public disputation. One day a letter was brought to Wishart, written, as it seemed, by his most familiar friend, the Laird of Kinneir, stating that he was seized with sudden sickness, and wished to see him immediately. The bearer brought a horse, Wishart mounted, and, attended by some friends, had ridden a short distance, when he abruptly drew up, sat silent for a few moments, and then turned the horse's head, saying, "I will not go. I am forbidden of God. I am assured there is treason. Let some of you go to yon place, and tell me what they find." They went, and found sixty spearmen, lying in ambush within a mile and a half of Montrose, waiting to murder him. The Cardinal had sent a forged letter, and prepared for murder, but failed this second time.

The time to proceed towards Edinburgh for a public disputation with the Bishops was come, and, resisting the entreaties of the Laird of Dun, who foreboded evil, he left Montrose. Passing through Dundee, he lodged in the house of a faithful brother, about two miles further on, and there passed a night of anguish. Stealing from his chamber when all seemed to be asleep, he went beyond hearing of the house, fell on his knees and prayed, and then, prostrate on the ground, lay groaning. His host, with another, had heard him rise, followed unperceived, and listened, at some distance, to his groans and prayer, interrupted and made indistinct with weeping. Pressed by them, next morning, for an explanation of the incident, he told them that he was assured that his work was nearly finished, and bade them pray that he might not shrink when the battle should wax hot. This betrayed the conflict; but he strove to comfort them by an assurance that, after he and many more had suffered, God would enlighten the realm with Christ's Gospel, as clearly as was ever any land since the days of the Apostles; and that, despite Satan, the house of God should be built, and the very top-stone brought on with perfection. Thence, by way of St. Johnston, (Perth,) and Fife, he reached Leith, expecting intelligence from Edinburgh. But no word came. His friends were not there, and he kept himself secret, suffering great perplexity. It was determined, however, that on the Sunday following he should preach at Leith. He did so, expounding the parable of the sower to a great congregation. To avoid danger, as the Cardinal and Governor were expected at Edinburgh, he left Leith, and lodged with several friends in succession, to elude pursuit, in Brownston, Long Niddry, and Ormiston. The next Sunday he preached twice in the church at Inveresk, beside Musselburgh, to a great concourse of people; and, at the close of the afternoon sermon, Sir George Douglas addressed the congregation, desiring that the Governor and Cardinal, who had then reached Edinburgh, might know that he had not only attended at the sermon, but would maintain the doctrine he had heard, and the person of the preacher, to the uttermost of his power. On two more Sundays he preached in Tranent to multitudes, and alluded to the probable nearness of death. Lastly, he reached Haddington, and there it became evident that his career was nearly ended. The people feared to attend, and

each congregation was smaller than the one preceding. Then came a letter to inform him that his friends had relinquished the purpose of meeting him in Edinburgh. It reached him just before going into the pulpit for the last time; when he found but about a hundred hearers, denounced, under very strong feeling, the indifference of Haddington, then recalled his thoughts, gave a brief exhortation respecting the precepts of the second table of the Decalogue, and closed his ministrations by declaring that the spirit of truth was not only on his lips, but in his heart. Bidding farewell to his friends, and causing the sword to be taken from John Knox, as no longer needed, he took leave of Haddington. Knox begged permission still to follow him; but he said, "Nay, return to your bairns," (his pupils,) "one is sufficient for a sacrifice. God bless you." Attended by a strong company of Lairds, and their servants, he walked to Ormiston. The Laird of Ormiston entertained them. After supper he discoursed concerning the death of God's children, and, in prospect of that eternal repose, his pensive countenance brightened into a sweet and elevated smile, as he ended with, "Methinks that I desire earnestly to sleep: we'll sing a psalm." The friendly company rose, devotions being ended, to go to their apartments. "God grant quiet rest," said Wishart, and hastened to his. Before midnight a large body of armed men surrounded the place, that none might escape to call for help. The Earl of Bothwell demanded admission. He came by authority of Arran and the Lords of Council, to whom he had obliged himself to deliver up "Maister George Wischart" before the end of the month (January, 1546). The Earl told the Laird, that it was useless for him to hold out, as both Governor and Cardinal were close at hand with a resistless force; but "if he would deliver the man unto him, he would promise, *upon his honour*, that he should be safe, and that it should pass the power of the Cardinal to do him any harm or scathe." Yet the Earl had already bound himself to give him up to the Governor, "under all the hiest pane and charge that he mai incur, giff he falzies herintill." Alas! we know that neither words of honour nor oaths are valid when they serve not the pleasure of the Church. Under the verbal assurance, the Laird submitted the matter to Wishart himself, who instantly decided: "Open the gates: the blessed will of my God be done." With heavy heart the hospitable Laird saw the gates opened. Bothwell entered with his train, and the Earl's prisoner saluted him thus: "I praise my God that so honourable a man as you, my Lord, receives me this night in the presence of these noblemen; for now I am assured that, for your honour's sake, ye will suffer nothing to be done unto me besides the order of the law. *I am not ignorant that their law is nothing but corruption, and a cloak to shed the blood of saints: but yet I less fear to die openly, than secretly to be murdered.*" Bothwell answered with a promise, not only to preserve his body from illegal violence, but to retain him in his own hands and in his own place, until either he should make him free, or restore him to that place again; and called on all present to witness. The delighted Lairds volunteered that, on the fulfilment of that promise, they themselves would serve the Earl

all the days of their life, and procure all the professors within Lothian to do the same, and that, when that "servant of God" should be delivered to them again, they would deliver to his Lordship their "band of man-rent in the manner aforesaid." Bothwell was not a Jesuit; but neither was the darkest craft of Machiavelli, nor is that of "the Society," a shade worse than the everlasting spirit of Romanism itself. Bothwell took his prey from Ormiston to the Cardinal, who was waiting at Elphinston, but one mile distant, and so, within a few minutes, flung his honour to the winds. To crown the perfidy, the Cardinal instantly sent back a stronger force, who brought the Lairds of Ormiston and Brownston, and the son of the Laird of Calder, and confined them in the Castle of Edinburgh. There was Wishart also immured, until returned, for form's sake, to Bothwell, who, having been bribed by both Cardinal and Queen, sent him, bound, to the Castle of St. Andrews.

Many days had not elapsed, when the Dean of St. Andrews entered the prison, and, with unmeaning formality, summoned him to appear before the Cardinal and Bishops in the abbey church on the next morning. The Prelates were conducted to the abbey by the Cardinal's servants, armed to the teeth, with his Eminence at their head; and Wishart, in custody of the Captain of the Castle, and a hundred soldiers, was taken thither to undergo interrogation. But he displayed no fear. Entering the church-door, he observed a poor man, impotent, like him who waited for alms at the Beautiful gate of the Temple, threw him his purse, now no longer needed for himself, and walked into the presence of the Lord Cardinal and Bishops, where he stood while the Sub-Prior pronounced an oration on the parable of the tares and the wheat, affirming, in contradiction to the sacred text, that both ought *not* to grow together until the harvest, but that heretics should be burned forthwith. The confessor was then caused to ascend the pulpit, where, without betraying the least emotion, he heard a Priest read, with excessive vehemence, a paper full of accusations, mingled with cursings. After reading that document, the Priest, covered with perspiration, and red with rage, spat in his face, and cried, "What answerest thou to these sayings? thou renegade! traitor! thief!" Remembering Him who answered not a word, Wishart knelt down in the pulpit, offered a short prayer in silence, and then, in the strength of God, gave his answer, begging to be allowed a hearing, and professing faith in all the fundamental truths of Christianity. Eighteen articles, each prefaced by "thou heretic, traitor, and thief," or some such form of vituperation, were read, and to each of them he briefly answered; but no heed was given to reason or expostulation; and the Bishops, be it observed, passing by the secular power, and in contempt of an injunction of the Governor, who, jealous of their interference in a question of life, had desired that he should be reserved to the civil jurisdiction, condemned him to be burnt. But before pronouncing the sentence, they caused the people to leave the church; it was then read, and the Cardinal sent him back to the Castle until fire should be ready. The fire was prepared on the west side of that building; and, to guard against any attempt at rescue by

the friendly Lairds, the Castle guns were pointed towards the spot, a gunner standing with a lighted brand by each. A party of soldiers then brought him out, having his hands bound, with an iron chain passed round his body, and a rope round his neck. Some Friars officiously wearied him, at every step, with exhortations to pray to the Virgin; but he answered meekly, "Tempt me not, my brethren." Being rid of them, he first knelt down and prayed; then addressed the crowd, firmly, but with Christlike gentleness; forgave the executioner, according to custom, and bade him "do his office." He was swung on the gibbet, and his body consumed. No sooner did the people of St. Andrews see his noble frame suspended and quivering, than they burst into wailing, and dispersed, terror-stricken, and meditating retribution (March 1st, 1546).

Not only the multitude, but persons of rank, declared that they would avenge the death of Wishart on the Cardinal. A few weeks afterwards a party of sixteen broke into the Castle of St. Andrews, and murdered him,—the last Cardinal that ever was in Scotland. The murderers fancied themselves justified in shedding his blood; and James Melvin, described by Knox as "a man of nature most gentle and most modest," after bidding the others do the work and judgment of God with greater gravity, exhorted the wounded Cardinal, as he sat pale and bleeding in his chair, to repent of his wicked life; but especially of the blood-shedding of that notable instrument of God, Master George Wishart, which they were sent of God to revenge. He further told him, that he was not moved to take his life by any personal resentment or fear, but only because he had been an obstinate enemy of Christ and his holy Gospel; and then transfixed him, with a short sword, twice or thrice. Thus perished Cardinal Beaton, breathing out, as he sank on the floor, only these pitiable words, "I am a Priest—I am a Priest—Fie! Fie!—All is gone!" (May 29th, 1546.) His death was not worse than his demerit; but the cool vengeance, the impious atrocity of the murderer, preaching, as he held a drawn sword to the breast of the Cardinal, must awaken an emotion of horror in every well-instructed mind. The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God; and George Wishart, could he have spoken from his ashes, would have unsparingly declared the guilt, which no lecture on the lawfulness of tyrannicide can palliate.* "The blood of no man," he had said, "shall be shed for the preaching of the word of peace."

Those were dark, unhappy times. Good and evil were strangely mingled, even in the same persons, and the historian mourns as he pursues the current of events. While idolatry was partially discouraged, and Papal authority utterly set aside, in England, laws against heresy were multiplied. The supremacy of the King over the Church was preached up zealously, even by such bigots as Longland, Bishop of Lincoln; but royalists and Papists alike hated Him who is head, in all things, over the Church. The history of John Lambert brings a humiliating illustration of the state of our country in this reign.

* Knox, History of Reformation in Scotland, book i.; Keith, History of Church and State in Scotland, book i., chapters 1—4; Foxe, book viii.

When Bilney was at Cambridge, his instructions and example were instrumental, as we have seen, in conveying light to the hearts of many, among whom was John Lambert, a native of Norfolk, then making great proficiency in the learned languages. To avoid persecution, he went over to Antwerp, joined Tyndale and Frith, and officiated as Chaplain to the English merchants; Antwerp being then the first commercial city of Europe. Sir Thomas More, availing himself of the power allowed to England over English subjects there, in the *Intercursus Magnus*, or "Great Treaty," had him brought over to London, on the accusation of one Thomas Barlow, and examined, first at Lambeth, then at Warham's house at Otford, before Archbishop Warham. Forty-five articles were collected against him, reduced to a written document, and placed in his hands, with the intention, no doubt, of engaging the prisoner himself to supply further materials for condemnation. Shut up in the Archbishop's house, without books, and entirely dependent on the resources of his memory, he produced a copious answer to those articles, replete with learning and evangelical truth. He would probably have been burnt then, but Warham died, and the prisoner was released. He then enjoyed liberty under the influence of Anne Boleyn, Cranmer, and Cromwell, and, laying aside his priestly character, obtained a livelihood by teaching Latin and Greek. Not apprehending any danger, he took the liberty, one day, after sermon in St. Peter's church, of soliciting conversation with Dr. Taylor, the preacher, on some points of doctrine. Dr. Taylor desired him to set down his arguments in writing. The subject was the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and Lambert gave ten reasons to prove that they were not really present on the altar. Dr. Taylor entered fully into the controversy, conferred with his friends thereon, and, among others, with Dr. Barnes, a man deeply engaged in the advancing Reformation, but no less zealous against the Sacramentarians, as they who denied transubstantiation were called in England. Dr. Barnes advised his friend to consult Cranmer, who had not yet quite cast off the prevailing error, but adopted the middle notion of Luther, and, intent on repressing what he conceived to be erroneous, sent for the new opponent, and required him to defend his cause in the Consistory. Impatient of the dogmatism of the Bishops, and imagining that the King would be an impartial judge, or would, at least, protect him from violence, he appealed to His Majesty from the ecclesiastical Judges, and, after returning home, wrote a treatise, addressed to Henry, whom he regarded with entire confidence, and whom he trusted to bring over to his more reasonable and scriptural opinion. And he might have succeeded, if Anne Boleyn had been there to interpose her influence; but she was beheaded, and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, bent on restoring Popery, suggested that, in order to disabuse those who thought the King to be an abettor of heresy, and to recover the confidence of those of his subjects who were still zealous in favour of the Church, Henry should punish the Sacramentarian, and, with his blood, satisfy multitudes of disaffected. The King caught the idea, and instantly prepared to carry it into execution. Lambert had

appealed to him as head of the Church; and in that character he determined to give judgment, and to do so with all possible solemnity. A royal commission summoned all the nobles and Bishops of the realm to assemble at Whitehall, to assist the King against heretics and heresies, on a day appointed (November 10th, 1538).

Thither came the hierarchy of Church, and the aristocracy of State. Eminent above all, the King, supreme theologian, attended by a numerous guard, all clothed in white, symbolizing the purity of the doctrine they were that day to defend! On his right hand sat the Bishops, robed in full splendour; and, behind them, a large company of the chief lawyers in the kingdom, clad in purple. Left of the throne, were the Peers of the realm, Justices, and other nobles in their order; and, behind these, the gentlemen of the King's privy chamber. John Lambert, tainted with the infamy of a former persecution, a poor schoolmaster, who had dared to tread on ground that even Priests were scarcely authorized to occupy, was confronted with the royal Defender of the Faith,—dread Sovereign, in whose presence the highest orders of both estates, the secular and ecclesiastical, crouched in mute submission. When Henry had seated himself on the throne, he cast a contemptuous frown on the heretic, unsupported, except by the Omnipotent, and then commanded Dr. Day, Bishop of Chichester, to declare to the people the cause of the present assemblage. The Bishop, in a brief oration, interpreted His Majesty's design to let all states and degrees of men see that the sinister opinion should not be conceived of him, that now, the authority and name of the Bishop of Rome being utterly abolished, he would also extinguish all religion, or give liberty to heretics to perturb and trouble the churches of England, of which he was head, without punishment. "Neither," said the Bishop, "should any think that they were assembled there to dispute, but only to refute, and openly to condemn, the heresies of that man, and of others like him."

Next the King, standing erect, and leaning forward on a "cushion of white cloth of tissue," turned towards Lambert with gathered brow, and after an awful pause, all eyes being fixed upon himself, he gruffly addressed the culprit. "Ho! good fellow, what is thy name?" Dropping on his knee, he gave answer: "My name is John Nicholson, though of many I be called Lambert." "What, have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although you were my brother." "O most noble Prince! your Bishops forced me of necessity to change my name." Henry questioned him, after many irrelevant questions and rejoinders, as to his doctrine of the sacrament, and heard him say explicitly, "I deny it to be the body of Christ." He then commanded Cranmer to refute him, which the Archbishop essayed to do, but with characteristic gentleness: "Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I do convince this your argument to be false, by the Scriptures, you will willingly refuse the same; but if you shall prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture, I do promise, I will willingly embrace the same." Cranmer was, no doubt, sincere. He could not but have felt the force of the very arguments he was commanded to

refute ; and perhaps was not unwilling to see the Bishops of England drawn into a controversy that might shake their confidence in the doctrine of real presence, as his was already shaken. Ten Bishops were ready, each to combat one of Lambert's ten reasons ; but they were incontinent of zeal, and could not wait their turn. They raged and scoffed. The King sustained the credit of his headship by excelling virulence ; and at the end of five hours, the persecuted man stood weary, as a lamb marked for slaughter, and half worried by dogs. Now and then a quotation from holy Scripture, or a brief sentence from St. Augustine, was all that he could utter. To argue, to plead, to remonstrate, was impossible. The farce of disputation had lasted from mid-day until five o'clock. It fell dusk, torches were lit, and even the King's vanity was sated after the protracted exhibition of his powers : so he brought the matter to a close, by addressing Lambert thus : " What sayest thou now, after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men ? Art thou not yet satisfied ? Wilt thou live or die ? What sayest thou ? Thou hast yet free choice."

Lambert.—" I yield and submit myself wholly unto the will of your Majesty."

King.—" Commit thyself unto the hands of God, and not unto mine."

L.—" I commend my soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your clemency."

K.—" If you do commit yourself unto my judgment, you must die ; for I will not be a patron unto heretics. Cromwell, read the sentence of condemnation against him." Cromwell shuddered. To disobey the King would but have involved him in the certain death of Lambert. He took the schedule of condemnation, ready written as it was, read it, and saw him dragged away to prison.

On the day appointed for his execution, he was brought, at eight o'clock in the morning, to Cromwell's house, taken to an inner room, and from the same lips that had pronounced his condemnation, received a sincere prayer for pardon. Thence he was conducted to the hall, sat at breakfast with several gentlemen, and conversed with solemn cheerfulness as one to whom death had no longer any sting. Thence to the fire. There his sufferings were extreme. First, they contrived to burn off his legs, leaving the body untouched, and then, raising him on the points of pikes, held him over the fire, until, driven away by the heat, they let him fall into it. His dying sentence was, " None but Christ ! None but Christ !" *

Encouraged by the King's anxiety to discountenance heresy, the Clergy immolated other victims. Robert Packington, a mercer in Cheapside, brother of Austin Packington, who had aided Tyndale by selling his Testament to the Bishop of London, when he burnt the

* Foxe, book viii. Burnet differs in some particulars from Foxe, whose narrative is full, and apparently more exact. Fuller and others show no mercy to Cranmer, because he argued against Lambert, and used no means to save him. They forget that Cranmer then differed from Lambert, and that his credit at that time with the King was much diminished. Gardiner and others had almost supplanted him.

copies, leaving Tyndale to print an improved edition with the money he had paid, was shot, early one morning, on his way to church. Dr. Incent, Dean of St. Paul's, confessed, when on his death-bed, that he had paid an Italian to commit the murder. One Collins, a madman, was burnt in Smithfield because he had, unconscious of offence, imitated the gesture of a Priest in elevating the host, by holding a little dog over his head. Cowbridge, another madman, was burnt at Oxford for some harmless eccentricities. Three others, at least, were burnt in Suffolk on trifling accusations.*

The enemies of reformation redoubled their diligence to counteract the labour of its friends. In the Convocation assembled nine months before the burning of Lambert, six articles of religion, all Popish, had been sharply discussed, and affirmed by the majority. Severe injunctions against Lutheran books had again been published; and Sacramentarians, who denied transubstantiation, were also marked as heretics. Anabaptism, an effect of extreme reaction against the sacramentalism of the dominant Church, was included in the condemnation. When the Convocation next met, (April, 1539,) the *Six Articles* were again discussed, finally adopted, and sent to Parliament for acceptance into the body of English law. Cranmer opposed them strenuously, arguing against them for three successive days; but his opposition could not prevail against the pleasure of the King, whom the Convocation and Parliament presumed not to disobey. Persuaded of his integrity, and needing his services, Henry indulged him in dissent, and sent him permission to withdraw from Parliament during the vote; but he excused himself for non-compliance with that suggestion, and acquitted his conscience by remaining there, at all hazards, to vote against them. After the close of Parliament, the King commanded Cromwell, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and other Lords, to go and dine with the Archbishop at Lambeth, commend him for his sincerity and perseverance in maintaining what he conceived to be the truth, and bid him not to be discouraged by any thing that had passed in Parliament contrary to his allegations. The terrible Six Articles affirmed, 1. Transubstantiation; 2. Communion in one kind; 3. Celibacy of Priests; 4. Vows of "chastity" or widowhood; 5. Private masses; and, 6. Auricular confession. Offenders against the first article were to be burnt, as heretics and traitors, without permission to abjure, with forfeiture of goods, and other penalties of treason. Denial of the other five was to be treated as felony. Nor did the Papists fail to see the law enforced. Latimer and Shaxton would have been among the first victims, but for the interest of Cromwell, who himself soon fell. They both resigned their bishoprics, and were both imprisoned: Latimer was afterwards released, but martyred in the reign of Mary; Shaxton recanted, and, like some other renegades, became distinguished as a persecutor of his former brethren. Many were burnt, as we shall presently relate; the German Reformers withdrew in disgust from negotiation for union with England; Melancthon, whom the King had treated with constant marks of esteem, wrote him a long and earnest letter of expostulation, but ineffectual to

* Foxe, *ut supra.*

obtain any mitigation of the Act; and had the Pope established his throne in Westminster, more terrible persecution could scarcely have been apprehended than that which now seemed imminent. Many fled from England. Yet the Bible, perhaps because it had served the King in argument against Rome, was treated with some reverence. Lord Cromwell obtained letters patent from him, wherein he professed to believe that "by the better knowledge of God's word the people would better honour God, and observe and keep his commandments, and *do their duty to their Prince.*" He therefore allowed them to read the Bible in English; and appointed Cromwell to see that certain restrictions, protective of Grafton, printer of the Large Bible, were observed. But no one was to presume to utter his private judgment as to the sacred text, that being reserved to the Clergy.

We shall not pursue the wearisome relation of Acts of Convocation and Parliament, intended to coerce England into a special mode of belief and worship, to adopt, without any freedom of judgment, the single conception of the supreme head then upon the throne; nor stay to recount the sorry tale of his marriage and divorce from his fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, and marriage of a fifth, Catharine Howard. Lord Cromwell, his most faithful servant, and a sincere promoter of the Reformation, had been a principal agent in the suppression of monasteries; and in a multitude of acts had excited the greater number of the Clergy to a state of exasperation that threatened to overturn the throne. To escape the odium of those measures as far as possible, the King sacrificed his Vicar-General. The Duke of Norfolk, uncle of Catharine Howard, whom he now wished to marry, challenged Cromwell, at the Council-table, with treason; in the King's name, arrested him instantly, and sent him to the Tower. In the act of attainder we find him charged with all sorts of misdemeanours; but the greatest prominence is given to his leniency towards heretics, and participation in their proceedings. This was undoubtedly true, but was not unknown to his master, whom Rome would have dethroned for the same offence: for he was at the same time courting Lutherans abroad, and burning them at home. Lord Cromwell was beheaded on Tower-Hill (July 28th, 1540).

Two days after his death there was a great burning and hanging in Smithfield. Three Papists,* for denying the King's supremacy, were hung, drawn, and quartered. Three Protestants, Robert Barnes, Doctor of Divinity, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, were burnt. Dr. Barnes owed his conversion to Bilney, at Cambridge, where he sustained the charge of Prior of the Augustine monastery, and laboured hard and successfully for the revival of learning in the University; and was a devoted member of the spiritual church, whose members, as yet undistinguished by any distinct form of discipline, were united in secret study and prayer, under a strong bond of brotherly confidence. Often did one of those brethren hazard his life to save another. Dr. Barnes had been forced to abjure several years before, but subsequently rose into favour, and honourably served the King on an embassy in Germany. But when Gardiner rose into

* Edward Powell, Thomas Abley, Richard Fetherston.

power, he was, by his contrivance, entangled in controversy, and sent to prison. Thomas Garret, Curate of Honey-lane, in London, had gone down to Oxford about fourteen years before, laden with good books, which he sold to the "Gospellers" there, and himself entered the University. After some time he was apprehended, then broke prison, and wandered about the country in disguise, until discovered and taken again. The sole offence of William Jerome, Vicar of Stepney, was that he had preached justification by faith in a sermon at Paul's-Cross on the fourth Sunday of the Lent preceding; not attacking Romish errors, but passing over them in silence. Three hurdles were drawn to the fire, a Papist traitor and a Protestant heretic on each. The martyrs wondered at the suddenness of their execution, it being without any previous notice or form of trial. Their fellow-sufferers were in equal ignorance. "Know ye wherefore I die?" Dr. Barnes asked the Priest, his mate, after they were taken from the hurdle: "I was never examined, nor called to judgment." "No," said the other, "I know nothing, but thus we are commanded." People were astounded at seeing the sword of justice cut both ways; and a foreigner, standing in the crowd, and seeing Priests and heretics so strangely coupled, asked what religion the King was of, supposing—and with reason—that he was of neither, or of none.

All persons in authority, civil and ecclesiastical, were bound by oath to enforce the Six Articles throughout the kingdom. The Bishop of London headed a body of Commissioners for inquisition in the metropolis. Delinquents were brought over from Calais to suffer the intended penalty; and through all England it was found that the articles, the King's religion, were habitually violated. Imprisonments were therefore shortened, and penances lightened, to avoid encountering graver inconveniences by attempting to enforce an impracticable law. It need scarcely be said, that the proceedings of the Popish party were excessively capricious and vexatious. The Bible had been published under royal authority, and the printer, Grafton, was protected, commercially, by a patent. But, spiritually, there could be no protection for any man; and he and his colleague, under whose eyes the proofs had passed, and whose understanding, at least, must have been enlightened by the important labour, were punished for not observing ceremonies that it pleased Henry VIII. to declare necessary for salvation. The Bible was permitted to be read, but the readers were forbidden to dispute, or to entertain new opinions. Six copies of the sacred volume were chained to pillars in St. Paul's cathedral, that all who chose, or were able, might read. But few of the laity could read, fewer could read well; and these very few were often requested to read aloud, that the blind multitude might hear. Then the readers were formally persecuted. Perhaps the most conspicuous of those readers was John Porter, a fine young man, of noble bearing, clear voice, and great intelligence. He not only read the text, but sometimes answered questions, or interspersed brief explanatory sentences with the reading. He devoted himself to studying, as well as to the occupation of reading, the book of God; and delivered to multitudes truths gathered from the first source of truth, and gleaned

from the sermons of those who were also learning at the feet of Christ. Bonner, although the volumes were exhibited in St. Paul's, at his own reluctant command, sent for the young man, angrily rebuked him for presuming to expound Scripture, and *raise tumult*. Nothing could be more untrue than the latter part of the accusation, but it was then alleged hourly against good men: John Porter was sent to Newgate, and laid in irons. By the entreaty of a relative, the gaoler released him from the fetters that had become insufferable, removed him from the cell, and placed him among the other prisoners, felons and murderers. In that vile society the good Scripture-reader could not keep silence, but exhorted them to repentance; for which offence Bonner had him thrown into a dungeon, and put into an iron machine invented to get rid of incorrigible prisoners. His head and limbs were stretched, and his body pressed; at every throe of agony the distention and pressure increased; and after the torture of a night, his body was found crushed and lifeless. This may prepare us to read more of Bonner in the next chapter. Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, burnt two in one day; Thomas Bernard, for teaching the Lord's prayer in English, and James Morton, for having an English translation of the Epistle of St. James; and this he did when the whole Bible was printed, published, and set out in all the churches, by the King's command.

Could men have refrained from speech in those days, they might have avoided much pain; unless a new Act of Parliament had made gesture criminal. Mr. Cheke, Greek Lecturer in the University of Cambridge, presumed to breathe a literary heresy. Vowels and diphthongs, long (η) and short (ε), and consonants of different organs, were in those days confused. The breach of orthoëpy was in effect a breach of grammar, and Mr. Cheke laudably taught his learners how to speak. The Bishop of Winchester, being Chancellor, forbade what he was pleased to call an innovation, and would listen to no remonstrance. Pestilence (λοιμὸς) and famine (λιμὸς) were all one to him; and could he have sent forth destroying angels, Cambridge and Oxford would soon have been void of Grecians as well as Gospellers. In a barbarous parody he declared at once against grammar and Christianity; and likened thirsting after truth to the accursed thirst of gold.*

Thus classic innovation troubled Cambridge; and the zealous Bishop issued an edict against distinguishing αι and ε, οι and ει from ι in *sound*, graciously suffering them to be distinguished by the *pen*. And his pastoral fidelity shone with equal lustre in an admonition to the University, through his Vice-Chancellor, concerning diet. Some Regents of the University had "very dissolutely used themselves in eating of flesh" in the last Lent: some courtiers had done the same; but "the King's Majesty, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost," as Gardiner profanely said, had set them in order; and my Lord commanded the dissolute flesh-eaters of Cambridge to be fined, and

* Virgil, too truly, says:—"Quid non mortalia pectora cogit Auri sacra fames?" The stubborn Chancellor wrote, "Sed quid non mortalia pectora cogit Veri quærendi fames?"

subjected to private penance for their transgression, under threat of a public inquisition. He would "withstand fancies even in pronunciation, and fight with the enemies of quiet at the first entry" (May 15th, 1543). Oxford was also visited, at his instigation, with an inquisition of heresy, several Gospellers were detected and punished, and one of them, named Quinby, was imprisoned in the tower of his college, until he died of cold and hunger.

The law of the Six Articles having been enforced so rigidly in London and the Universities, it was thought desirable to visit royal Windsor also, before making inquisition throughout the kingdom. One Dr. London, who had served Cromwell very actively in the sequestration of property found in suppressed monasteries, managed to ingratiate himself with Gardiner after the death of his former master, and became no less diligent in doing the services of an inquisitorial spy. In the college and town of Windsor there was a society of persons who favoured "the new learning," and, leaving the idolatries of the Church, endeavoured to serve God according to his word. Anthony Peerson, a Priest, Robert Testwood, and John Marbeck, Choristers, and Henry Filmer, a Churchwarden, were marked as suspected men; and Dr. London succeeded in collecting information against them. Gardiner obtained a commission from the King in Council for searching suspected houses in the town of Windsor: the Castle, however, was not thrown open to them by His Majesty. Search was made, books found, and these four persons, with Dr. Hains, Dean of Exeter and Prebendary of Windsor, and Sir Philip Hoby, were thrown into prison. By a recent Act of Parliament, intended as a mitigation of the terrible Act then in force, persons accused of heresy were allowed the privilege of jury, and were not to be convicted on the testimony of a single witness; but the Windsor jury was packed with farmers, tenants of the chapel, who were sure to bring in any verdict that would satisfy their masters, the landlords; and when one of the prisoners remonstrated against the court proceeding against him without a second witness, his objection was treated with derision. All four were condemned to die: although no more could be proved against Marbeck * than that he had copied a writing of Calvin's, containing Sacramentarian sentences. The ingenuity and frankness of the man had won the good-will of some of his Judges, while others entertained a hope that, if overcome by mercy, he would disclose some of his brethren; but this he constantly refused to do; so that, on the petition of the Bishop of Salisbury, who had assured him during the examination that he should not die, Gardiner himself went to the King and obtained his pardon. The pardon reached Windsor on the morning of the day of execution, and Marbeck was released; but Peerson, Testwood, and Filmer went joyfully to the pyre, where

* The ingenuity of Marbeck was indeed remarkable. He was an uneducated, but inquisitive, man; and, as such persons are apt to do, was wasting his strength in useless labour, by copying the newly-printed Bible. An intelligent Priest suggested that he might more usefully employ himself in preparing an English Concordance. He did so; and his work was printed in folio by Grafton, 1550, being the first Concordance to the English Bible. One for the New Testament had preceded it.

they embraced the stake, and heaped the straw and brushwood upon their own heads, rejoicing in martyrdom (July, 1543).

But Gardiner pushed his purposes too far. Several gentlemen of the privy-chamber, and two of their wives, were included in a long list of persons to be examined on suspicion of heresy; and the King, seeing that the zeal of this Bishop had outrun his prudence, spontaneously caused an act of pardon to be certified to them all. The same day, after he had given this unexpected check, he met the Sheriff, and Sir Humphrey Foster, riding in Guildford Park, and inquired how his laws were executed at Windsor. They replied, that they had never sat on any matter, under His Grace's authority, that went so much against their conscience as did the death of those men; and gave so touching a description of the trial and burning, that he could bear it no longer, but turned away, saying, as he rode off, "Alas, poor innocents!" Next came to light a conspiracy of Dr. London, with Simons and Ockam, his accomplices, to ruin some of the first men in the kingdom, under pretext of a prosecution for heresy. Their papers were seized, and they convicted of perjury, and made to ride through Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, with their faces to the horses' tails, and then endure pelting in the pillory. The King saw that his confidence was abused, and determined to detect, if possible, the actors in a combination that was evidently formed to overthrow his best supporters against the Papacy. To this end he pretended to listen with readiness to every complaint against them, until the complainants grew bold, and charged Cranmer himself with heresy. Cranmer, undoubtedly, was almost the only visible stay that the friends of true religion could hope to find in the counsels of the King, and the plot would have been consummated in his death. They were delighted in the persuasion that Henry would be pleased to receive their charges, hastily drew up a series of written accusations, and put it into his hands. A day or two afterwards he chose to go on the river, and commanded the bargemen to row towards Lambeth. Cranmer, hearing that the royal barge was coming, ran down to the water-side to pay his respects to the King, who bade him come on board, and, when they were alone, lamented the growth of heresy, with the dissensions and confusions arising from it; said that he intended to find out their chief promoter, and make him an example to the rest, and asked his opinion on the matter. The Archbishop commended so good a resolution; but entreated the King to consider well what heresy was, and not condemn those who stood for the word of God against human inventions. Producing a written paper, the King told him that he, and no other, was, as he had understood, the chief promoter of heresy, and showed him the articles alleged against him, and his Chaplains, by some Prebendaries of Canterbury, and Justices of the Peace in Kent. Cranmer read the articles, knelt before the King, and begged that he might be put upon his trial. Still, he said, he was of the same mind as when he opposed the "Six Articles," but he had done nothing against them; and, in reply to a question about his marriage, frankly acknowledged that he had a wife, but said that, on the passing of an Act against Priests having wives, he had sent her to

Germany, her native country. The King knew Cranmer too well to suspect him of dissimulation, and therefore instantly discovered the plot, and advised him, instead of submitting himself to a trial, to prosecute the accusers. He objected to be judge in his own cause, but the King overruled the objection; and Cranmer having named his Chancellor and Registrar, he added one more, and, without delay, gave them a commission to search for the contrivers of the defamation. They went into Kent; but every one disowned participation in the affair, and Cranmer rose higher than ever in the eyes of England. But his friends, observing that the Commissioners were not equal to the work, proposed that Dr. Lee,* Dean of York, should be added to their number, as one who had had much practice in unravelling monkish intrigues. The Doctor was sent for, proceeded to the seat of inquiry, made a thorough search, and found papers from the hands of Gardiner, London, and some other persons, even from some on whom Cranmer had long bestowed confidence and favour, quite sufficient to establish their complicity in the conspiracy to ruin him. Henry was indignant, and would have sanctioned a rigorous retribution; but Cranmer thanked God for his deliverance, could not be persuaded even to administer a verbal rebuke, and freely forgave his enemies, who were effectually disarmed by his magnanimity. Gardiner thenceforth lost all influence in the counsels of his Sovereign, who had made him one of his executors, but shortly after this erased his name, and was more than once on the point of sending him to the Tower.

But the persecutions of this reign are not yet ended. Calais was still an English town, and is honoured in the memory of martyrs. George Bucker, *alias* Adam Damlip, once Chaplain to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and conspicuous for Papistical bigotry, left England after the death of his master, and travelled in France, Germany, and Italy, conferring with learned men on matters of religion. Lastly, at Rome, where he expected to find religion in a state of normal perfection, the prevalent blasphemy of God, contempt of Christianity, and profligacy in every imaginable form, filled him with disgust, and the truth, against which he had hitherto contended, suddenly commended itself to his conscience with a resistless power. Cardinal Pole would have retained him in his household; but he hastened away from Rome, glad, like Luther, to escape from such a region of impurity, and proceeded to return to England. While waiting at the gate of Calais for permission to enter the town, two inhabitants, William Stevens and Thomas Lancaster, who had previously known the traveller as a zealous Papist, fell into conversation with him, and, delighted to find that his mind was completely changed, invited him to stay for a little at Calais, and give the people the benefit of his experience at Rome, in order to disabuse them of their superstitious veneration of that city. Under condition of obtaining the necessary licence, he acceded to their request. As soon as the gates were opened, Stevens accompanied him to the Lord Lisle, Deputy for the town and marches of Calais, who instantly desired him to remain, and officiate as an anti-Romish preacher, in order to serve the

* Or Leighton.

cause of English loyalty against the Pope. After the delivery of three or four sermons, his learning and earnest eloquence had gained him general admiration. Both soldiers and commoners crowded to hear; and the Lord Deputy himself, with great part of his Council, were frequent in attendance. He declined the offer of apartments in the Viceroy's house, with splendid entertainment, and servants at command, and requested only a private dwelling, with necessary sustenance. For at least twenty days the stranger-convert preached at seven o'clock every evening, enforcing "the truth of the blessed sacrament of Christ's body and blood," and inveighing against the idolatry of the mass, and the superstitions and abominations of Papistry in general. The chapter-house in which he gave those discourses becoming too small, he was requested to occupy the pulpit of a spacious church, that was crowded with most attentive listeners, to whom he descanted against some idolatrous practices with which the population of Calais had been deluded. Just then, (A.D. 1539,) Henry being warmly engaged in the suppression of the greater monasteries in England, he sent to the Deputy, Commissary, and royal mason and smith, a command to investigate the genuineness or the deception of three wafers, which were declared, in a Papal Bull, to be existent in one of the churches of Calais, constantly exuding blood. Examination was made, and the bleeding hosts turned out to be three painted counters. On the following Sunday, Damlip exhibited the cheat to the people from the pulpit; and, that being done, the counterfeit hosts were sent to England for the entertainment of the King. But this excited controversy; the Prior of the monastery where he preached, and his patron's Chaplain, secretly wrote to some of the English Clergy, who had him summoned to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester and Chichester, and others, to answer for his Sacramentarian doctrine. Cranmer could not have forgotten the pleadings of Lambert, and seemed to give way before the arguments of Damlip, who was remanded until the next day; but the good Archbishop secretly intimated to him, that if he appeared again, nothing could save him from a cruel death; and, being provided with money by his friends, he fled into the west of England, and remained there in concealment. Meanwhile Henry, hearing that his lieges in Calais were disturbed with diversity of doctrine, sent over Dr. Champion and Master Garrett, to instruct and quiet the people, which they did, not by preaching what the King intended, but by confirming the testimony of their persecuted predecessor. And that the people might not perish for lack of knowledge, it pleased God to raise up another witness to the truth, William Smith, a Curate, who surpassed all former preachers in vehemence of invective against idolatry and contempt of God's holy word. Some members of the Council wished him to speak more gently; but he could not temporise. One of them, Sir Nicholas Carew, was afterwards beheaded on Tower-Hill for treason, as it was said, and realised, while imprisoned in the adjacent fortress, the faith which had been advocated in his hearing with an earnestness that, at the time, seemed excessive. Smith, in turn, was summoned to England as a heretic. So was Thomas Brook,

an Alderman, and burgess of Parliament, a fearless man, who, in Parliament, had pleaded against the "Six Articles," and who presumed to lecture Gardiner on Greek, while standing at his bar. And so were several others; for the very Deputy who had supported Damlip and others, politically, now declared against the Gospel, forwarded complaints to England, and a company of Calais Reformers were soon on their trial before the Prelates in London, and subjected to the usual discipline of imprisonment and penance.

Evangelical doctrine spread in Calais, and the adversaries sought to prevent it by reporting to the King that it caused a division, and, by disuniting the inhabitants, endangered the safety of the town and territory. He therefore sent over a Commission, consisting of the Earl of Sussex, Lord Great Chamberlain, and others, to examine into the state of affairs. In order to obtain intelligence of heretics, which seems to have been their only method for quieting the alleged dissension, they allowed tipstaves to collect about eighty men of the lowest class, who were employed to act as common informers, and, being brought before them for that purpose, were commanded, on their allegiance, to present all heretics, schismatics, and seditious persons whom they knew, with promise that they should be rewarded with the confiscated property or offices of such persons, and with friendship that the Council would thereafter show them. Mistrust and terror pervaded the entire population. About a hundred persons were forthwith delated, and thrown into prison. Thomas Brook, who had mortified Gardiner by some freedom of speech when pleading for Ralph Hare, a poor townsman, and William Stevens, who had taken Damlip to the Lord Deputy, were of the number. But Mrs. Brook sent a messenger to Cromwell, disclosing the dishonesty of the Commissioners: Cromwell, by the King's authority, commanded "the errant traitor and heretic, Brook, with a dozen or twenty accomplices, and their accusers, to be sent over," that they might receive their judgment, and suffer at Calais, according to their demerits. By this contrivance Brook, and twelve others, were brought to London, when the Vicar-General caused them to be relieved of their irons and brought into his presence. Stevens was already in the Tower; and he committed them to the Fleet, as if to await their doom; but sent a message, assuring them that they should shortly "go home with as much honesty as they came with shame." But scarcely had Cromwell undertaken this work of mercy, when he was attainted of treason, sent to the Tower, and soon beheaded. The Calais Christians in the Fleet, therefore, expected nothing but death, when Audeley, Lord Chancellor, went to the prison, and set them all at liberty. His language was remarkable. "Sirs, pray for the King's Majesty: his pleasure is, that you shall all be presently discharged. And though your livings be taken from you, yet despair not, God will not see you lack. But, for God's sake, Sirs, beware how you deal with Popish Priests; for, so God save my soul, some of them be knaves all." The King had issued a general pardon of the Calais heretics, saving his own theology by excepting Sacramentarians from the amnesty; but he winked at their guilt in this respect, and by commanding their liberation cleared himself of the

infamy that had fallen on his Commissioners. Stevens appears to have been accused of treason, and remained two years in the Tower, but was then dismissed also.

Adam Damlip having secreted himself in the country, at the suggestion of Cromwell, the agents of Gardiner discovered him, and he was committed to the Marshalsea, for breach of the "Six Articles." Marbeck, of Windsor, was there at the same time; and as it was a custom of prisons that the inmates should all confess at Easter, Damlip officiated, and heard the confession—a confession of Christ—from the lips of that most honest and industrious man, and from his martyr-brethren. When long time had passed away, and he was not brought to trial, he resolved to break silence, whatever might be the consequence, and wrote a letter to Gardiner, which no doubt contained sufficient material for condemnation. One Saturday morning, the keeper of the prison carried it to the Bishop, was detained until late at night, and then returned with the sorrowful intelligence that, without any more formality, the writer would be shipped off to Calais on the following Monday, there to die. His friend, the keeper, with every inmate of the prison, mourned for the good man whose benevolence and piety had won the esteem of all; but Damlip showed no sign of either grief or fear. He ate his meat with gladness; and when they expressed surprise that one so near execution could be so cheerful, he replied, "Ah, masters! do you think that I have been God's prisoner so long in the Marshalsea, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes; and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein." Before day-break on the Monday morning the keeper, and three others, took him on board, and went with him to Calais. For heresy he could not be burnt, because the King had pardoned all the heretics of Calais; but, perhaps, he had unguardedly mentioned in the letter a trifling passage of his history, that Gardiner could interpret as an overt act of treason. When he left Rome, refusing to remain in the service of Reginald Pole, the Cardinal gave him a French crown-piece towards the expenses of the journey homeward. He was, therefore, convicted of treason, on evidence of having taken money at Rome from Cardinal Pole, and was not burnt as a heretic, but hung, drawn, and quartered as a traitor. To hide the trick, the Knight-Marshal forbade him the usual indulgence of speaking to the people from under the gallows, and said to the executioner, "Dispatch the knave; have done." The four quarters of this "knave" were hung up in four parts of Calais, and his head exhibited on the Lantern-Gate; but the praying people understood that from that dishonoured body a spirit had ascended to the altar of their Lord (A.D. 1543). About a year afterwards, a Scotchman, named Dodd, who had been travelling in Germany and France, was returning homeward by way of Calais. Some German books were found in his possession, he was examined as to their contents, confessed himself a Lutheran, stood fast in his confession, and suffered death by fire (A.D. 1544).

Persecution, open and secret, continued in England, yet subsiding towards a pause. At the gate of Gardiner's porter's lodge, Saxy, a Priest, suspected of new doctrine, was found hanging dead.

A gentleman and his servant were burnt in Colchester. Lord Wentworth, and other Commissioners, were sent into Suffolk to search out heretics. Roger Clarke, of Mendelsham, and a man named Kerby, were tried in their presence at Ipswich, and condemned, as usual. Kerby was burnt in the market-place; where he boldly denied the real presence; then offered prayer devoutly, as the executioner stood waiting to set fire to the faggots, and the Lord Wentworth "shrouded himself" behind one of the posts of the gallery, and wept, and so did many others. Roger Clarke underwent his last suffering at Bury, crying, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world," tortured with pitch, and a slow fire, while his undaunted soul rose high above the terrors and the pains of death (A.D. 1545).

The final strokes of Romish vengeance in this reign were now levelled. Anne Askew, daughter of Sir William Askew, of Kelsey,* in Lincolnshire, was married, against her inclination, to a Mr. Kyme, a rich man, with whom she lived long enough to bear two children, and was exemplary in discharging the duties of a wife and mother. By constant reading of the Bible, she became converted to the faith of Christ; and her husband, enraged at her defection from Popery, and instigated by some Priests, drove her from his house. She went to London, and became known to the ladies of the Court, some of whom treated her with marked kindness and respect, acknowledging her undoubted piety. She was but twenty-four years of age when her "heresy" became publicly known, and she was thrown into prison (March, 1545). A jury was appointed for inquisition; and persons were sent to elicit direct evidence of disaffection to Popery, or to subdue her faith by arguments, threatenings, or persuasions. But they appear to have been as deficient in intelligence as she was abundant both in scriptural knowledge and Christian confidence: for

* Whether North or South Kelsey, is not specified. It is often impracticable to attain to accuracy in the designation of parishes. An instance of this frequently-recurring difficulty is the parish where Sautre underwent his first examination before the Bishop of Norwich. (Martyrologia, vol. ii., p. 598.) Foxe says that this took place "in a certain chamber within the manor-house of the said Bishop at South Helingham, where the register of the said Bishop is kept, &c., in the presence of John de Derlington, Archdeacon of Norwich, &c." Anxious to ascertain the scene of that transaction, the author consulted a clerical friend in Norfolk, well known in that county as an antiquarian, who, after much inquiry, kindly communicated the result in nearly the following words:—"It is not to be wondered at that Foxe should have mistaken the name of the parish, considering how difficult the writing of a date nearly two centuries before his own was to decipher. It is pretty certain that the Bishops of Norwich had never anything to do with either of the two Ellinghams, more than as Diocesans; but we know that at a very early period the present diocese of Norwich consisted of two, Dunwich and *Elmham*. In 870 these sees were united, and Bishop Wilfred had his residence at North Elmham. In the latter end of the tenth century the see was changed to Thetford, and about a century afterwards to Norwich by Bishop Herbert. But the Bishops were long accustomed to reside at their manor-house of North Elmham," (South Elmham is not now found in the county as given by Dugdale,) "that being considered the head of their barony. Since Henry VIII., Elmham has been in other hands, and is at present in those of Lord Londes, whose brother-in-law is now the Vicar of the parish: and he, as you see by his note, states that he is the successor of a long line of Bishops, and is living upon the site of their castle. In confirmation of which Foxe states, that the examination took place in the presence of John de Derlington, archdeacon of *Norwich*. Now the Ellinghams are not in this archdeaconry, and he would have been out of his jurisdiction in them." Sautre, therefore, was first examined where the parsonage-house of Elmham now stands.

when she was brought before the Council, or Commission, and the Lord Mayor undertook to vanquish her firmness, hoping, perhaps, to save the life of a lady for whom common humanity must have pleaded, the following amusing dialogue exhibited his inability to deal with matters so profound :—

Lord Mayor.—"Thou foolish woman, sayest thou that the Priests cannot make the body of Christ?"

A. Askew.—"I say so, my Lord: for I have read that God made man; but that man can make God, I never yet read, nor, I suppose, ever shall read it."

L. M.—"No, thou foolish woman! After the words of consecration, is it not the Lord's body?"

A. A.—"No, it is but consecrated bread, or sacramental bread."

L. M.—"What if a mouse eat it after the consecration? What shall become of the mouse? What sayest thou, thou foolish woman?"

A. A.—"What shall become of her, say you, my Lord?"

L. M.—"*I say*, that that mouse is *damned*."

A. A.—"*Alack, poor mouse!*"

Their Lordships painfully suppressed a titter, and, leaving my Lord Mayor to meditate upon his mouse, proceeded to deal with the "foolish woman," whom they sent back to the gaol again. The Mayor, however, did serve her by assisting to overcome the reluctance, or to counterwork the trickery, of Bonner against admitting her to bail, on the application of a relative. The Bishop first presented her with a paper containing a form of "confession and belief" in transubstantiation, and bade her sign it, as a condition of release. She did sign it, but thus :—"I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the Catholic Church." Bonner grew furious at the sight of this manifest defiance, and would have consumed the lady forthwith, had not some gentlemen pacified him, and effected her liberation on bail. A copy of that paper was, notwithstanding, circulated afterwards, *without* this reservation, in order that she might be thought to have recanted.

She was soon imprisoned again, in Newgate, and subjected anew to several examinations. From prison she wrote to the Lord Chancellor, and then to the King; but for one so openly convicted of denying transubstantiation, mercy would have been deemed illegal, and she was doomed to die. Yet Bonner and his brethren were not satisfied without endeavouring to extort some disclosure of other violators of the Six Articles. From Newgate she was taken to Bonner and another,* who, by fair words, endeavoured to elicit some intelligence, and to induce her to recant. This failing, Shaxton, once a Bishop, zealous with Cranmer and Latimer in the cause of reformation, came to Newgate, and exhorted her to recant, as he had done. Unable to prevail, they sent her instantly to the Tower. About three o'clock on the same day, Rich and Sir John Baker came to the Tower, demanded information of men or women of her sect, and questioned her respecting some ladies of the court; but she would betray none. Lord Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor, was present, and commanded her to be

* Richard Rich, afterwards Lord Chancellor.

put to the question. The rack extorted no confession, nor even any cry; and the Lord Chancellor and Rich, impatient at her silence, laid hold on the instrument of torture, and racked her with their own hands until she was nearly dead.* The Lieutenant of the Tower then caused her to be loosed: she fainted, and, when recovered, sat on the floor, reasoning with the Chancellor for two hours, until he gave over interrogation and departed. The Lieutenant of the Tower, whom they had threatened to report to the King because he would not rack her to their satisfaction, hastened away to the King before them, and begged his Grace's pardon for deficiency of obedience, pleading compassion towards a woman. Henry half commended his manliness, and dismissed him. But the zealots were not thwarted. They had her brought to Smithfield in a chair; for after the torture she could not stand. From a portable pulpit, Shaxton, the apostate Bishop, preached the sermon of ceremony. She was attached to the stake, her enfeebled frame being supported by the chains. Three others, Nicholas Belenian, a Priest of Shropshire, John Adams, a tailor, and John Lacells, a gentleman of the royal household, were burnt at the same time, not a little sustained by the triumphant faith of Anne Askew. Before the faggots were lighted, some one put a letter from the Lord Chancellor into her hand, containing an offer of pardon if she would recant; but she would not look at it. Similar letters were also given to the others, who, following her example, refused to read them. The last martyr-fire in the reign of Henry VIII. was kindled, (A.D. 1546,) and with this the present chapter might conclude.

Persecution, however, did not slumber. Having burnt one of the King's household, Wriothesley, Bonner, the Duke of Norfolk, and their friends, resolved to make another effort for the overthrow of Cranmer. They told the King that there were ample proofs that the Archbishop was a heretic, but that no one would venture to appear as witness against him as long as he enjoyed the royal favour; and suggested that they should have permission to send him to the Tower, that witnesses might be thus encouraged to produce their testimony. The King consented; and with great glee they prepared, under his sanction, to have the Primate before the Council next day, and to send him to that receptacle of state criminals. But, in the night, the King sent privately for Cranmer, told him of their application and his own consent, and asked what he had to answer. Cranmer acknowledged the King's kindness and equity, and merely desired that he might be allowed to state his opinions before competent judges. The King was amazed at his coolness in such circumstances, and pleasantly told him that if he did not look to his own safety, nor consider that if once in prison, false witnesses would certainly be suborned against him, it must remain with himself to do so for him. He therefore directed him to appear at the Council next day, on their summons, and there to insist on his privilege, as Privy Councillor, to

* Bishop Burnet endeavours to discredit this part of the narrative, thinking it impossible that the Chancellor could have been guilty of so great brutality, and says, that Foxe has not given any authority for it. But this is a mistake. Foxe gives the narrative from a paper in his possession, written by Anne Askew's own hand.

have his accusers face to face, before being sent to the Tower; and then, taking the royal signet from his finger, desired him to show them that, if they should refuse to accede to his request. The citation came as expected. He hastened to the Council-chamber, and was kept waiting outside the door among the footmen, until the King, informed by his Physician of the unwonted position of the Primate of all England, sent to require the Privy Councillors to admit him without delay. They accused him of being, with his Chaplain, the source of all heresy in the kingdom; scorned his remonstrances, and were proceeding to send him to the Tower, when he appealed to the King, and showed the signet, on which they rose in haste, and went to their master, who told them that he would not suffer men so dear to him to be thus handled, and threatened to extinguish their malice or punish it speedily. After receiving this sharp rebuke, they were obliged to shake hands with Cranmer, and lost not a moment in escaping from the royal presence.

Yet their audacity was not exhausted. Having failed to overthrow the Archbishop, they ventured to attack no less a personage than the Queen. Catharine Parr had been three years * consort of Henry VIII., favoured the professors of evangelical religion, and even heard sermons from some of their preachers. All this was known to the King, who never interfered with her religious conduct; but, on the contrary, frequently allowed her to dispute with him on points of doctrine. However, as his health declined, his temper became more impatient; and those conversations were sometimes more than he could well endure, pressed, as he was, both by the earnestness of the Queen, and the force of her arguments. One evening, after such a conversation, when the Queen had left him, he let fall some angry words to Gardiner, who was standing by, and who craftily caught the moment of irritation to fan the flame of his displeasure. Wriothesley joined him in bringing tales of heretical practices of the Queen and her ladies, of the sermons, the Lutheran books, and encouragement given to Anne Askew and the Gospellers in general. From day to day they prosecuted the intrigue, until the King's signature was obtained to a set of articles drawn up against her; and little more was wanting to bring the Queen of England to the stake. Wriothesley, in the hurry of delight, let fall the paper. The hand that had racked Anne Askew could not hold the death-warrant of Catharine Parr. Some one picked up the paper, and took it to the Queen, who, for a moment, gave herself up for lost. But, by the advice of a friend, she immediately went to the King, disguised her trepidation, and renewed conversation on religion. Women, she said, by their first creation, were made subject to men; and they, made after the image of God, ought to instruct their wives, who were made in their image, and ought to learn of them. And she, of all others, should be taught by her husband, a Prince of such excellent learning and wisdom. "Not so, by St. Mary," said the King: "you are become a doctor to instruct us, and not to be instructed by us." She

* Her predecessor, Catharine Howard, a really immodest woman, was beheaded on proof of a criminality that the law regards as treason in an English Queen.

disclaimed the ironical compliment, and assured His Majesty that she had taken so great freedom only in order to engage him to conversation, and help him to beguile his pain; as well as to receive instruction, by which she so much profited. "And is it even so?" said Henry: "*then we are friends again.*" The pettish tyrant was soothed. He tenderly embraced her; and thus the good providence of God plucked her from the jaws of death. On the very next day she was to have been taken to the Tower. The King and she were walking together in the garden when the Lord Chancellor made his appearance, with about forty of the guard, to arrest the Queen. But the King left her arm; and, after a few inaudible words, she heard him say aloud, "Knave! fool! beast!" and saw the persecutor shrink away crest-fallen, followed by the train. The Papists were disheartened: the King now hated them as bitterly as ever he had hated either Pope, traitor, or heretic; and, during the short remnant of his life, vented his displeasure on the very party whose counsels he had followed.*

But his reign soon ended. He died January 28th, 1547. The Council of Trent was then assembled, and on the intelligence of his death, the fathers gave thanks to God for the deliverance of Rome from its worst enemy, and went in a body to congratulate an English Bishop, who was there, on the deliverance of England from the power of a schismatic Sovereign. They rejoiced that the heir to the crown was but a child, too young to have imbibed his father's principles.† But they saw not the hand of God, that had been so long guiding our country into a state of perfect freedom from Papal tyranny; and had prepared for Edward VI. guardians and tutors, under whose influence he was prepared, even in early youth, to employ the sanctions of the crown for promoting a reformation, not only of discipline, but of doctrine also.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLAND *in the Reign of Edward VI.*—SCOTLAND *during the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary.—The Persecution in England under Mary I.*

OCTOBER 15th, 1537, was a high day at Hampton-Court. An infant Prince, undoubted heir to the throne of England, received, in baptism, the name of Edward. His father had summoned the high officers of state, with a crowd of nobles, knights, gentlemen, and clergy, to repair thither and do appointed service. The chapel was fitted up magnificently, and the babe of three days was carried to the font in state; the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Norfolk being sponsors. As soon as the baptismal name was given, Garter

* Foxe, Burnet, Strype, and Fuller, are the principal authorities.
† Fra Paolo Sarpi, Hist. Conc. Trid., par Courayer, livre ii., sec. 92.

Edward VI.

King at Arms proclaimed: "God, of his infinite grace and goodness, give and grant good life and long to the right high, excellent, and noble Prince, Prince Edward, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, most dear and most entirely beloved son to our most dread and gracious Lord, King Henry VIII." The Lady Mary, twenty-one years of age, daughter of the first Catharine, took part in the ceremonies; and the Lady Elizabeth, a child of four years, daughter of Anne Boleyn, carried in the arms of the Viscount Beauchamp, held the chrism for anointing. His mother, no doubt, rejoiced in having given birth to an heir to the throne, and might reasonably hope to witness his elevation at some future day; but she died on the 24th of the same month.*

The King provided all his children with the best means of education; and this Prince was early taken from the nursery, and placed under the care of Sir Anthony Cook, whose exemplary parental faithfulness was honoured by five learned daughters, one of them married to Peter Martyr, an eminent Protestant. Dr. Richard Cox instructed him in Christian manners and religion, and general literature. Sir John Cheke, whom we have marked as a reformer of Greek pronunciation in Cambridge, taught him Latin and Greek. Other masters instructed him in living languages. His Chaplains, too, were honourably distinguished as favourers of evangelical doctrine; and we might almost say that Prince Edward's court was Protestant. The concurrent testimony of many witnesses describes him as an extraordinary child, not more remarkable for a power of intellect too great for childhood than for genuine piety, and good common sense. When the child was little more than nine years old, Henry died, and Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, with a number of noblemen and others, instantly proceeded to render him their acknowledgment of allegiance (January 28th, 1547). The Earl, by consent and appointment of the executors of Henry's will, being Edward's uncle, became his protector, and, unitedly with Cranmer and others, encouraged him to promote and maintain a reformation of the Church of England. The history of this royal child abounds in incidents that equally distinguish him from all other occupants of the British throne, and point out his court and government as having a character exclusively their own; but we can only stay to glance at one or two. On the day of his proclamation they took him, according to custom, to the Tower of London, and there, surrounded by veteran courtiers and ecclesiastics, he stood among them with man-like dignity, and, having heard them all cry, "God save the noble King Edward," most gracefully put off his cap, and, speaking like a King that he was, said, "We heartily thank you, my Lords all; and hereafter, in all that ye shall have to do with us for any suit or causes, ye shall be heartily welcome to us." It was then that the Earl of Hertford, henceforth to be styled Duke of Somerset, solemnly assumed the office of Governor and Protector

* This fact of her living twelve days after the birth of Edward, sufficiently answers the calumny of some Popish writers, who repeat that, to save the child, Henry caused the mother to be sacrificed.—See Strype, Memorials of Edward VI., book i., chap. 1.

of the King during his minority, and, having withdrawn from the pageantry of court, besought help of God, and composed a prayer, afterwards found in his own hand-writing, as prepared for daily use. To those who would estimate the character of the man to whom Divine Providence committed the chief direction of this admirable Prince, and, thus, a chief part of the conduct of the Reformation in England for some years, the prayer is too important to be omitted. It is therefore printed below;* and although *the good Duke*, as he was familiarly called, afterwards suffered death as a felon, (for the utmost ingenuity could not make him out to be a traitor,) it must be evident to every impartial reader of the history, that he was but the victim of a conspiracy. Another incident worthy of mention here is an act of Edward at his coronation. Three swords were brought, to be carried before him, signifying the three kingdoms of which the King of England was then said to be Sovereign,—England, France, and Ireland; but he remarked that there was yet one wanting, the Bible, which is the sword of the Spirit, and to be preferred, as an instrument and standard of government, before all swords; and to be submitted to by Governors, who, without it, can do nothing. A Bible was brought, and carried before him with the greatest reverence.

On his accession to the throne, England was on the point of waging war with Scotland, to enforce a union of the two kingdoms by the marriage of the respective Sovereigns. The project and the war ended

* "Lord God of hosts, in whose only hand is life and death, victory and confusion, rule and subjection; receive me thy humble creature into thy mercy, and direct me in my requests, that I offend not thy high Majesty. O my Lord and my God, I am the work of thy hands: thy goodness cannot reject me. I am the price of thy Son's death, Jesus Christ; for thy Son's sake thou wilt not lese" (deceive, or disappoint) "me. I am a vessel for thy mercy, thy justice will not condemn me. I am recorded in the book of life, I am written with the very blood of Jesus; thy inestimable love will not cancel then my name. For this cause, Lord God, I am bold to speak to thy Majesty. Thou, Lord, by thy providence, hast called me to rule; make me, therefore, able to follow thy calling. Thou, Lord, by thine order, hast committed an anointed King to my governance; direct me, therefore, with thy hand, that I err not from thy good pleasure. Finish in me, Lord, thy beginning, and begin in me that thou wilt finish. By thee do Kings reign, and from thee all power is derived. Govern me, Lord, as I shall govern; rule me as I shall rule. I am ready for thy governance, make thy people ready for mine. I seek thy only honour in my vocation; amplify it, Lord, with thy might. If it be thy will I shall rule, make thy congregation subject to my rule. Give me power, Lord, to suppress whom thou wilt have obey.

"I am by appointment thy Minister for thy King, a shepherd for thy people, a sword-bearer for thy justice: prosper the King, save thy people, direct thy justice. I am ready, Lord, to do that thou commandest; command that thou wilt. Remember, O God, thine old mercies; remember thy benefits showed heretofore. Remember, Lord, me thy servant, and make me worthy to ask. Teach me what to ask, and then give me that I ask. None other I seek to, Lord, but thee; because none other can give it me. And that I seek is thine honour and glory. I ask victory, but to show thy power upon the wicked. I ask prosperity, but for to rule in peace thy congregation. I ask wisdom, but by my counsel to set forth thy cause. And as I ask for myself, so, Lord, pour thy knowledge upon all them which shall counsel me. And forgive them, that in their offence I suffer not the reward of their evil. If I have erred, Lord, forgive me; for so thou hast promised me. If I shall not err, direct me; for that only is thy property. Great things, O my God, hast thou begun in my hand; let me then, Lord, be thy Minister to defend them. Thus I conclude, Lord, by the name of thy Son Jesus Christ. Faithfully I commit all my cause to thy high providence, and so rest to advance all human strength under the standard of thy omnipotency."—Strype, Memorials of Edward VI., book i. Repository of Originals, B.

together; but this may lead us to observe the religious state of Scotland at the time. Cardinal Beaton had fallen a victim to the hatred of his countrymen; and St. Andrews Castle, occupied by insurgents, held out for about fourteen months against the royal forces, while English ships supplied the inmates with stores, in order to protract the siege. The Bishops and Clergy, dreading well-deserved vengeance, expected nothing less than a general insurrection, and sought shelter in the government. They saw, or seemed to see, enraged multitudes invading the monastic sanctuaries, and desecrating churches, and indignant Lairds avenging their captive and banished brethren by taking forcible possession of abbeys and friaries. Nor were those apprehensions groundless. The Council afforded the help desired, and the Governor issued a proclamation (June 11th, 1546) commanding all Sheriffs, Stewards, Bailies, or other officers of boroughs, to proceed to their respective market-places, and there prohibit the demolition or forcible occupation of churches and other buildings, under penalty of forfeiting "life and goods." * Those buildings stood uninjured; but the people readily received the doctrines of the Reformation; and in remote parts of Scotland, hitherto unvisited by the spreading innovation, the doctrine of Luther as to justification by faith, and that of Zuinglius respecting the eucharist, found general acceptance. Many whom persecution had put to silence, many who had been terrified into abjuration, cast away fear, broke secresy, and not only maintained their first positions, but echoed the bold, nay, fierce, denunciations that John Knox launched forth against Rome from within the precinct of St. Andrews. Even in Edinburgh, undaunted by the frowns of those in supreme authority, new preachers used an alarming freedom of speech; and a large body of Ecclesiastics, consisting of Bishops, with other Prelates, and Clergy, both regular and secular, assembled there, presented a second memorial to the Governor and Council, (March 19th, 1547,) imploring secular help before their cause should be ruined without remedy. His Grace and the Lords temporal caused the memorial to be entered in the Council-book, together with their answer, inviting the Clergy to collect and present the names of all heretics, and promising to execute on them the laws of the realm.† But the Clergy could not compass so vast a work as the presentation of all heretics, neither could the Council have dared to put any of them to death while St. Andrews was a centre of civil war, nor again, while English troops were fortified in Haddington, encamped at Leith, or threatening Edinburgh. But after the ratification of a treaty of peace with their southern enemy, sprang up anew the courage of the Clergy; and as the soldier sheathed his sword, the Clerk prepared his faggot. Their confidence, too, was revived by the absence of several leading Reformers, now transferred from St. Andrews to French galleys, and, among others, John Knox.

Adam Wallace, (or Fean,) an intelligent man, who taught the children of the Laird of Ormiston, after the banishment of their father, had formally separated himself from the Church of Rome,

* Register of Council, in Keith, book i., chap. 6. † Ibid.

and, if the statement of one of his historians* is correct, "in the lack of a true Minister," baptized his own child. On a set day, (A.D. 1550,) the Lord Governor, now Duke of Chatelherault,† the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of St. Andrews, Dunblane, Galloway, Orkney, and Moray, the Abbots of Dunfermline and Glenluce, the Dean of Glasgow, and several other dignitaries, took their seats on a platform in the Black-Friars church in Edinburgh, with some Lords and gentlemen. In a pulpit opposite stood a Priest in surplice and hood, ready to perform the office of *accusator*. A crowded congregation covered the floor. First appeared a Prebendary, who had forged a divorce, and separated a man and his wife, and for that offence was to be banished. Then Adam Wallace, in custody of the Bishop of St. Andrews, advanced to the front of the platform. His costume was that of a plain layman; but he carried a large Bible at his belt, a triglot, of German, French, and English. That he had been persecuted may be inferred from his bearing an assumed name, Fean, which he readily acknowledged in reply to the accuser, who produced three articles of accusation:—That he had taught, 1. That the bread and wine after consecration are not the very body and blood of Christ: 2. That the mass is an abominable idolatry: 3. That the god worshipped by the Papists is bread, sown of corn, growing of the earth, baked of men's hands, and nothing else. Wallace opened his Bible, argued from the sacred text, professed his resolution to abide thereby, even unto death, and then, turning to the Duke, said, "If you condemn me for holding by God's word, my innocent blood shall be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the judgment-seat of Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause; before whom ye shall not deny it, nor yet be able to resist his wrath; to whom I refer the vengeance, as it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, and I will reward.'" Chatelherault answered not; but the Priests gave sentence, and the Provost of Edinburgh received him from the Church, to be burned on Castle-Hill. The Governor and the other Lords cared not to witness the execution, which was, therefore, delayed until they had turned their backs on Edinburgh, when, two days after the sentence, he was taken from prison to the Castle-Hill, under a severe injunction from the Provost to speak to no one by the way. The streets were lined with spectators; and as, now and then, he heard the people say, "God have mercy on him," he devoutly answered, "And on you, too." When they had reached the place, standing by the heaped faggots, he prayed in silence, raised his eyes toward heaven two or three times, and, unable to suffer any longer the injunction to be silent, spoke one sentence to the people, "Let it not offend you that I suffer for the truth's sake; for the disciple is not greater than his Master." The Provost grew furious, a cord was passed round his neck to choke the voice that might recall to the multitude the truths testified by Wishart. He could only say, look-

* Knox, Hist. of Reformation, book i. But Foxe, who cites letters and testimonies received from Scotland, and gives a copious and explicit report of his trial, mentions nothing of the kind. Perhaps Knox wrote from memory, and confounded two persons.

† Formerly Earl of Arran.

ing upwards, "They will not let me speak." But, having refused life, and chosen death in testimony to the truth, a patient martyrdom spoke louder than many words. This was the last life that the Bishops of Scotland ventured to take for several years.

There were no Christian martyrdoms in England during the reign of Edward VI. Two or three persons, who had been imprisoned in the few months that preceded the meeting of Parliament, under law not yet repealed, were released by command of the Protector and Council. The history of the Reformation at this time is too important to be compendiated, and must, therefore, be read in the works of Burnet and Strype, to whom all others are indebted; and imperishable evidences of the humane and liberal spirit of our religion are recorded in the Statutes of the Realm. To these authorities, therefore, the reader is referred for information as to the advance of evangelical truth, and improvement in the discipline of the Church.

But Romanism gave character to those times; and while human power and authority were employed on the side of truth, it would have been wonderful, indeed, if they had never been abused in the suppression of error. Such an abuse of power, even in the reign of Edward VI., must be confessed; yet it should neither be exaggerated by the Papist, nor extenuated by the Protestant. People generally believed it lawful to imprison, spoil, and burn heretics: it needed the discipline and experience of ages to remove the delusion; and now that it is removed, our business is not to carp or to recriminate, but calmly to note the facts of history, not fearing that the religion of Jesus Christ—not the latitudinarianism of infidels—will ever be defrauded of its honour for teaching good men to pity and to spare the lives and fortunes of the erring, until the day when God shall separate the precious from the vile.* Let us give the facts.

Under the name "Anabaptist," errors the most revolting were propagated, first in Germany, and then in England. From the rejection of infant baptism, under the persuasion that it is not justified by the authority of Scripture,—a persuasion which, however erroneous, may consist with perfect orthodoxy on other points of Christian doctrine and practice,—even to a rejection of the divinity of Christ, every degree of heterodoxy existed, and the common designation was applied, without distinction, to the most fanatical and licentious of mankind. And it cannot be denied that even the less erring of that medley sect were more remarkable for zeal in the destruction of ancient superstitions, than for simplicity in confessing such truths as they really believed. The Protector and Council, governing during the minority of the King, received a formal information (April 12th, 1549) that German Anabaptism was again spreading in this country; and forthwith, not doubting the right of the Church to give sentence, and of the secular power to condemn a heretic to

* It remains with the legal historian to decide how far the violation of an existing law by the Sovereign, or by the nation,—if represented,—in a time of revolution, may be justified. Such illegalities occur in all these reigns, sometimes for good, and sometimes for evil. We cannot, therefore, charge *them* against our adversaries, any more than they against us. Acts must often be estimated as morally right, or wrong, on their own merits, apart from law.

death, they thought themselves bound to act on the common law of England, under which heretics had been put to death at a much earlier period * than is generally understood, and actually appointed a Commission to make inquisition of heresy, with authority to endeavour to reclaim the heretics, to impose penance, give absolution, or excommunicate, imprison, and deliver over the incorrigible to the secular arm.† The Commission proceeded to their work, and a numerous body of those Anabaptists recanted, submitted to penance, and were released. But among them was a woman called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who maintained that "the Word was made flesh in the Virgin's womb, but that Christ took not flesh of the Virgin, because the flesh of the Virgin, being the outward man, was sinfully begotten and born in sin; but the Word, by consent of the inward man, or soul, of the Virgin, was made flesh." The Manichæan speculation concerning a sinfulness of material flesh was at the bottom of all that asceticism that yet had the admiration of the most devout Reformers; but *this* application of it seemed to them "horrible." For more than twelve months the woman was kept in prison, and the most eminent Divines, Cranmer, Ridley, Goodrich, Latimer, Lever, Whitehead, and Hutchinson, as we know, and probably others whose visits are not recorded, went to talk with her. But she argued with great acuteness, and could not be brought to acknowledge herself in error. The Lord Chancellor, Rich, who had racked Anne Askew, now unable to employ torture, had her for a week in his house, to try persuasion. Cranmer, it is said, and Ridley, did the same; but all in vain; and the Council, hearing that her obstinacy was insuperable, condemned her to be burnt. Foxe, and Burnet after him, say that the good King Edward was exceedingly reluctant to sign the warrant for her burning, that he wept bitterly, that Cranmer reasoned with him on the necessity and obligation he was under

* In narrating the persecution and burning of Sautre, whom we called "Protomartyr of England," we said, (Martyrologia, vol. ii., p. 599,) that he was "the first person *judicially* put to death for Christ's sake in this country." Foxe and Burnet say that he was the first martyr; but other *deaths*, if not executions by burning, are recorded, and therefore we distinguished that of Sautre as *judicial*. Perhaps this assertion might be qualified. *On account of religion* some had been put to death, as was "a false prophet," A.D. 1212, and a Deacon, for apostatizing to Judaism, A.D. 1222. (Foxe, book iv., *John*; Select works of Ball, by the Parker Society. *Advertisement.*) But "a Chronicle of London" mentions one of the Albigenses, burnt A.D. 1210. And Camden, probably, alludes to this when he says, "Ex quo, regnante Joanne, Christiani in Christianos apud nos flammis sævire cœperunt." (Parker Society, *ut supra.*) To which add that the word "began" of Camden agrees with the words of the first warrant for burning a heretic, given by us in the place above cited, where Henry IV. affirms that heretics convicted and condemned, &c., "ought, according to divine and human law, canonical institutes, and, *in this part, customarily*, to be burned with fire." But how far burnings before Sautre were *judicial*, as we have said, yet remains to be ascertained. There evidently were such burnings during two centuries before Sautre, not by law, not by writ, but by *custom*. This custom, perhaps, exercised in a tumultuary manner, gave the precedent to which Henry IV. appealed; and the repeated burnings allowed,—nay, promoted,—during two centuries, constituted the ground of the common law, which was appealed to in the reign of Edward VI. for the burning of Anabaptists, after the *statutes* for burning heretics had been repealed. These facts being duly considered, we may take 1210, or thereabouts,—Innocent III. and John of England being contemporaries,—as the date of customary burning for heresy in this country.

† Rymeri Fœdera, tom. xv., p. 181.

to destroy such heretics, and that, at last, when the young King took the pen to give his signature, he told Cranmer, that "if he did wrong, since it was in submission to his authority, he (Cranmer) should answer for it to God." And they add that this struck the Archbishop with horror, so that he was unwilling to have the sentence executed.

But this tale of Cranmer and the King appears to be without foundation. The Papists make much of it, and gladly throw the odium of burning Joan of Kent on the father of the English Reformation; and we therefore owe it to the memory of that great and good man to point out the incredibility of the story. 1. The King kept a private journal, and an entry made with his own hand bears no mark of disapprobation. It reads thus: "Joan Bocher, otherways called Joan of Kent, was burnt for holding that Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary, being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion; and the 30th of April, the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Ely were to persuade her, but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death."* 2. The King *did not sign* the warrant for her burning. Those warrants were not ordinarily, if ever, signed by the Sovereign; and, in this instance, the Council, who, by the will of Henry VIII., were governors of the kingdom, issued the warrant to the Lord Chancellor. This is proved by their own minute, dated April 27th, 1550: "A warrant to the L. Chauncellor to make out a writt to the Shireff of London for the execuçon of Johan of Kent, condempned to be burned for certein detestable opinions of heresie." This alone makes the weeping of the King on signing a warrant *impossible;* for such an act could not take place.† And, 3. It does not appear that the Reformed were at all divided on the principle, but that all persons agreed that *some* heretics deserved death. Thus Philpot, five years afterwards, when on the point of being himself taken to the stake, replied to Lord Chancellor Rich, who referred to this woman, "As for Joan of Kent, she was a vain woman, (I knew her well,) and a heretic indeed, *well worthy to be burnt,* because she stood against one of the manifest articles of our faith, contrary to the Scripture." Therefore, the blame of burning Joan Bocher, or the Arian, George Van Pare, who suffered a year afterwards, is not to be laid on Cranmer alone, nor on the Reformers, as if they had been equally blood-thirsty with their antagonists. The ill-instructed conscience of men in those days demanded death for heresy; but the influence of Christianity was undeniably apparent in the small number of two persons put to death for the sake of religion in this reign of political revulsion,—a reign when the Papists broke out into open insurrection, when the Lady Mary openly resisted the laws, and when even the Emperor of Germany presumed to meddle on her behalf. And this influence is also apparent in the *reluctance* with which the Council proceeded to this extremity. The Papist Commissioners and Judges were always ready, and generally in haste,

* Burnet, vol. ii., part ii.; King Edward's Journal, May 2, 1550.

† For these two most important observations the public are indebted to John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A., editor of the Parker Society's volume of the works of Roger Hutchinson.

to burn their victims; but, borrowing again a record of King Edward, we find that Van Pare was not *hurried* to his end. He writes thus: "A certain Arrian of the strangers, a Dutch man, being excommunicated by the congregation of his countrymen, was, *after long disputation*, condemned to the fire."* If the Council could have saved him, consistently with the universally admitted principle, they would have gladly done so. And, humiliating as it is to find commissions for the inquisition of heresy in this reign, or in any other, we are glad to observe that the first Commissioners soon laid down their charge, and that when there were complaints of foreign heresy again, a *new* Commission had to be formed,† the other not considering themselves permanent. And, after all, each of these two temporary bodies only burnt one person,—the first, after more than twelve months' labour to convert by argument; the second, rather adopting an excommunication pronounced by others, and the Council itself reluctantly sanctioning their sentence, only after long disputation. A third commission was issued against Anabaptists, but none suffered. And it is certain, that although Popery was overpowered by force of legislation, no Papist suffered death, and that those who were imprisoned were not persecuted on account of doctrinal dissent, but for breach of Parliamentary statutes, or resistance to the secular authority.

On the other hand, the Papists employed their accustomed weapon, brute force, not wielded by governors over governed, but raised by the people against constituted authority, and even took part in the very acts since made the subject of so much declamatory censure. For example: under the *third* commission, given to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and some others, (A.D. 1552,) against Anabaptists in Kent, Popish informers displayed great zeal in presenting Protestants under charge of Anabaptism or Arianism; and a man and woman of Ashford, whose only crime was earnest piety, narrowly escaped imprisonment, if not death, in consequence of the deposition of false witnesses. Cranmer himself tested these statements by close investigation, and demonstrated their innocence.‡ But insurrection was a favourite resort of the Romish Clergy.

Nothing could be easier than to stir up rebellion in England at that time. The distribution of church lands and houses among the nobles of England had given them an increased preponderance of wealth and power, quickening their cupidity, and diminishing those charitable supplies,—if so they may be called,—those contributions to the indigent that had flowed from the convents, and often blinded the humbler classes to the moral evils of those receptacles of indolence and lewdness. Proprietors of land, instead of conciliating the goodwill of their tenants, gradually raised the rents, until a farmer would be paying three, or even four, times as much as his father had paid, even within his own memory. Agricultural produce rose in price, and, without relieving the poverty of the grower, the consumer spent his last farthing, and was hungry still. The middle and lower classes

* King Edward's Journal, April 7th, 1551. † Rymeri Fœdera, tom. xv., p. 250
‡ Strype, Edward VI., chap. 15.

of the population were utterly alienated from the aristocracy, among whom were the administrators of the law, not less corrupt. Decisions were sold to the highest purchaser; and as poor men could not buy redress, they were at the mercy of the rich. Ejected Monks were scattered over the land, and, mingling with the people, simultaneously excited them to break off the insufferable yoke, either so guiding popular discontent that the multitude should complain of real evils, or so exalting it that the cry should be for a religious war. The Clergy were ungodly, ignorant, immoral, and profane. Even many of the Bishops could only be so described; and their compliance with measures of reform had rather arisen from apathy, or fear of removal from their livings, than from acquiescence in the change. And seeing that the sequestered property had either gone to the crown, and served to enrich the court, or was bestowed on noblemen in compensation for services, or in consideration of claims upon the Sovereign in the preceding reign, they grew jealous of the aristocracy, and could justify their enmity to the satisfaction of the people. Nor was there any prospect of an early remedy. The King was at war with Scotland for the attainment, as many would consider, of a merely dynastic object. The British territory in France was assailed. France was hostile, and the Emperor of Germany not so openly, only because his hands were full on the Continent: his communication with England was characterised by profound dissatisfaction, and the Lady Mary, afterwards Queen, appealed to him for support, in order to the open exercise of her own religion, in contradiction to the existing laws. A burden of new taxation added to the weight of agrarian oppression, and the commercial interest of England was, as yet, too feeble to afford a stay to the tottering fabric of a divided, wronged, and half-barbarous society. Latimer preached, at court, against the sins of courtiers, Judges, Priests, and gentry, and poor petitioners flocked to him from morning until night soliciting his intercession with men in power. Cranmer laboured to moderate excesses that could not be remedied; Ridley pleaded for the Clergy, whom he desired to reform, yet could not consent to spoil. Now and then a fraudulent Lord made some trifling retribution; now and then slumbering justice awoke to a brief deed of equity; but the disease of the whole body politic was constitutional, inveterate, and incurable by any effort of theirs. The Council made inquiry, and endeavoured to redress grievances; but almost every endeavour failed.

Any history of this reign, either ecclesiastical or secular, will afford details of the rebellion in Yorkshire, Norfolk, and Devonshire, and the attempted revolt in Wiltshire, Sussex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, and Rutlandshire. Our present object is only to mark the part which Popery took in drawing forth the latent elements of civil warfare, and seeking to regain, by bloodshed, the territory lost. Bloodshed, be it observed, was inevitable. The rebels waged war, two thousand of them were killed at once in Norfolk, and sixteen hundred in Devonshire, to say nothing of deadly skirmishes whenever hostile parties encountered each other. But, in Devonshire,

the host was carried with the insurgent army in a cart, and invocated as god of the battle, while Latin prayers and sacramental celebrations were the appointed signals of insurrection. One document, containing a summary of their demands, quite supersedes the necessity of narrative, and proves that the Church of Rome, beaten on the fair fields of dispute and legislation, borrowed this tumultuary violence as if it were a lawful instrument. Abbreviating the language, we preserve the substance. On Whit-Monday, (June 10th,) 1549, Humphrey Arundell, Governor of St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall, and leader of the rebels, with the Mayor of Bodmin, met Lord Russell, and proposed, as conditions of peace,—"1. Restoration of canon law; 2. Enforcement of the Act of 'Six Articles' for the death of Protestants; 3. The Latin mass; 4. Elevation of the host; 5. Eucharist in one kind; 6. Baptism at all times (which had never been forbidden); 7. Holy bread, holy water, palms, and images; 8. Abolition of the English service; 9. Prayer by all officiating Priests and Preachers for souls in purgatory; 10. Suppression of the English Bible; 11. A change of Bishops; 12. Recall of Cardinal Pole, then under attainder for treason; 13. That no gentleman should have more than one servant for every hundred marks of income; 14. Immediate restoration of half the abbey and church lands; 15. And a safe-conduct to the King, and back again, for Arundell and the Mayor, in order to further negotiations." These conditions could not be accepted: the number was reduced in the next overture, but the terms remained virtually the same, and force only could decide. The rebels besieged Exeter; but the loyal inhabitants defended their city. The assailants set fire to the gates: the citizens threw fuel on the fire, and, while a barrier of flame kept out the enemy, reared a battlement on the inside, from which to repel them still. The besiegers mined, and the train was ready, to force an entrance by explosion; but the men of Exeter, under the direction of John Newcombe, a tinner of Teignmouth, had counter-mined, and spoiled the powder by directing on it the drainage from neighbouring houses. And God sent a drenching shower, at that very moment, that swelled the stream, and drowned the explosive preparation. Provisions were failing; but they ate horseflesh, and divided their scanty stores. Rich and poor ate together, subsisting on equal rations; and one man expressed the prevailing spirit of that heroic population, when he said that he would eat his left arm, and fight with the right, rather than capitulate. Papistry had its faction within the walls, but honest men were not dismayed; and when they were, indeed, brought to the last point of endurance, Lord Russell, aided by the subsidies of "three princely merchants," * raised the siege, left a thousand of the rebels dead on the ground, and returned thanks to the city for its loyalty. Miles Coverdale was in the camp, and conducted the solemnities of a thanksgiving to the Lord of hosts, and Exeter sacredly kept the anniversary of that deliverance (August 6th).†

Of Ireland, it is enough to say that the English Liturgy, the first

* Thomas Prestwood, Thomas Bodly, and John Periam.

† Burnet, part ii., book i.; Fuller, book vii., sect. 1.

book printed in Dublin, (A.D. 1551,) was accepted in submission to royal authority; that the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate, at that time, of all Ireland, refused to sanction it, and either left his charge, or was separated from it; that a nominal reformation was begun, but the Irish Priests would not exchange concubinage for marriage; that two Englishmen, Goodacre and Bale, were appointed to the sees of Armagh and Ossory, and that the former soon died, not without suspicion of poison. At the death of Edward VI. the evangelical Reformation of Ireland had to be begun.*

Notwithstanding the extreme severity of the leaders of the English Reformation against Anabaptism and Arianism, they were not intolerant towards other reformed churches. John Knox, whose views of discipline were utterly opposed to theirs, found favour, and, but for conscientious adherence to his own views, might have had preferment in the Church of England. Hooper was excessively scrupulous as to vestments, and insisted on the scruple with a pertinacity which, at such a period, might have diverted his brethren from their proper work, and exposed their cause to contempt; but they bore with him, and allowed him to lay aside his robes, except on a few specified occasions. Learned foreigners were admitted to professorial chairs and benefices, although entertaining tenets at variance with those of Cranmer on some non-essential points. Persecuted Protestants were welcomed to England, provided with churches for the celebration of worship in their respective languages, and their Ministers assisted with grants of public money, without any compromise of ecclesiastical independence. And while the enemies of the Gospel clamoured for a general delivery of Bibles, and a suppression of Common Prayer in the English language, and the same party were everywhere warring against the press, and discouraging literary studies, Edward VI. licensed and protected the first English printer, from whose press proceeded books in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.† To borrow the language of the University of Rostock, we may still render thanks to God, that while in all other kingdoms the ministry of the Gospel and study of letters were either abolished, or fiercely opposed by the cruelty of Papists, the tumults of war, or by violent controversies, churches and schools could rise and be conducted in peace within the sure asylum of this kingdom.‡ And the many thousands of Englishmen who now enjoy the benefit of an efficient education received in "King Edward's Schools,"—institutions, as far as the author has seen or heard, conducted with faithful adherence to the Christian and liberal principles of their founder,—cannot but be grateful for the Reformation that multitudes fancy it *liberal* to despise, and generous to contrast, unfavourably, with the "Catholicity" that prevailed in the reign following, and labours to prevail again. We join the learned body just mentioned in giving "His royal Majesty the deserved title of nursing-father of the church of God."

Actuated by the single motive that had governed all his conduct,

* Mant, History of the Church in Ireland, chap. iii., sect. 1, 2.
† Rymeri Fœdera, tom. xv., p. 150.
‡ Strype, Edward VI., Repository, book ii., H.

Edward determined, when he found himself near death, to change the succession to the throne from his eldest sister, Mary, to the Lady Jane Gray. He, doubtless, thought himself above the law, and hoped by excluding Mary to save England from Popery; but the majority of the Council believed that such an act would be as dangerous as illegal, unless done by the Parliament, and only consented when overcome by his importunity. The Lord Chancellor would not put the seal to the King's letters patent until supported by the signature of all the other Judges; and the Chief Justice had not prepared them until commanded by a written commission, with a pardon ready under the Great Seal for the treason of which he believed himself guilty. Cranmer opposed the proceeding strenuously; but Edward commanded them all on their allegiance, and so endeavoured to assume the responsibility. Lady Jane Gray dreaded the proffered crown, and could not be ignorant that her father-in-law, the Duke of Northumberland, had first used persuasion with the young dying King, who already trembled at the thought of Mary being his successor, and then displayed violence towards the Council, over whom, after the fall of Somerset, he had exercised control. The purity of Edward's intention, however, could not cover the illegality of the deed; and after two days of royalty the Lady Jane found herself deserted by the Council, and, having reluctantly gone into the Tower as Queen, was kept there as prisoner, and soon afterwards beheaded for treason, together with her husband, Lord Guilford, rejoicing to be delivered from this world of misery, and confidently expecting to be exalted to an everlasting throne.

Queen Mary I., distinguished by the epithet "bloody," thus succeeded to that admirable Prince whose only error was committed in the last hours of his life. As for Mary, her pre-eminence in persecution requires that we should mark her earlier career. When the injured Queen Catharine was separated from Henry VIII., she very properly declared herself on her mother's side. The King was so enraged at the boldness of his daughter, that he intended to put her to death, and, probably, would have done so, but for the dissuasion of Cranmer, who pleaded that she was young and indiscreet,—that it was to be expected she would adhere to what her mother and those around her had been teaching her from infancy,—that it would appear strange, and would excite the horror of Europe, if he were to proceed to extremity against his own child, who might be brought to another mind, if separated from her mother. So Cranmer saved Mary's life. But after her mother's death she thought well to act differently. With some reluctance, certainly, yet preferring reconciliation to her father, to the death that her mother had exhorted her to prepare for, she rendered a full submission under her own hand. "Plainly, with all mine heart," wrote she, "I do now confess and declare my inward sentence, belief, and judgment, with a due conformity of obedience to the laws of the realm," &c. Then, after acknowledging the King's Majesty (whom the Pope had excommunicated) to be the Sovereign Lord of the realm of England, she continued: "I do recognise, take, repute, and knowledge the King's Highness to be *supreme head in*

earth under Christ of the Church of England; and do utterly refuse the Bishop of Rome's pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction within this realm heretofore usurped, according to the laws and statutes made in that behalf, and of all the King's true subjects humbly received, admitted, obeyed, kept, and observed; and also do utterly renounce and forsake all manner of remedy, interest, and advantage, which I may by any means claim by the Bishop of Rome's laws, process, jurisdiction, or sentence, at this present time, or in any wise hereafter, by any manner of title, colour, mean, or case, that is, shall, or can be devised for that purpose.—MARY." And lest this should not be deemed sufficiently explicit on the chief point of quarrel with her father, she wrote again: "Item, I do freely, frankly, and for the discharge of my duty towards God, the King's Highness, and his laws, without other respect, recognise and knowledge, that the marriage heretofore had between His Majesty and my mother, the late Princess Dowager, was, by God's law, and man's law, incestuous and unlawful.—MARY." * It might be said that this "confession" was extorted from her by fear, and probably it was; but she seems to have thenceforth courted favour with consummate dissimulation.

The above-cited "confession" was accompanied by a letter to her father, written in language of the most abject submission, not only yielding every point that she had previously maintained, but putting her soul under his direction; and, professing herself willing in all things to direct her conscience according to his learning, virtue, wisdom, and knowledge, she called her former disobedience, "iniquity towards God." Again and again, as her letters testify, she made the same profession of unreserved consent to her father's laws, not excepting those which related to the Church; and in writing to Secretary Cromwell, she went further than any honest Protestant could go in submission to the supremacy of the King. "For mine opinion," said she, "touching pilgrimages, purgatory, relics, and such like, I assure you *I have none at all but such as I shall receive from him that hath mine whole heart in his keeping, that is, the King's most gracious Highness,* my most benign father, who shall imprint in the same, touching these matters and all other, what his inestimable virtue, high wisdom, and excellent learning shall think convenient, and limit unto me." But after her father's death she grew bold, refused obedience to the Council of Regency whom he had appointed, and said that she would not acknowledge any changes in religion made during the minority of her brother. Yet when Lady Jane Gray was proclaimed Queen, contrary to her expectation, and she had to turn back into Suffolk and endeavour there to raise a party, she went further than ever she had done before in renouncing Popery. For she not only professed willingness to abide by the ecclesiastical Reformation of Henry VIII., but assured a large company of gentlemen and others who came to her at Framlingham, that she would never alter the form of religion that had been established under Edward, but, without making any innovation or change, would be contented with the private exercise of her own. Persuaded of her sincerity, they resolved

* Burnet, part i., book iii. A.D. 1536.

to hazard their lives and fortunes in her quarrel, as did the Protestants of Norfolk, to whom she gave the same promise. At Norwich she was first proclaimed Queen, and then all over England; the Papists reasonably expecting that she would restore their superstition and reinstate the Clergy in power, the Reformed trusting that she would still allow them liberty, and her superior title to the crown being generally acknowledged. But when some of the Suffolk and Norfolk men appeared before her in London, a short time after her coronation, when she had already silenced the Reformed preachers and exercised so much severity that a sanguinary persecution began to be feared, and reminded her of her promise, they no longer found a pliant candidate for popular support, but an imperious bigot. She called them insolent; said that she marvelled that they, being members, should pretend to rule her, their head; bade them learn that members should obey, not govern; and because one of them, named Dobbe, had spoken out more boldly than the rest, he was sent to the pillory for having said what tended to the defamation of the Queen.

The burial of Edward VI. * was the signal for a mournful change. During the days preceding, Gardiner and other Popish recusants were released from prison; and several friends and promoters of the Reformation committed to the Tower and other places of confinement. Not only the Duke of Northumberland, and others of the nobility and gentry who had supported Lady Jane Gray, but the Bishop of London, Dr. Cox, and other eminent Ministers of Christ, were incarcerated. Dr. Day, formerly Bishop of Chichester, having been released from the Marshalsea by Mary, a few days before, preached at the funeral in Westminster Abbey, the Queen so preventing any mention of her predecessor that would have been disagreeable to herself. Cranmer then performed his last public act, by administering—and for the last time in that place—the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Gardiner officiated before Mary in the Tower, at a Popish requiem, mitred again as a Bishop, and next day used his liberty by quitting the Tower. On the following Sunday began an open attack on the Reformation by one Bourn, Parson of High-Ongar, in Essex, one of a company of preachers made ready for that service. He delivered a violent oration at Paul's-Cross, in presence of the Lord Mayor and an immense concourse, censuring the proceedings of the late King and his Council, and pouring contempt on all that was dear to the people. After the rude fashion of the time, when congregations gave signs of approbation and dissent, the people signified their displeasure by shouts, and tossing of caps. Women, children, and Priests joined in the uproar, and some one threw a dagger at the preacher, who was immediately conveyed to a place of safety by Bradford and Rogers, who were forthwith imprisoned. On the following Sunday, Dr. Watson, Gardiner's Chaplain, occupied the same pulpit, guarded by two hundred soldiers, and was heard by several noble Lords, with the crafts of the city in order and costume, the ordinary crowd being excluded or overawed. An order had been given that no apprentices should come to that sermon, nor any person bearing arms, the guard

* He died July 6th, and was buried August 8th, 1553.

excepted; and each day in the intervening week had been marked by some act of severe and re-actionary justice. Next day ten thousand people were assembled on Tower-Hill to witness the execution of the Duke of Northumberland and other state-prisoners. Block, sand, and straw were ready on the scaffold; and armed men and hangman all waiting to do their duty, when they were commanded to depart. The criminals had been induced to renounce their religion, little as it was, and, in order to be paraded at a mass within the Tower, were respited for a day. One more sun rose on them, and then the executioner did his office.

While this first abjuration of the present reign was taking place within the state-prison of England, a proclamation, probably drawn up by Gardiner, and signed by Mary at Richmond three days before, (August 18th,) was published in London, and despatched to all parts of the kingdom. The Queen's Highness, well remembering what dangers and inconveniences had grown to Her Highness's realm in times past from diversities of religion, and affirming that now, in the beginning of her most prosperous reign, the same contentions were much revived, and certain false and untrue reports spread by light-minded and evil-disposed persons, made her mind known to her loving subjects, and signified her most gracious pleasure. For herself, her pleasure would be to follow the same religion which God and the world knew she had professed from childhood. For her subjects, her desire was that they should profess the same. Yet, of her most gracious disposition and clemency, she minded not to compel any thereunto, *until such time* as further order might by common consent be taken therein. Meanwhile she strictly commanded all her subjects not to presume to interpret the laws of England, not to use the "new-found devilish terms of Papist and heretic," not to gather assemblies, not to preach in public or in private without authority, nor to interpret the word of God "after their own brain," nor to make any allusion to religious matters in plays, books, ballads, rhymes, or lewd treatises. She also forbade all prosecutions for religious and political offences, except those instituted by her own authority; but invited her loving subjects to be diligent as informers, and straitly charged the Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices, and so on, to commit all transgressors of this proclamation to the nearest prisons, without bail or mainprise.* If Edward violated the law of succession by superseding the will of his father without an Act of Parliament, what shall be said of Mary, who, in this proclamation, not only suspended the execution of all existing laws, but violated the liberty of her subjects by ordering imprisonment for obeying those laws, contrary to her pleasure?

The mass returned. First at St. Nicholas, Cole Abbey, one Parson Chicken, the Incumbent, signalised his Catholicity by selling his wife to a butcher, and, not waiting for orders, by setting up tapers and a crucifix on the altar of his church, and singing mass in Latin. Parson Chicken, however, was carted through London a few weeks afterwards. The next day, (August 24th,) a Latin mass was also performed in Bread-street. These illegal masses rapidly multiplied; and the

* Foxe, book x., gives the proclamation.

Priests, who put themselves in advance of law, were sure of royal favour; but the parishioners often interposed to check their zeal, and in a few instances preferred charges of unlawful conduct against them. Such indictments were laid before Judge Hales at the Kent assizes, and he pronounced sentence according to law, fearless of consequences. He had braved the displeasure of the Duke of Northumberland by refusing to consent to the exclusion of Mary from the succession, and, under her government, might have expected some acknowledgment; but he was called before Gardiner, now Lord Chancellor, thrown into prison, and so tormented by exposure to incessant annoyances, taken from prison to prison, to undergo new vexations by day and night, that from want of sleep and quiet he lost all power of self-command, renounced the religious profession that he had so long adorned both in public and in private, and then attempted to commit suicide. In reward for his recantation, he was released from prison, but never recovered his reason, and after a few months drowned himself in a river.

Most preachers obeyed the Queen's proclamation by keeping silence, or they met their flocks in small companies from house to house, awaiting the assemblage of Parliament, and feebly hoping that she would not utterly neglect the promise given before her proclamation, not to persecute any for conscience' sake. But each day's event weakened that hope, until the silence of the pulpits was broken by herself; and, while yet the law was for the Reformed religion, public worship was made Popish by an act of unconstitutional compulsion. Using her ecclesiastical supremacy, she gave a warrant to Gardiner, as Chancellor, authorizing him to give licence, under the Great Seal, to such grave, learned, and discreet persons as should seem unto him meet and able men, to preach God's word in any church or chapel in England (August 29th).* Some good men determined to preach without licence, since it behoved them to bear testimony to the Gospel with so much the greater earnestness, as its enemies endeavoured to propagate idolatry; and on the very day of the above warrant, Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, and Hooper of Gloucester, were summoned to appear before the Council. Hooper was committed to the Fleet, (September 1st,) and Coverdale appointed to wait their pleasure. Cranmer would have been dealt with in the same manner, had not the Queen determined to leave him, as long as possible, in possession of the see of Canterbury, that it might be reserved for Cardinal Pole, on his return from Rome. The foreigners who had found refuge from persecution in England now fled. Peter Martyr, who held a professorship at Cambridge, left the University, and took refuge with Cranmer at Lambeth, until it was evident that Cranmer could no longer afford protection to any one; when he returned to Germany. John à Lasco† and his flock were commanded to leave, their

* Rymeri Fœdera, tom. xv., p. 337.

† John Laski—Latinised into à Lasco—was a noble Pole, who had been previously in England, and was invited hither again, in the reign of Edward VI., to assist in promoting a reformed ecclesiastical discipline. He was acknowledged as "Superintendent" of the foreign Protestants in London, to whom a church was granted for the celebration of worship in their language, and according to their own form.

church was taken from them, and their congregation dissolved. Many English fled at the same time, disguised as servants to Frenchmen and Germans. Some Clergymen also went, of whom the most eminent were Dr. Cox, after his release from the Marshalsea, Dr. Sands, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Grindal, Bishop of London, and Master Horne, Dean of Durham. From this time the emigration continued, as far as the persecuted could evade pursuit; and English congregations were formed, or the native congregations considerably enlarged, at Strasburg, Zurich, Geneva, Basil, Berne, Louvain, Frankfort, Wesel, and other places.

At the suggestion of Peter Martyr, Cranmer published a denial of a report that he had offered to say mass, and had actually caused it to be said at Canterbury; and offered to defend the scriptural service recently appointed, in consistence with the practice of primitive Christian antiquity. Within a week after the publication of this letter, he was committed to the Tower, together with Latimer (September 14th and 15th).

Shortly after her coronation (Sunday, October 1st, 1553) at the hand of Gardiner, Mary saw her obedient Parliament assembled. There could be no effectual opposition there; for the chief leaders of political disaffection had been beheaded, and most of the Reformed Bishops were in prison. The Bishops of Lincoln and Hereford took their places, but either retired at once, or were expelled, for not adoring the host in a mass that was said before the House at opening (October 5th). Her first act (for *all* acts there were of the Queen, not of the Parliament) was to remit the subsidies that had been granted to Edward, in order to produce a favourable impression on her subjects. She also gave a general pardon, having the same intention, but with many exceptions. But the chief business of the session was to repeal the Acts of the two reigns preceding, so far as religion was concerned, and to enact the contrary. To recount the new Acts is unnecessary. They are to be found among the statutes of the realm; but their summary may be given by saying, that they were the abrogation of all that upheld religious liberty and evangelical reform. The Lady Jane Gray, with her husband, and two other sons of the Duke of Northumberland, who had been kept in durance, were here attainted as traitors. So was Cranmer. Their lives were forfeited, excepting Cranmer, who, being an Archbishop, was spared for the time, that so high a dignitary might not be put to death until canonically degraded; and, the Queen's object being to reserve the archbishopric for a favourite, this deference to the Church served her purpose well. He was declared a traitor, kept in the Tower, and allowed to retain the archbishopric nominally, but deprived of its revenue. The Primate had had many premonitions of this event. The very day before the opening of Parliament, his brother of York was incarcerated, with several other men of high rank, who had not shown sufficient alacrity in attending at the coronation. Commissioners held their sessions at the Dean of St. Paul's house, and dealt out summary discipline to as many as were delated. Persons of high title stood there as delinquents, received arbitrary sentences, and suddenly found them-

selves in custody as state-criminals, and hurried away to the Tower, as was Archbishop Heath, or to the common gaols of London. Others bought their peace by submitting to heavy fines, and others by relinquishing fees and offices granted to them under King Edward.

All this time the Queen retained the title, "Supreme Head of the Church," and acted as such. And she had not ventured to open a correspondence with Rome. The Papal Nuncio at the Imperial court, therefore, endeavoured to ascertain what position this zealous Lady intended to take, and, as there was no channel of official communication, did towards England, what England, in our day, has done towards Rome,—he sent a secret emissary.* One Commendone, an Italian, made his way to London, early in August, wandered about the city, not daring to make himself, or his errand, known, until he met one of the Queen's servants, whom he had known abroad, and obtained, through his means, a secret audience of Her Majesty. She told him freely that she desired to restore things to the state they had been in before her father's defection from Rome, and sent him thither with two letters,—one addressed to Cardinal Pole, and the other to the Pope. The Cardinal had sent a letter for her to the Nuncio at Brussels, and it was, probably, by Commendone that she received it. She desired Cardinal Pole's presence in quality of Nuncio, or, if the Holy Father would so dispense, (for, although Cardinal, he was only a Deacon,) as husband. And she craved a public and solemn pardon on behalf of England for having separated from the See of Rome.† The former indulgence could not be granted without disappointing the Emperor, who had set his heart on placing his son Philip on the throne of England; but of the latter there could be no question. Commendone related the execution of the Duke of Northumberland, and every other incident that would delight the Cardinals; but to the Pope alone he communicated every particular. To him alone he said that he had *seen* the Queen, and bare her message and epistles. The Parliament of England had not met when he was in London in August, unknown to all but Mary and her servant: therefore it would have been palpably imprudent for her to have then attempted an open negotiation. But the state of England, and the evident disposition of the Queen, were sufficiently known to permit the Consistory to indulge in great joy. For three days Rome was made gay with high festivity; the Pope himself condescended to say mass; he distributed indulgences to the populace, and the Roman Prelates and Priests congratulated one another on the sudden recovery of England.

Long before the meeting of Parliament those preliminaries had gone forward stealthily between London and Rome, and according to them are the ostensible proceedings in Parliament and Convocation. Over the Convocation (October 16th) Bonner presided; and his Chaplain, John Harpsfield, preached the sermon, neither stinting panegyric

* A person, having no formal appointment, but receiving a salary from Great Britain, and only known as an *attaché* of the British embassy at Florence, has long been the covert, yet active, representative of this country at the Court of Rome.

† Phillips, Life of Cardinal Pole, vol. ii., pp. 6, 8, 28.

on the Queen and her Bishops, nor sparing invective against the Reformed. Weston, Dean of Westminster, was presented by the Lower House as Prolocutor, and approved by Bonner. The Upper House appears to have been well sifted; but some evangelical Clergy took their seats in the Lower, and when Weston told them Her Majesty's pleasure that King Edward's pestiferous Catechism and abominable Common-Prayer Book should be suppressed, and "that they should prepare such laws about religion as she would ratify with her Parliament," there were dissentients. He, therefore, proposed some questions, and, saying that he was assured that the majority would decide as Mary required, adjourned the sitting. On re-assembling, all the members, except six, subscribed a set of Popish articles. The six non-contents, Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, Philips, Dean of Rochester, Haddon, Dean of Exeter, Cheyney, Archdeacon of Hereford, Ailmer, Archdeacon of Stow, and Young, Chanter of St. David's, withheld their signatures, and defended the Catechism and Prayer-Book, as printed by consent and approval of the Convocation, who had appointed persons to prepare them, and fully authorized their publication and use; whereas Weston presumed to say that they were introduced without their consent. Philpot, on behalf of his brethren, asked the House to allow a discussion of the articles, complaining that it was unfair to demand signatures to what had not been submitted to discussion in order to acceptance. The demand could scarcely be refused; and, on the day appointed, many of the Lords came to listen, as did a great congregation of people. But the six dissentients, maintaining their belief during so many days, were browbeaten, and Popish doctrine was restored. Such a compulsory proceeding had certainly not been witnessed in the reign of Edward, nor even in that of Henry.

During the Convocation select preachers delivered sermons at Paul's-Cross, protected by barriers, and guarded by armed men. Processions were made round the cathedral, with the old accompaniments of saints, crosses, and torches, and, after a few such exhibitions had been suffered by the Londoners, orders were given to every church to have the furniture necessary for the same purpose. Sentences of Scripture that had been painted on the church-walls were erased, and images replaced; and, before the year closed, citizens were apprehended and imprisoned for heresy, and their property sequestered, just as in the dark days of Wolsey and Sir Thomas More.

The year 1554 opened amidst universal terror. The dungeons were full, and scaffolds had reeked with blood. Of Queen Mary's thirst for blood there could be no doubt, nor any of her ingratitude and bad faith, even to her friends. Cranmer, who had once preserved her life, and Judge Hales, who had hazarded his own life in the cause of her succession to the crown, were in bonds. Those who had dared to remind her of her solemn pledge to allow religious liberty were insulted and even pilloried. To add, as people thought, an incalculable amount of evil to what already existed, a marriage was intended between the Queen and a Spaniard, Philip of Austria, son of Charles V.

The despotism of Spanish government in the Netherlands and in Italy might be extended to England when the young Spaniard should be seated on our throne with the power, as well as the title, of King. The zeal of Mary for Popery would scarcely refuse the Spanish method of overcoming heresy, nor would her taste be likely to repugn against an Inquisition, having had a Spanish mother, and received a Spanish consort. Spain, at that time, was exceedingly rich, and the dowry would be large: yet the expected gold had been gathered from America; it was the price of blood; to get it, Spain had perpetrated atrocities on that continent unparalleled in the history of the civilised world. Would not that gold be made an instrument of corruption and oppression? These were not unreasonable fears, and Papists, as well as Reformed, entertained them. A silent, domestic discontent pervaded England. The Spanish marriage became the topic of universal conversation, the object of universal horror; and the court were alarmed with rumours of a general insurrection. As yet a word of conciliation had not been spoken; and the woman who, in time of danger, had given up her conscience to be guided by her father, and declared her mother to have lived in incest,—the woman who, in hour of need, had courted popularity and offered liberty,—now again descends to expostulate with citizens. She desired, or allowed, Gardiner, about the middle of January, to send for the Lord Mayor of London, the court of Aldermen, and about forty of the Commons, and talk sweetly to them about her intended marriage with the Prince of Spain. They heard with courteous reserve, but could not rein the indignation, nor dispel the apprehensions, of the Londoners, who were in correspondence with armed insurgents in the country. Intelligence soon reached St. James's that Sir Thomas Wyat, a gentleman who had enjoyed the confidence of Henry VIII., and was intrusted by him with a mission to Charles V., headed a revolt in Kent, had that day (January 25th) entered Maidstone with armed force, and was receiving adherents from all directions. After a night of sleepless preparation, the militia were called out, the gates of London doubly guarded, and the Duke of Norfolk sent into Kent against Sir Thomas Wyat. The Duke met Sir Thomas marching towards London, and, at Rochester-bridge, his men, instead of disputing the passage, or forcing their way into the city, joined the rebels, and left his Grace to carry back the report. While Norfolk marched out of London, a messenger hastened towards Ashridge,* to make sure of the Lady Elizabeth. Mary, at the advice of Gardiner and the Privy Council, wrote a kind letter to her "right dear and entirely beloved sister," praying her to come to London with all convenient speed, to avoid any danger that might arise in case of disturbance in that neighbourhood. But the messenger carried private orders to her governors to bring her up, willing or not. She was very ill in bed, and the governors could not then remove her; but, after waiting a few days, Mary sent another sort of message by three of her Privy Councillors, whom the Princess saw enter her chamber at ten o'clock at night, and from them received an unceremonious command to obey

* Elizabeth resided there in a magnificent monastery, formerly occupied by the Augustinians.

her sister's pleasure, that would be enforced, if she showed reluctance, by a strong body of soldiery that were waiting to attend her to London in custody, if not under guard. She was hurried out of bed early the next morning, carried on a litter, not suffered to see the Queen, but, after a fortnight's arrest, committed to the Tower. Not without suffering indignities, and being in peril of assassination, she was confined successively in that place, at Woodstock, in her own house at Ashridge, and at Hampton Court. The rebellion extended to the midland counties and Cornwall; but Protestants are not skilful in rebellion, and that effort, being premature and ill concerted, failed. The Papists gloried: Gardiner preached before the Queen, advising her to show no mercy; she needed not his incitement; and in a few days the streets of London were planted with gibbets, and the dungeons again glutted with captives. For this, however, there may be some excuse, and a less severe punishment could not have been expected. Lady Jane Gray, who had been, until then, kept prisoner, was beheaded, the circumstance of rebellion affording a sufficient pretext (February 12th).

After having mastered those manifestations of political disquiet, the Queen and her Council returned to their favourite work of persecution. A royal letter to all the Bishops commanded them to make a visitation of their dioceses for the discovery and punishment of heretics; and, among its numerous instructions, the most remarkable is that they should refrain from employing, in their official acts, a usual phrase, "supported by *royal* authority," and no longer exact or demand, in conferring ordination, the oaths of supremacy and succession. Commissions were also issued for the removal of the remaining Bishops who had succeeded to Papists, with marks of special disapprobation of those who had defiled themselves by marriage. Under a distinct Commission, the Bishops of Lincoln, Worcester and Gloucester, and Hereford, were to be not only deprived, but punished; * and we shall soon find them suffering for Christ's sake. The historian of the Reformation thus describes the effect of these visitations and Commissions:—"The most eminent preachers in London were either put into prison, or under confinement. Parker estimates it that there were now about sixteen thousand Clergymen in England; and, of these, twelve thousand were turned out upon this account;" (for being married;) "some, he says, were deprived without conviction, upon common fame; some were never cited to appear, and yet turned out; many that were in prison were cited, and turned out for not appearing, though it was not in their power; some were induced to submit, and quit their wives for their livings: they were all summarily deprived. Nor was this all: but, after they were deprived, they were also forced to leave their wives; which piece of severity was grounded on the vow that, as was pretended, they had made, though the falsehood of this charge was formally demonstrated." †

* Burnet, part ii., book ii., collections 10, 11; Rymeri Fœdera, tom. xv., pp. 370, 371.

† Monks make a vow of "chastity." Priests only vow canonical obedience. Now, as the priesthood of England had been released from the obligation to be unmarried, by

It will be remembered that when the Convocation first met after the expulsion of the more eminent evangelical Clergymen, six members of the Lower House refused to sign a set of Popish articles; that a mock disputation was held for six days, amidst much uproar, and that they were overborne by clamour. This injustice was flagrant; and the Papists, unable to palliate, thought that by allowing another debate, some part of the discredit might be wiped away. An order was, therefore, sent (March 10th) to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to deliver the bodies of "Master Doctor Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Master Doctor Ridley, and Master Latimer," to Sir John Williams, to be conveyed to Oxford. They were thus conveyed, as prisoners, first to Windsor, and thence to Oxford, to dispute with a selected company of learned men of both Oxford and Cambridge on the grand article of Romanism, transubstantiation. The heads of colleges in Cambridge, being assembled, heard a letter from Gardiner, with articles to be believed, and in due form gave them their subscription, and, under their common seal, commissioned five of their number to go to Oxford, to maintain the dogma against Canterbury, London, and Latimer. In due time the representatives of Cambridge took up their abode at the Cross Inn, Oxford, were welcomed with ceremony, and began their communication with learned brethren with much joviality, masses, and procession. The three prisoners were confined apart; the Cambridge and Oxford Doctors held frequent conferences.

After more than a month had elapsed since their removal from the Tower, they were severally conducted (April 14th) to the choir of St. Mary's church, where no fewer than thirty-three University men were seated before the altar to receive them. First, Archbishop Cranmer, in custody of the Mayor of Oxford and a party of armed men, was brought into their presence. He was more than sixty years of age, of low stature, mild countenance, his head shorn of locks that the tonsure had not stolen, and his beard unshaven, and of silvery whiteness. He leant on his staff; but, when offered a stool, refused, choosing to stand in their presence, perhaps that the reality of his condition, being in bonds, might appear in the humiliation of his posture. Prolocutor Weston, seated in the midst, and robed in scarlet, began by pronouncing an oration in praise of unity, and invited Cranmer, who had been once, as he said, in the unity of the Church, but was now separated from it, to return. Cranmer answered with admirable self-possession, learning, and meekness, in a Latin address, remarkable for classical propriety and Christian truth. He acknowledged the excellence of unity, "conservatrix of all republics," and said that he would be glad to come to a unity, "so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word." The Prolocutor then caused the articles to be read to him, and allowed him to take the parchment and peruse them in silence three or four times; which having done, he asked for explanation of the words "true and natural,"

the authority of Parliament,—an authority that Mary herself made use of,—it was wantonly false to charge those twelve thousand married Priests with marrying "post expressam professionem castitatis, expressé, rité, et legitimé emissam."

(*verum et naturale,*) as applied to the bread of the eucharist, which was explained as meaning that it was "the same body as was born of the Virgin." This he utterly denied; and passing to the other two, being of like import, he pronounced them all false, and against God's holy word, "and therefore," said he, "I will not agree in this unity with you." Some of his antagonists, doubtless remembering to have often seen that reverend man of God, and heard his firm, sweet voice, when surrounded with all the dignity of the Church, and with civil power, were observed to shed tears. But Cranmer wept not. It was agreed that he should receive a copy of the articles, and send his answer in writing; and he was conducted back to his solitary lodgings in the Bocardo.

Then Ridley was brought. He heard the articles read once, and answered, without reserve or hesitation, that they were all false. They then endeavoured to ensnare him into some admissions that he had once preached transubstantiation; but he denied, and challenged them to produce evidence. Evidence there was none; and, in answer to the question whether he was willing to dispute, he said, Yes, as long as God gave him life, he would defend the truth with mouth and pen; but required time and books. But he was neither allowed time, nor the use of his own books; and they commanded the Mayor to take him back to his place.

Lastly came in Master Latimer, tottering under the burden of fourscore years, "with a kerchief and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand." The Prolocutor allowed him to be seated. He heard the articles, and, like his brethren, denied them. They appointed the following Wednesday for him to dispute; but he said that he was as fit to be Captain of Calais as to dispute. They would not allow him books, nor pen and ink. He was old, sick, and had been for some time unused even to preach. His only book was the New Testament there in his hand. He could not promise to dispute; but he would declare all his faith, and bear whatever they would lay upon him. As for the real presence, he had read that book seven times over, but found not there the mass, "neither the marrow, bones, nor sinews of the same." The Doctors were irritated. Weston told him that he would *make him* grant that it had both marrow, bones, and sinews in the New Testament. To whom Latimer, "That you will never do, Master Doctor." They put him to silence. The concourse of people, which was so great that one of the beadles swooned under the pressure, was dismissed, and the venerable confessor reconducted to his place in the Bocardo.

Next day, being Sunday, there was much preaching, massing, and carousal of Priests and Doctors.

On Monday morning, early, two Notaries went round the colleges, and collected subscriptions to the articles, in order to show that the disputation was merely to refute the dissentients, not to establish the truth. This done, Weston and his assessors repaired to the Divinity School, each one installed according to his rank. Cranmer was placed before them, the Mayor and Aldermen flanked him on either

side, and "a rout of rusty bills" kept guard between them and the people. Weston opened the business of the day thus: "*Convenistis, hodie, fratres, profligaturi detestandam illam hæresin de veritate corporis Christi in sacramento.*" The grave theologians burst into a roar of laughter. What had he said? He had said, "Ye have assembled this day, brethren, *to dispel that detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the sacrament.*" Weston looked foolish. He paused. With magisterial severity he prosecuted the oration, fitting it to the case on hand; and, for that day, there was to be no more laughter. "It was not lawful," he went on to say, "to call those questions into controversy, since to dispute them was to dispute God's word." To this Cranmer replied in such words as these,—"We are assembled to discuss these doubtful controversies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world, whereof ye think it unlawful to dispute. It is, indeed, no reason that we should dispute of that which is determined upon, before the truth be tried. But if these questions be not called into controversy, surely mine answer, then, is looked for in vain." It would be tedious to rehearse the disputation that followed; neither is it practicable to transcribe here the written statements which Cranmer handed to Weston, and requested to be read openly to the people, which Weston promised to read, but read them not. Until two o'clock the disorderly disputation continued. When the Doctors needed a pause to recover from some deadly thrust of their antagonist, more learned than they all, the Prolocutor would wave his hand, and, at the signal, the audience would hiss, shout, the University men crying, "*Indoctus! imperitus! impudens!*—Unlearned! unskilful! impudent!" But Cranmer sat unmoved during those breathy tempests, and, with meek and patient dignity, resumed his argument, until the Mayor was commanded to take him to his room again, and the Doctors went to dinner at the University College.

Tuesday was the day allotted to Ridley. The court was constituted, and the prisoner brought in, as before. Again the articles were read, and Ridley endeavoured to argue, but was interrupted by Weston almost at every sentence, and bidden not to waste time by wandering from the point, and speaking blasphemy. By perseverance, however, he did obtain a partial hearing, yet had to suffer much insolence, until the Prolocutor declared the debate to be ended, shouted, "*Vicit veritas!*" the audience responded, "Truth has conquered, truth has conquered!" and, amidst senseless acclamation, the company dispersed.

On Wednesday, Latimer was brought to undergo a similar trial of faith and patience. He begged permission to speak in English, being unused to Latin, and to be spared from disputation, as he only desired to confess his faith, and then to suffer their pleasure on him. And he handed a written defence to Weston. The defence was not read; and they endeavoured to harass and confuse him with captious questions and quibbles, intermingled with taunts and derision, until the boisterous Prolocutor told him that his stubbornness would do him no good when a faggot should be at his beard, but that the

Queen's grace was merciful, and advised him to turn. He answered, "You shall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the Queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion." Thus closed those mockeries.

On the following Friday, (April 20th,) the Commissioners again sat in St. Mary's church, and had the prisoners once more brought before them. Weston alone spoke to them, employing his utmost power of dissuasion with each, but not suffering any further reply than a plain consent or refusal to subscribe the articles. This failing, the sentence was read: "That they were no members of the Church; and that therefore they, their fautors and patrons, were condemned as heretics." The reading of the sentence was intermitted, to ask them if they would yet repent; but they bade the reader proceed in the name of God, for they were not minded to turn. Each then answered to his sentence.

Cranmer.—"From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty, trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned."

Ridley.—"Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should by the course of nature have come."

Latimer.—"I thank God most heartily that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kind of death."

These are memorable sentences; but the half-drunken Weston could not be moved by their sublimity. A man that had always a filled cup ready before him, and could so far forget himself during those discussions as to raise it to his lips, while saying, "*Urge hoc, urge hoc, nam hoc facit pro nobis,*—Urge this, urge this, for this makes for us," was too deeply stupefied to perceive any loveliness in faith that triumphs over death. He testily answered them, "If you go to heaven in this faith, then will I never come thither, as I am thus persuaded." The brethren were then separated; Cranmer to Bocardo,—the prison so called, where he had been kept from the first,—Ridley to the Sheriff's house, and Latimer to the Bailiff's.

The inquisition having been thus completed, and letters certificatory from the University to the Queen prepared, the Prolocutor set out for London. Cranmer had written him a letter of remonstrance; and both Cranmer and Ridley addressed letters to the Council and to some Bishops, confiding them to him, who treated the remonstrance with contempt, and would not deliver the letters. As for Latimer, he wrote nothing, but calmly waited to die; and the day after their sentence, being brought out, as well as the others, to witness a procession with the host, he thought they were going to burn him, and asked a sergeant to make him a quick fire. Under that impression he walked willingly to the market-place; but, when he there saw the procession approaching, ran away as fast as his old limbs would carry him.

Elated with their imaginary victory at Oxford, the persecutors pur-

posed to have a similar disputation at Cambridge. A Commission was appointed to send thither another company of prisoners from London, and the jolly Weston was again to preside. Bishop Hooper, then in the Fleet, heard of it, and sent to his brethren in the King's Bench, Newgate, and the Marshalsea, advising them not to submit to such an exhibition. They therefore drew up a Declaration, to the effect, that they were not imprisoned for any crime, but only for conscience' sake. They had heard that it was determined to send them to one of the Universities to dispute with persons appointed in that behalf; but they purposed not to dispute otherwise than by writing, except it were before the Queen and Council, or before Parliament; but, lest their refusal to enter into disputation should be misunderstood, they gave reasons for it. 1. Because the Universities had determined against God's word, and even against their own determinations in the time of King Edward, and, as their open enemies, had, without disputation, condemned them already. 2. Because the Prelates and Clergy sought not the truth, but their destruction. 3. Because the Censors and Judges were known enemies of the truth and of them, as their doings in the Convocation and at Oxford had also shown. 4. Because they had been imprisoned for many months, without books, writing materials, or any means of study. 5. Because they would, probably, be interrupted and assailed with hisses, scoffings, and taunts, as their brethren had been at Oxford. 6. Because they could not appoint their own Notaries, nor have a sight of the papers; but the Notaries and Judges together were likely, as at Oxford, to falsify the reports, and misrepresent them to the world. They were willing to enter into a written controversy, they were willing to suffer by halter or by fire, but they would not dispute; and they counselled all their brethren to stand firm in submission to the will of God, and in peaceful obedience and loyalty to the Queen. Then followed a confession of faith, which they offered to maintain before the Queen and Council, or before Parliament; and reiterated an exhortation not to countenance rebellion against Her Majesty, but, if obedience to her were found incompatible with obedience to God, to submit, unresistingly, to death. The signatures to this important document (May 8th, 1544) were Robert St. David's, (*alias* Robert Ferrar,) Rowland Taylor, John Philpot, John Bradford, John, Wigorn. et Glouc. Episcopus, (*alias* John Hooper,) Edward Crome, John Rogers, Laurence Sanders, Edmund Laurence, J. P., and T. M.; and after these, "To these things abovesaid do I, Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, consent and agree with these mine afflicted brethren, being prisoners, (with mine own hand.)"

After the suppression of rebellion, and the silencing of the Reformed, the peerage was recruited by some new creations; public festivities were got up to amuse the populace; and, amidst universal discontent, preparations went on at court for the reception of the Prince of Spain, who was, according to treaty, to be King of England. Every one dreaded his coming; but it soon appeared that the Spaniard was gentle, in comparison with the virago who had chosen him to be her spouse. On St. James's day this patron saint of Spain was

honoured by the marriage of Philip and Mary in Winchester cathedral.

Carvers and statuaries had now brisk trade. Spaniards of all sorts crowded into England. The resuscitation of a defunct idolatry provoked contempt, and the Priests were teased by ballad-singing, caricatures, and practical jokes expressive of popular dislike. Among the mischances that befell the new gods on elevation to their niches, was the mutilation of an image of Thomas à Becket, that had been set up over the gate of St. Thomas of Acres, or Mercers' chapel, by order of the Lord Chancellor. His fingers, head, crosier, arms, dropped away under strokes from unseen hands; and although some were bound in recognizances to protect him from assault, and others imprisoned on suspicion of battery, the visible representative of St. Thomas could never retain all his members and dimensions, but stood there mutilated, as a type of the system that it was vainly endeavoured to restore. Popular abhorrence, mingled with contempt, found expression in ballads, caricatures, and jests. Men of no religion pitied the persecuted Christians; and the priesthood would probably have been overwhelmed as by a flood, had not secular authority promptly arrayed its forces on their side.

The Queen and those in power spent all their energies on one object,—the restoration of Popery. Bonner had anticipated the course of law, by enforcing attendance at mass in Easter; and the same contempt of unrepealed statutes had been displayed by Papists from the beginning. It is almost superfluous to say that the partial liberty of the press, by licences given to enterprising printers, was abolished. Day, late printer to King Edward, was brought up from Norfolk, and lodged in the Tower, for having printed books unsuitable to the present reign. His servant, a Priest, and another printer, were imprisoned with him (October 16th); while Cawood, as royal typographer, emitted torrents of literary mischief. Incontinently, a formal and parliamentary reconciliation to Rome was undertaken by the courtiers, as necessary to complete their triumph. And as the Commons of England were not to be trusted in such a business, either as electors or representatives, it was resolved that a Parliament should be made up according to the pleasure of the party dominant. The Queen, therefore, sent a letter to the Sheriffs, wherein she willed and commanded them, for withstanding such malice as the devil worketh by his ministers, who maintained heresies and seditions, to admonish such of her good loving subjects as should elect representatives in Parliament, to choose men "of the wise, grave, and Catholic sort." She further barred all freedom of election, by requiring the Sheriffs and Justices of the counties to apprehend and punish any who should speak evil of her intentions in respect of measures expected to be taken in the approaching Parliament. People were compelled by threats, and even by force, to vote for those whom the Sheriffs or the Priests approved. Obnoxious candidates were, in some places, forcibly hindered from presenting themselves; and some that had been elected, where an enforcement of the Queen's command was impracticable, were unceremoniously turned out of the House of Commons on their

first appearance. And in disputed elections the returns were falsified.* The assemblage of persons thus made was, therefore, no Parliament. Yet it acted as such, and that was sufficient for its creators. The Queen had called herself Supreme Head of the Church in summoning her first Parliament; but the title was omitted from her writ for a second; and active preparations were at the same time in progress for the reception of Cardinal Pole. Furnished with a brief from Julius III., as Legate *à latere*, the Cardinal awaited his recall at Brussels, while provision was made, in London, for himself and his household. A family of one hundred and thirty hirelings, besides thirty dependents living abroad, were all to be housed luxuriously and clothed richly, at the cost of England. His own apparel, the livery worn by servants, furniture, and decorations for his chapel, wine and beer for his cellar, coals, candles, butchers' meat, fish, eggs, with all other necessaries for the dignity and ease of so great a personage, were included in an estimate, and granted without Parliamentary authority. Letters patent were issued (November 10th) authorizing him to exercise his functions as Legate, and commanding all to acknowledge his authority: this, too, without consulting Parliament. Then this factitious Parliament met, (November 12th,) and hastened to repeal the Acts of the reign of Henry VIII. against the Papal supremacy, and to renew those of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., against Lollards. The clerical Parliament, (for such was the Convocation,) in order to prevent contention about church-lands that were in possession of the laity, who certainly would not have given them back again, were instructed to petition the King and Queen to apply to the Legate, beseeching him to grant the *detainers* of those lands permission to occupy them still. Philip and Mary did so apply, the Legate referred the matter to his master, an embassy went to Rome to complete the bargain with Julius, who allowed the lands to remain with the *detainers*, (not proprietors,) in compensation for spiritual and political supremacy,—a supremacy that, he calculated, would soon reduce our country to as abject a condition as before. While this negotiation was in prospect, the pretended Parliament passed an Act to authorize a Papal Legate, Pole being now released from his attainder, to appear in England; Philip and Mary went in state to St. Stephen's to give royal sanction (November 22d). The Cardinal was by that time in Dover, and two days afterwards entered his well-garnished palace in Lambeth, and thence proceeded to Whitehall, where he found the Queen, who, feeling, or pretending to feel, indisposition, summoned both Lords and Commons to wait upon him, rendering the representative of Rome an honour which the King and Queen had not required for themselves.

Both Houses duly appeared before his Eminence, whom they found seated on the right hand of their Majesties, and heard him deliver an

* This is affirmed by Burnet, on the evidence of Beal, Clerk of the Council in the days of Queen Elizabeth. Collier and others treat the statement as doubtful. Mr. Tytler (Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary) agrees with the doubters, and adds, "I have found no letters to show that the court were now more active in the elections than was then the practice of the time." But these last words concede the whole. The practice of the time was bad enough, and Mary's letter to the Sheriffs must have made it worse.

oration for the Pope. Mary, full of joy, as she witnessed the long-desired spectacle, suddenly fancied herself justified in foretelling another event,—an event which never came to pass; and on the morrow, (November 28th,) in consequence of a letter from her Council to Bonner, Bishop of London, a grand procession of ten Bishops, all the Prebendaries of St. Paul's, the Lord Mayor of London, the Aldermen, and a long train of Londoners, attired in their best, perambulated the precincts of the cathedral to show their exultation in that an heir to the crown might be expected. A Latin form of prayer was penned, quick as Prolocutor Weston could conceive the sentences, asking that Queen Mary might happily, and in due time, present the nation with an offspring, "elegant in body and noble in mind." In another and much longer prayer, the petition ran that it might be a boy, a fine and witty one. Happily for England, the only issue to Queen Mary was disappointment. God reserved the throne for another occupant. After the procession at St. Paul's, a woful pageant was enacted at Whitehall. Philip, Mary, and Reginald Pole, appeared again in royal and pontifical array. The whole Parliament of England was in attendance, (November 30th,) every Lord and every Commoner fell on his knees, downcast in shame; and while they knelt thus abject, a petition was presented to the King and Queen, and by them to the Cardinal, bearing a confession, in the name of the whole realm, of sorrow and repentance for the late schism from the See of Rome, a promise of unreserved submission, and a prayer for absolution and release. Pole pronounced a few gracious words, gave the absolution, and, with dusty knees and heavy hearts, the supplicants walked back again to the place of legislation, having obediently heard a *Te Deum* chanted in the chapel. King Philip, the Legate, and Mary indulged awhile in congratulation, and then caught the golden moment to concert further measures. Philip wrote a Spanish letter to the Pope, and Pole composed one in Latin, both of equal date, narrating the event. It had taken place on St. Andrew's day; St. Andrew had brought Peter to Christ; there was a coincidence imagined, and St. Andrew's day was commanded to be thenceforward kept with great rejoicing in England, as the *Feast of the Reconciliation.* When the courier reached Rome, that city resounded with songs of gladness, and there, too, the Clergy made a great procession.

Pole sent a summons to both Houses of Convocation, who went to him at Lambeth, (December 6th,) knelt down in his presence, received absolution from the sins of perjury, schism, and heresy; and after hearing his gratulation for their conversion to "the Catholic Church," departed. It is said that he advised them to deal gently with heretics; that he much displeased Gardiner by frequently speaking against extreme measures; and that the Queen advised him, therefore, to give his chief care to the reformation of the Clergy, and Gardiner his to the punishment of heretics. But whatever may have been his gentleness at first, it would seem that it soon vanished away; for, if he did not accelerate, neither did he check, the fury of persecution.

As yet, no one had been put to death on account of religion; but

the Marian martyrdoms began immediately after the formal restoration of Papal supremacy, following as a natural consequence. Julius III. issued a Bull offering plenary indulgence to all who would give thanks to God for the restoration of England, and pray for the recovery of such as were still in error. Pope and Legate were equally careful to speak gently. They left it to Philip and Mary to offer the bloody sacrifices, reserving to the Church the ministration of the unbloody sacrifice on the altars. So each party proceeded to its appropriate work.

It is remarkable that the first recorded act of persecution, after the crisis above described, took place on the first day of the following year, (A.D. 1555,) a date sadly distinguished in the annals of England. In the evening of that day, a congregation of thirty persons, with Master Rose, their Minister, were found, by two of Gardiner's men, in a house in Bow-church-yard, celebrating the communion of the Lord's supper. They were all taken into custody, fifteen of them laid in the Compter in Bread-street, and fifteen in another prison. Their Minister was committed to the Tower.

Here begins the long series of witnesses to the grace of Christ and the infamy of Queen Mary.* How to abbreviate, and yet not obscure, the recital of their sufferings, is not easy to determine; but perhaps perspicuity may be best attained by following the order of days distinguished by their martyrdom, as far as dates are ascertained, premising, however, that the slaughter was not hastened by any sudden provocation, but began, to borrow an apt figure of good old Fuller, after the butchers had been sharpening their knives for nearly two years. The system of Popish government was now consolidated, and nothing remained but to slay the victims. Accordingly, several Reformed preachers then in prison were brought together (January 22d, 1555) before Gardiner, assisted by some others, as Queen's Commissioners, in his house at St. Mary Overey's, and asked whether they would "convert" and enjoy the Queen's pardon, or abide by their confession. They chose the better alternative, one alone excepted, and were committed to straiter prison, with a charge to the keeper that none should speak with them. Cardinal Pole, on the day after the Chancellor (January 23d) had made that general inquisition of the prisoners, called together the whole body of Bishops and Clergy in Convocation, and, after addressing them, as it must be presumed, on the state of religion, exhorted them "to entreat the people and their flock with all gentleness; and to endeavour themselves to win the people rather by gentleness than by extremity and rigour." But these two assemblages must be taken together. Pole, representing the spiritual estate, spoke gently. Gardiner, albeit a Bishop, as Lord Chancellor, represented the temporal power, and executed the law. The soft words were but a formulary, and were so to be understood. The policy was to shield the Clergy from the disgrace of bloodshed;

* Some easy, heartless *dilettanti*, ladies and gentlemen, whose first care is to seem liberal, though it be in the teeth of history, undertake to wash "the bloody Queen Mary" white. So does Mr. Tytler; and the last words of his "Conclusion," adopted from Bishop Godwin, are amusingly insignificant. "She was a lady very godly, MERCIFUL, chaste, and every way praiseworthy, *if* you regard not the errors of her religion."

and Protestants, blinded by this policy, have accorded to Cardinal Pole a credit for humanity which he might possibly have deserved, had he not been pillar of a Church on whose altars humanity must be sacrificed. On the Friday following, (January 25th,) the Clergy, in a general and solemn procession through London, celebrated the union of England with Rome. The Cardinal and the King took part in the festivities. Bonfires for rejoicing were made by royal order; but the people knew not with what reason. On Monday (January 28th) and two following days, the Cardinal having empowered them by a commission, issued after the first summons of the prisoners, the Chancellor and others resumed their sittings, and examined and condemned several of the persecuted brethren.

Master John Rogers * was the first martyr of this dreadful reign. Well educated in the University of Cambridge, he accepted an invitation of the merchant adventurers at Antwerp, and became their Chaplain. During his residence there, which was for many years, he associated much with William Tyndale and Miles Coverdale, by whose means he attained to a better knowledge of Christian doctrine, and assisted them in preparing the English Bible known as "the Translation of Matthewe." Having learned from the word of God that priestly celibacy was contrary to the divine law, he married, and proceeded to Wittemberg, where he soon attained to so much proficiency in German, as to be called to take charge of a Lutheran congregation. Under Edward VI. he returned to England, and received from Ridley a prebend in St. Paul's, with an appointment to read the divinity lesson there. On Sunday, August 6th, 1553, while Queen Mary was yet in the Tower, he preached at Paul's-Cross, earnestly exhorting the people to beware of "pestilent Popery, idolatry, and superstition." The Council summoned him to answer for the sermon, and confined him prisoner in his own house, whence Bonner sent him to Newgate, where he remained for more than a year, together with murderers and thieves, until his appearance before the Commissioners (January 22d, 1555). Gardiner offered him the choice of mercy or justice; mercy if he would be again united to the Church of Rome, or justice if he persisted in schism. The conversations, as recorded by himself, were little becoming the dignity of a judicial court, the interlocutors desiring nothing more than to put him to death, as a person already marked for execution. When it was evidently impossible to induce him to recant, the Chancellor read the sentence condemnatory, of which the most remarkable part is a profession of "sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart," borrowed, no doubt, from the certificate of conviction of Joan Bocher, addressed by Cranmer to the King, where the very same words occur, as we believe, for the first time in such a document, and, no doubt, express the feeling excited in the bosom of the Archbishop when his humanity and conscience revolted against an inveterate conviction that such heretics ought to die.

* "John Rogers appears to have been the son of a father of the same name, and born, not in Lancashire, as it has sometimes been stated, but in Warwickshire, at Deritend, in the immediate vicinity of Birmingham."—Anderson, Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii., p. 286.

Rogers would not yield the least point, but asked Gardiner a single favour,—permission to speak with his wife, a foreigner, and soon to be a widow with ten fatherless children: for he would fain "counsel her what were best for her to do." "No," quoth he, "she is not thy wife." Entreaty and remonstrance were unavailing: the request was brutally denied. Bishop Hooper, who was condemned the same day, and he, were taken from the Chancellor's presence to the Clink in Southwark, and thence, after dark, each in the custody of a Sheriff, led through Southwark and the city into Newgate. Early on the following Monday morning, the keeper's wife came into his cell, aroused him from a sound sleep, and bade him make haste and prepare for the fire. "Then," said he, "if it be so, I need not tie my points," and so was taken to Bonner to be degraded. That ceremony being finished, he asked of Bonner what Gardiner had refused,—permission to speak with his wife. It was again denied, and the Sheriffs hurried him away to Smithfield. One of them asked him to revoke his abominable doctrine, reviled him as a heretic, and said he would not pray for him. "But," answered Rogers, "I will pray for *you*." He proceeded on the way, reciting a penitential psalm; and the people cheered him as he went. A pardon awaited him at the stake, on condition that he would revoke. His wife stood there, with the ten children, one hanging on her breast; but, unconquered by pleadings of natural affection, and by love of life, he endured the fire, even seemed to be above pain, and, in the hottest of the burning, raised his arms as if to receive the ascending flames (February 4th).

While the leaven of Gospel truth was penetrating the mass of English society, notwithstanding the hostility of men in power, Laurence Saunders, a youth of honourable parentage, successfully prosecuted his studies at Eton, and afterwards in King's College, Cambridge. Together with secular learning he acquired a knowledge of that pure religion which had many witnesses in Cambridge; and, being so prepared for the service of his heavenly Master, returned to the place of his birth. That he might learn to make good use of a handsome patrimony, he was bound apprentice, by his widowed mother, with Sir William Chester, a wealthy merchant of London. But God appointed otherwise; and the merchant, a man of high integrity, perceiving his distaste of commercial occupations, and devotion to study and prayer, gave him back his indenture, and, with the approbation of his friends, he returned to college, made considerable proficiency in Greek and Hebrew, and then gave himself entirely to the study of the holy Scriptures, hoping to become a preacher of the truth that had wrought in him, by the energy of its divine Author, an entire change of heart. Early in the reign of Edward, he obtained a licence to preach, then a lectureship at Fotheringay, in a college soon afterwards dissolved, and, after its dissolution, lectured in Lichfield minster. Fervent piety, attested by holy conversation, gave weight to his theological teaching; and he soon obtained the benefice of Church-Langton, in Leicestershire, where he laboured with fidelity, until removed to the All-Hallows, in Bread-street, London. The death of King Edward determined him to retain both benefices, in

order to prevent, if possible, the occupation of either pulpit by a Popish preacher; and he preached, with redoubled earnestness, against the reviving superstition. At Northampton he gave so great offence, by a faithful sermon, to the adherents of the Queen, that his friends advised him to flee from England; but, unwilling to lay down the charge at a time when the truth of Christ alone could save this country, although it was no longer safe to be at Langton, he determined to use the last opportunity, and set out for London, hoping to minister to his parishioners in Bread-street. Within a short distance from London, Sir John Mordant, a Councillor of the Queen, overtook him, joined in company, ascertained that he intended to preach next day (Sunday), and significantly admonished him to refrain from doing so; but no sooner had they separated than Mordant went to Bonner, and informed him that Saunders, whom he had heard preach heretically in All-Hallows, intended to preach there again the next day. For his part, he went to his lodgings, expecting to suffer persecution, and only anxious to preach Christ, if it were but once more, at whatever cost. "I am in prison," said he, "till I be in prison,"—unquiet until his soul could be disburdened by once more offering salvation to dying sinners.

The Lord's day came, and no official forbade him to proceed. He therefore ascended the pulpit, and preached to his flock from these words of St. Paul: "'I have coupled you to one man, that ye should make yourselves a chaste virgin unto Christ. But I fear, lest it come to pass, that as the serpent beguiled Eve, even so your wits should be corrupt from the singleness which ye had towards Christ.' He recited a sum of that true Christian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive of him free justification through faith in his blood. The Papistical doctrine he compared to the serpent's deceiving; and, lest they should be deceived by it, he made a comparison between the voice of God and the voice of the Popish serpent; descending to more particular declaration thereof, as it were, to let them plainly see the difference that is between the order of the Church service set forth by King Edward in the English tongue, and comparing it with the Popish service then used in the Latin tongue." * Here was an overt act of disobedience to the ruling power; Bonner was informed of it, no doubt; and when the preacher returned in the afternoon, one of the Bishop's officers was there, and summoned him, on pain of disobedience and contumacy, to appear forthwith before his master. In a few minutes Laurence Saunders found himself in Bonner's palace, in company, again, with Sir John Mordant and some Chaplains, having Bonner at their head. The Bishop pronounced him guilty of treason for breaking the Queen's proclamation, and of heresy and sedition in the sermon. It was heresy, he insisted, to teach that that administration is the most pure which comes nearest to the order of the primitive church, whereas the church was rude and imperfect in the times of Christ and the Apostles; but perfection came later, and the Church of Rome is therefore greater and better than the church of the New Testament. His Lordship, after long debate, bade

* Foxe.

Saunders write what he believed as to transubstantiation. He did so, saying, "My Lord, ye do seek my blood, and ye shall have it. I pray God that ye may be so baptized in it, that ye may thereafter loathe blood-sucking, and become a better man." The spiritual Judge then sent him to the temporal. In an ante-chamber of the Lord Chancellor's mansion, the condemned preacher found gentlemen of the household gambling, with one of his Chaplains, it being then Sunday evening. After some time, Gardiner came home from court, despatched several suitors in about half an hour, and then came into the room where Saunders stood waiting, took his seat at the table, and having perused a paper presented by the person who had brought him, asked, "Where is the man?" Saunders approached, and, in the usual manner of a Clergyman towards an ecclesiastical superior, knelt down. The Chancellor questioned him harshly as to his preaching, notwithstanding the Queen's proclamation. He replied, that "forsomuch as he saw the perilous times now at hand, he did but according as he was admonished and warned by Ezekiel the Prophet, —exhort his flock and parishioners to persevere and stand steadfastly in the doctrine which they had learned; saying, also, that he was moved and pricked forward thereunto by the place of the Apostle, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than man; and, moreover, that nothing more moved or stirred him thereunto than his own conscience." Gardiner derided the plea of conscience: Saunders ventured to remind him, that, as to the supremacy, he had written a book, to get the favour of Henry VIII., wherein he had plainly declared Mary to be a bastard. This was unanswerable: therefore Gardiner closed the conversation with, "Carry away this phrensy fool to prison." "I thank God," said Saunders, "which hath given me at last a place of rest and quietness, where I may pray for your conversion."

Fifteen months passed away before it was deemed expedient to put any more of the Gospellers to death. It was not yet decided what measure of blood should be spilt, nor how the amount of terror should be adapted to the degree of weakness, or of resistance in the public. This was frequently debated in Council; and the following answer of Mary to the Minute of Council is an example of the coolness of that woman in contemplation of the sanguinary work:—"Touching the punishment of heretics, we thinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving, in the meantime, to do justice to such as, by learning, would seem to deceive the simple: and the rest so to be used that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion: by which they shall both understand the truth, and beware not to do the like. And, especially within London, I would wish none to be burnt without some of the Council's presence; and both there and everywhere, good sermons at the same time." * Here is the prudent suspension of the stroke, the selection of the most learned and eminent as first victims, and the wholesale slaughter of the rest, over a great part of England, that should follow.

* Collier, Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii., p. 371.

The entire plan was thus concerted, and thus carried into execution. Saunders was one of the first class: his learning and influence were considerable. From the Marshalsea he had written letters of argument and remonstrance to his persecutors, and of encouragement to his "companions in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ." His conduct, meanwhile, was most exemplary; and his firmness rose in proportion to the nearness of the final proof. It is related, that one day his wife came to the prison-gate, wishing to visit her husband, with their youngest child in her arms. The keeper durst not admit her, but, taking the babe, carried him to his father. Laurence Saunders never more felt himself to be a father. He "rejoiced more to have such a boy than if two thousand pounds were given him;" and to a company of prisoners who gathered round him, he appealed whether a man ought not rather to lose his life than prolong it by adjudging such a child to be a bastard, and his mother a dishonest woman. "Yea, if there were no other cause for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it, to avow this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?" His interviews with the Commissioners resembled those of his companions. They were not examined, or tried, but interrogated whether they would or would not come back to the Church of Rome. While waiting in the street for his fellow-prisoners, that they might all be taken away together, he exhorted the people to forsake Antichrist, and turn to Christ. The Sheriff of London then took him to the Compter in Bread-street, where, as he had preached to his parishioners from the pulpit, so his imprisonment among them testified more powerfully than ever; and in the short remaining interval he wrote them a letter in language of extraordinary earnestness and piety. It was addressed to his wife, "and all his fellow-heirs of the everlasting kingdom," and concluded thus: "Be most careful, good wife; cast your care upon the Lord, and commend me unto him in repentant prayer, as I do you and our Samuel; whom, even at the stake, I will offer as myself unto God. Fare ye well, all in Christ, in hope to be joined with you in joy everlasting: this hope is put up in my bosom. Amen, Amen, Amen! Praised be the Lord. Pray, pray!" During those last few days he wrote many shorter letters, which were widely distributed. At last Bonner, perhaps to save the trouble of a public ceremony, or to avoid too much publicity, came to the Compter, and there degraded him from the priesthood. Yet he was not of *their* priesthood, having been ordained under Edward VI.; and when the Bishop had finished, he said, "I thank God, I am none of your Church." The Sheriff then delivered him to a party of the Queen's guard, to be taken to Coventry, there to be burnt. Clad in an old gown and shirt only, and bare-footed, they led him out of that town towards the place of execution. Several times, on the way, he fell prostrate on the ground and prayed; and after enduring much offensive language from the officer appointed to oversee the burning, who offered him the Queen's pardon if he would revoke his heresies, he quickened his pace, embraced the stake, kissed it, and said, "Welcome, the cross of Christ! Welcome, everlasting life!"

They burned him with green wood; but, standing erect, and without audible complaint of pain, he fell asleep in the Lord (February 8th).

Another martyr, and of higher station in the Church, followed Saunders into the world of life. John Hooper, graduate in the University of Oxford, was there brought to knowledge of the truth. On the enactment of the law of the "Six Articles," in the reign of Henry VIII., finding himself marked for persecution, he left the place, and became house-steward to Sir Thomas Arundel,* who discovered his doctrine to be that of the Reformation, and sent him to Gardiner, with a letter, of the contents of which he knew nothing, "to be taught better." Hooper was retained for four or five days in Gardiner's house, with whom he had long conferences, but returned to Sir Thomas as true a Gospeller as ever; and, having an intimation that force would be employed after the failure of argument, he made his way to the sea-side, and embarked for France. After a short stay in Paris, he returned to England, and found a situation similar to that which he had occupied in the household of Sir Thomas Arundel; but soon heard that persons were watching opportunity to apprehend him for heresy, and, disguising himself as Captain of an Irish vessel, got out to sea, altered his course for the Continent, and escaped, by way of France, into Switzerland and Germany. At Zurich he married; and also departed from the customs of Romish Priests in another way, by diligently studying Hebrew. On the accession of Edward VI., he prepared to return to England, to the regret of his friends at Zurich. They honoured him with a solemn valediction, when Bullinger, in the name of the rest, entreated him not to forget them in happy England, when, as they predicted, he should rise to honour, and perhaps become a Bishop. He promised that they should often hear from him; but, probably considering that so great a Reformation could not be effected in England until after many struggles, added, as he grasped the hand of Bullinger, "The last news of all I shall not be able to write; for there, where I take the most pains, there shall you hear of me to be burned to ashes. And that shall be the last news which I shall not be able to write unto you; but you shall hear it of me." When he really became Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and received his arms from the herald, they were, probably by his own choice, a lamb in a burning bush, with sunbeams falling on it. This represented the same idea. As a preacher he was exceedingly popular. His benevolence was only bounded by his means; and, in diligence, as well as hospitality and every other virtue, he was a model worthy of imitation by every Bishop. But his manners were grave, almost to austerity; and his long persistence in refusing to wear episcopal vestments, at a time when the greater questions of doctrine and discipline ought to have engaged the undivided care of all parties, can scarcely be commended. Ridley and he led the controversy on opposite sides; but, under persecution and in martyrdom, became fully reconciled. At Frankfort and at Gloucester, while intervals of rest from external persecution were wasted in con-

* Afterwards beheaded as accessory to the alleged crimes of the Duke of Somerset.

tentions about forms and vestments, lessons were prepared for extreme parties in every age, that should rebuke the bigotry of licence, as well as the bigotry of ceremonial and of system. But Hooper, when Bishop, proved his *sincerity* by a course of self-denying faithfulness that, even if his name had not been enrolled in our Martyrologies, would have placed him high above censure as a man of God.

No sooner was Mary crowned, than Dr. Heath, who had been deprived on account of Papistry, was reappointed to the see of Worcester and Gloucester, and Hooper was summoned to answer to a charge of having injured Bonner, when convicted of disobedience in the preceding reign, Hooper being one of his accusers. He disdained to flee, immediately went up to London, was seized on his first appearance, and taken before the Queen and Council. Under pretence that he owed some sums of money to the crown, he was thrown into the Fleet (September 1st, 1553). On entering that prison, he paid, according to custom, a Baron's fee for "the liberty;" but, after three months, found himself restricted to his chamber, persecuted by the warden at the instigation of Gardiner, who owed him a grudge, and locked up in a filthy chamber, with a ditch stagnant on one side, and a sewer on the other. There he sickened, and often moaned and cried for help; but the warden would not suffer any of his men to afford him the attendance for which exorbitant fees had been exacted. His next trial was from the insolence of Gardiner and his fellow Commissioners, before whom he appeared (March 19th, 1554) to answer on charges of heresy. Gardiner first asked if he was married; to whom he answered, "Yea, my Lord; and will not be unmarried till death unmarry me." A person present endeavoured to take notes of their proceedings; but every attempt to justify his belief was clamoured down with so much uproar, that it was impossible for him to be heard. Again, on January 22d, (1555,) and two other days, he was brought from prison to the Bishop of Winchester, together with his brethren Rogers and Saunders, and offered the usual choice of life or death; but he refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Pope, and the Bishops told him that the Queen would show no mercy to the Pope's enemies. He was, therefore, condemned, and, with Rogers, taken to the Clink until after dark, when they might be secretly taken to Newgate. One of the Sheriffs then took Hooper in charge, attended by a strong party with "bills and weapons," and preceded by Sergeants, who put out the costermongers' candles, at that time the only luminaries that broke the pitchy darkness of a London street, lest people should recognise him, and rescue him by force. But a report of their procedure had gone before the Sergeants, people listened for their approach, came out into the streets with candles, respectfully saluted the good Bishop, praised God for his constancy in the true doctrine that he had taught them, and prayed that he might have grace to persevere therein unto the end. He bade them persevere in that prayer; and so passed through Cheapside to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained six days. Bonner, Fecknam, Chedsey,

Harpsfield, and others, troubled him with many visits, almost every person but themselves being excluded, and, assuming the language of friendship, laboured to bring him to recantation. They even raised a report that he had recanted, and the tale began to be believed; until, hearing of it, he wrote a letter, addressed to "his dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, and fellow-prisoners for the cause of God's Gospel," to assure them of his unwavering readiness to suffer death, thereby to confirm the truth he had taught with his tongue and with his pen. The last visit of Bonner to Newgate, on his account, was to degrade him and Rogers in the chapel; and, in the evening of the same day, his keeper told him that he would be sent to Gloucester to suffer death. He received the intelligence with joy that he should be permitted to confirm, by his death, the people of Gloucester whom he had instructed in the truth, and, thanking God for this, doubted not but He would give him strength to perform the same to His glory. That no time might be lost, he sent for his boots, spurs, and cloak, and held himself in readiness to ride when required. Still dreading daylight, the keeper and his men awoke him at four o'clock next morning, when they searched his person and his bed for writings, but found none: the Sheriffs of London and their officers led him out of Newgate to a place near St. Dunstan's church in Fleet-street, where six of the Queen's guards were waiting to receive him, and take him to Gloucester. At Gloucester the Sheriffs, Lord Chandos, Master Wicks, and others, were appointed to see execution done. The guards took him to the "Angel," where horses were waiting, and there he breakfasted heartily, and, having a hood on his head, that he might not be known, mounted a horse about day-break, and rode away cheerfully towards Gloucester (Tuesday, February 5th). About five o'clock in the evening of the Thursday following, he approached Gloucester. A mile out of town a multitude of people met him, wept aloud, and filled the air with lamentations. One of the guards, in alarm, galloped into Gloucester, and required aid of the Mayor and Sheriffs, who mustered all force available, marched out at the gate, and drove the people to their houses. But no one had attempted violence. They took him to the house of one Ingram, where he ate supper in silence, slept soundly the first sleep, and then rose, and spent the remainder of the night in prayer; when, to be delivered from the presence of the guard, who were all in the same room with him, he obtained permission to occupy an adjoining chamber, and passed the day alone in meditation and prayer, except when taking a hasty meal, or exchanging a few words with such as the guards would allow to see him.

One of these visiters was Sir Anthony Kingston, formerly an intimate friend, now one of the Commissioners appointed by the Queen to burn him. After the first salutation, Sir Anthony began, as usual, to solicit him to consider that life is sweet, and death bitter. He thanked his old friend, and proceeded to show his estimate of life.—"True it is, Master Kingston, that death is bitter, and life is sweet: but, alas! consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet. Therefore, for the desire and love I have to the one,

and the terror and fear of the other, I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life; but have settled myself, through the strength of God's Holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of his word; desiring you, and others, in the mean time, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers." Sir Anthony attempted no more persuasion; but professed that, by means of the Bishop's teaching, he had forsaken and detected his former sins. "If you have had the grace so to do," said his spiritual father, "I do highly praise God for it; and if you have not, I pray God ye may have, and that you may continually live in his fear." Hooper wept abundantly, telling Sir Anthony that all the troubles of his hard imprisonment had not caused him to give such an expression of sorrow.

From the Queen's guards he was now to be delivered over to the Sheriffs of Gloucester, Jenkins and Bond, who, with the Mayor and Aldermen, repaired to his lodging. The Mayor gave him his hand. The Sheriffs made somewhat more of their office. The guards treated him with reverence. With unaffected dignity he reminded the Mayor of his former station in Gloucester, as a Bishop appointed by the godly King Edward. "And now, Master Sheriffs, I understand by these good men, and my very friends," (the guard,) "at whose hands I have found so much favour and gentleness, by the way hitherward, as a prisoner could reasonably require,—for the which also I most heartily thank them,—that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must see me brought, to-morrow, to the place of execution. My request, therefore, to you shall be only, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end; and, in the mean time, I will be as obedient unto you as yourselves would wish. If you think I do amiss in anything, hold up your finger, and I have done." He then descanted on the cause for which he was about to die, most of them weeping as they heard; but the two Sheriffs, more intent on courting royal favour than on discharging the obligations of humanity, went aside to consult, and determined to lodge him in Northgate, the common jail. Here the guard interposed, declared that "any child might keep him well enough," and that they would rather stay and watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison. For very shame the Sheriffs could not but yield; and he was suffered to lodge in the same house for one more night, and allowed undisturbed retirement, that he might pour out his soul to God in prayer. At eight o'clock next morning came the Commissioners, but waited an hour, as if dreading the moment wherein they should have to discharge their office; and it was not until the Sheriffs were near at hand that they gave him the signal to prepare. The Sheriffs, sparing not, hastened to his chamber, and brought him out. Finding himself surrounded by a large body of armed men, he rebuked the vain parade: "Master Sheriffs," said he, "I am no traitor; neither needed you to have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer. For if ye had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and troubled none of you all." Seven thousand

people, as it was estimated, were waiting to see their beloved Bishop for the last time,—not to hear him, for he had been forbidden to speak. So he went forward, led between the two Sheriffs, wearing a gown of his host's, his hat on his head, and helping himself onward with a staff, being disabled by sciatica, caught in the Fleet prison. The multitude only broke silence by sobs, a sound that rose with heart-rending solemnity,—a dirge of lamentation. He said nothing; but, on recognising familiar countenances, gave them cheerful smiles, for he could not be sad: the divine gift of constancy, the power over death, bestowed on him that day, raised him above sadness. "Near unto the great elm-tree, over against the College of Priests, where he was wont to preach," the stake was most appropriately planted. Every surrounding space was full of spectators. Even the elm-tree bent its boughs under the living load. In the chamber over the college-gate stood the Priests of the college.

A death-like silence brooded over the throng. The martyr gazed upon the stake, and smiled a welcome. Speech was forbidden; yet he would fain pray. Six or seven times he beckoned to one whom he well knew, and who at length ventured to approach. Hooper rested his head on his shoulder, and, in a very low voice, so that this friend alone could hear, put words of confession into the form of prayer, trusting that, after his departure, that testimony might be related. In a few moments a small box was brought and laid before him, containing the Queen's pardon, if he would recant; but, shuddering at the sight, he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it! If you love my soul, away with it!" The box was removed, and the Lord Chandos, irritated, gave orders to the executioners, "Seeing there is no remedy, despatch him quickly." "Good, my Lord," Hooper ventured to reply, "I trust your Lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers." Chandos gruffly bade the young man* who was listening to his prayer take heed that he did nothing but pray, or he would quickly despatch him. One or two drew near to listen, and heard a few sentences of profound humiliation, and most child-like trust. But they were driven away. Prayer being ended, he undressed himself, partially, for the stake, wishing to avoid unseemly exposure. But the greedy Sheriffs would leave him nothing but his shirt, counting, no doubt, on the price that relics of such a man might bring them. They stripped him of their perquisite. Then he was fastened to the stake with iron hoops, and being tall, and made to stand on an elevation, could survey the dense crowd that stood around. Lifting up his hands and eyes towards heaven, again he prayed, but silently, until interrupted by the man appointed to make the fire, who came to ask him forgiveness for the deed. "Therein," said he, "thou dost not offend me. God forgive thee thy sins; and do thine office, I pray thee." The reeds were then brought: he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, drew one under each arm, and directed the executioner how to pile the rest. He had asked but one favour,—dry wood. But the Sheriffs had sent two heavy horse-loads of green faggots, and

* Edmund, son of Sir Edmund Bridges.

did the pleasure of their royal mistress by protracting his bodily torment. He lived in the fire three quarters of an hour; but, to borrow the language of his own prayer, God strengthened him of his goodness, that he broke not the rules of patience; or, He assuaged the terror of the pains. To Him be the glory! (February 9th, 1555.)

But this first company of martyrs is not yet complete. The market-town of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, was one of the first that received the Gospel in those times. The venerable Bilney preached there, and taught the inhabitants to apply to the holy Scriptures as the rule of faith and guide of life. They did as he advised; and many of them had often read the sacred volume through. Their memory was enriched with its sentences; and so skilled were they, both old and young, servants as well as masters, that "the whole town seemed rather a university of the learned, than a town of cloth-making or labouring people;" and the conduct of the inhabitants was, generally, in correspondence to their religious knowledge. The Parson of Hadleigh was Dr. Rowland Taylor, Doctor of Canon and Civil Law, and a good theologian. Preferring the duties of a country cure, he quitted the household of Archbishop Cranmer, and, in that quiet town, presented a lovely example of pastoral diligence. He was one of those happy men in whom piety shines the more as it is adorned by an amiable natural disposition. His parishioners were his family, and they loved him as if he had been their father. During all the reign of Edward VI. he prosecuted his ministerial labours without interruption, and under manifest tokens of the divine blessing; but shortly after the death of Edward, some Popish zealots conspired to invade the parish, and restore the mass. First of all they managed to fit up an altar; but others demolished the erection, and, to their mortification, it had to be set up again. This time it was done by force. One morning, as Dr. Taylor was seated in his study, he heard the bells ring, and, supposing that his presence was required, went to the church, but found the doors barred, the chancel-door excepted, which he opened, and, to his amazement, saw "a Popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad, new-shaven crown," just proceeding to say mass, and guarded by a company of armed men. Startled and indignant at the forcible intrusion of those men into his church, he exclaimed, "Thou devil!* who made thee so bold to enter into this church of Christ to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry?" One Foster, a sort of petty gentleman, an empiric lawyer, a mere litigious peddler, who had undertaken to introduce the Priest with his mass, started up, and retorted, "Thou traitor! what dost thou here, to let and disturb the Queen's proceedings?" The intruders had power on their side, and Dr. Taylor was forcibly ejected from his own church. His wife, who had followed him, was thrust out into the churchyard; the chancel-door was fastened, to keep out the people, who began to collect, and were not again suffered to enjoy the Reformed worship until after the death of Mary; and the inci-

* Besides the force of sudden provocation, the rude style of those times may extenuate this impropriety of language. Let him who censures put himself in Dr. Taylor's place.

dent stands as an example of the violence used by Papists for the repairing of their system.

Foster and one of his accomplices forthwith complained of Dr. Taylor in a letter to the Lord Chancellor, who sent a missive to the Doctor, commanding him, on his allegiance, to appear before him in London. Gardiner was too well known for Dr. Taylor's friends not to dread his appearing there; and they entreated him to go out of England: but he told them that he was already old, and had lived too long, since such evil days were come upon them; that they might flee, and would be justified in escaping certain persecution, but that his duty was to beard the Bishop, and tell him he did naught, than which, he believed, he could not do a better service. A good old Priest, Richard Yeoman, took charge of his flock, and was afterward burnt at Norwich. A townsman of Hadleigh, named Alcock, used to go daily to the church after Yeoman was driven away, and read a chapter in the English Bible, and the Litany in English. He, too, was apprehended, and died in Newgate.

Dr. Taylor went to London without loss of time, attended by an old and faithful servant, John Hull, and presented himself before the Lord Chancellor. Gardiner received him with characteristic brutality. "Knave! traitor! villain! Art thou come, thou villain? Knowest thou who I am?"—"Yes; I know who you are: ye are Dr. Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor; and yet but a mortal man, I trow. But, if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear not you God, the Lord of us all? How dare ye, for shame, look any Christian man in the face, seeing ye have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will ye appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and answer to your oath, made first unto that blessed King, Henry VIII., of famous memory, and afterward unto blessed King Edward VI., his son?" Gardiner must have been stunned for a moment by the force of those just interrogations; but, on recovery, having an unconquerable propensity to talk, fell into disputation with his prisoner, and endeavoured to exculpate himself. From this he proceeded to accuse him of resisting the Parson of Aldham, in Hadleigh church, when saying mass; taunted him on his marriage, which the godly Priest defended like a man, a husband, a father, and a Christian; and wrangled with him about the real presence. His ire or his patience being exhausted, he ended by calling to his men, "Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper he be straitly kept." Dr. Taylor then knelt down and prayed: "Good Lord, I thank thee; and from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord, deliver us; and God be praised for good King Edward." To the King's Bench they took him; and there he lay for about two years. With the others, as already described, he was brought before Gardiner and the Commissioners, rejected their offer of life, was sentenced to be delivered over to the secular arm as a heretic, taken to the Clink until dark, and thence removed to the Compter in the Poultry. Thither came Bon-

ner, on the 4th of February (1555), the day on which he made a round for the degradation of Hooper, Rogers, and Saunders, and proceeded to degrade Taylor also. After asking him, as usual, to repent, and receiving a prompt refusal, "Well," quoth the Bishop, "I am come to degrade you: wherefore, put on these vestures,"—a suit of priestly robes. "No," said Taylor; "I will not."—"Wilt thou not? I shall make thee, ere I go."—"You shall not, by the grace of God." However, they were put on perforce; and, when fully arrayed, he set his hands on his sides, and, walking up and down, said, "How say you, my Lord? Am I not a goodly fool? How say you, my masters? If I were in Cheap, should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys, and toying trumpery?" Bonner tore off the vestments canonically, scraped his fingers and thumbs, obliterated the tonsure, and so unmade the Priest. By this time Bonner was hot for an assault, and was raising his crosier to strike the excommunicate, when his Chaplain, rightly estimating the comparative powers of the two, stayed his courage by exclaiming, "My Lord, strike him not; for he will sure strike again."—"Yea, by St. Peter, will I," said Dr. Taylor; and Bonner slunk back. Then, assuming another tone, satisfied that, if he was degraded ceremonially, the choleric Bishop was degraded in reality, and sufficiently humbled, he closed the colloquy with such words as these: "Though you do curse me, yet God doth bless me. I have the witness of my conscience that ye have done me wrong and violence; and yet I pray God, if it be his will, to forgive you. But from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us!" The bearing of Dr. Taylor was certainly not so lovely as that of Bishop Hooper, Bilney, and many other holy martyrs; but it displayed the frankness of an honest indignation that commands respect, with an admirable, self-collected boldness. But, to know Dr. Taylor, we must see him in the bosom of his family.*

He thanked God that he was married, and had nine children, all in lawful matrimony; an honour which thousands of vassaled Priests would, at this moment, rejoice to own. He was a good father, and a noble husband. Bonner had scarcely turned his back, when the keeper of the prison—for the keepers of the Queen's prisoners were generally as kind as they durst be, not so the jailers of the Bishops—

* The blessing of God rested on that family. "Samuel Taylor, Vicar of Quinton," in Staffordshire, one of those four Ministers who met with the Rev. John Wesley in his first Conference (A.D. 1744), a devout and zealous preacher in highways and hedges, shared with the first Methodists in labours and reproach, in Quinton, Wednesbury, Darlaston, and other parts of the county. When surrounded with danger in the prosecution of his mission, he derived strength from the example of his martyred ancestor, and is said once to have exclaimed, "Were I but called to the honour of martyrdom, *as my great-grandfather was*, I trust that I should be able to stand in the day of trial, and, like him, go through the flames to glory." As long as Mr. Taylor was alive, his pulpit was open to Mr. Wesley, and for some time afterwards. A "house" was then erected, which yet stands in nearly its original condition; and thus the Vicar of Quinton is recalled to memory as a living link between the religious revivals of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, between the Reformation under Edward VI. and early Methodism. How far is the latter to be attributed to the prayer and faith that made the former so glorious? For a notice of this descendant of our martyr, see the Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine for April, 1850

admitted his wife, one of his children, and the trusty servant, John Hull, to sup with him. As soon as they had entered they all knelt down together and prayed, saying the English Litany. After supper they walked up and down in the prison-house, talking together for the last time, almost, on earth. The good man thanked God for his grace, that had so strengthened him, and, turning to his son Thomas, said, "My dear son, Almighty God bless thee, and give thee his Holy Spirit to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his truth, all thy life long. And, my son, see that thou fear God always. Flee from all sin and wicked living: be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply thy book. In any wise, see that thou be obedient to thy mother, love her and serve her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsels in all things." After some further exhortation, he addressed his wife: "My dear wife, continue steadfast in the fear and love of God: keep yourself undefiled from their Popish idolatries and superstitions. I have been unto you a faithful yokefellow, and so have you been unto me; for the which I pray God to reward you, and doubt not, dear wife, but God will reward it." A few more sentences of counsel were all that he could give. They surrendered each other to God, knelt down again, and prayed. He gave her a copy of King Edward's Prayer-Book, that he had used during two years in prison; and to his son a Latin book, containing sentences of the old martyrs, extracted from the *Ecclesiastica Historia;* and, after one more embrace, they parted, not expecting other converse until the resurrection of the just. About two o'clock in the morning the Sheriff of London and his officers came to the prison, and, careful to show no light, brought out Dr. Taylor, and led him, without noise, to the "Woolsack," an inn, without Aldgate. But there were watchful ears, that the Sheriff's art could not elude. Just as they were passing by St. Botolph's porch, a child's voice startled them: "O, my dear father! Mother! mother! here is my father led away." It was little Elisabeth. The mother, and two daughters, expecting that he would be taken by that way, were grouped within the porch, trusting to catch a *sound* of him, if not a sight. Then cried his wife, "Rowland! Rowland! where art thou?" for it was extremely dark. "Dear wife, I am here," said he. The Sheriff had not the heart to drag him away, but bade his men stop. She came to him; so did Elisabeth and Mary. They knelt down together, Mary being locked in her father's arms, and, with united voices, as when they had each day approached God around their hearth at Hadleigh, recited the Lord's prayer aloud. Emotions that could not create utterance in any other language, breathed in that divine sentence,—"OUR FATHER!" Even the Sheriff burst into tears; nor could the sturdy guards refrain from weeping. After they had prayed, he kissed his wife, and, clasping her hand, said, "Farewell, my dear wife. Be of good comfort; for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children.—God bless thee, Mary, and make thee his servant.—God bless thee, Elisabeth. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast unto Christ and his word, and keep you from idolatry." The father imprinted, with

his blessing, a kiss on the moistened cheek of each fatherless girl,—for he was to be no longer theirs in this world,—heard his wife say, "God be with thee, Rowland; I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadleigh." They led him to the Woolsack; his wife and daughters lingered after them; but there could be no further interview, except that, next morning, on leaving the inn, he saw his son Thomas in the crowd, called him, had him lifted on his horse, gave him his blessing, showed him to the bystanders as his lawful son, and, as a married Priest, blessed God for lawful matrimony.

The Sheriff of Essex conducted him to Chelmsford. At that place the Sheriff of Suffolk received his charge,—a venerable Minister of Christ, long known and honoured in the country, now a prisoner, set on horseback, with a close hood over his head, with slits for the eyes and mouth, that he might not be recognised and rescued. That precaution was taken by the Sheriff at Brentwood, and betrayed a consciousness of danger from the men of Essex; for people there began to recognise the Doctor, and show him honour. Both at Chelmsford and at Lavenham—where a numerous company of Justices and other gentlemen, well mounted and armed, came by appointment to aid the Sheriff—much persuasion was tried to divert him from his constancy; life, honour, even a bishopric, was offered him, if he would submit to the Romish Church; but, resting on Christ, as on a rock immovable, he abode unshaken. After two days' delay at Lavenham, the cavalcade set out for Aldham, beyond Hadleigh, where he was to suffer. When within two miles of his own town, he obtained permission to dismount, and, to the amazement of the armed magistracy, who were waiting on their horses, leaped and danced with joy. "Why, Master Doctor," quoth the Sheriff, "how do you now?"—"Well, God be praised, good Master Sheriff, never better; for now I know I am almost at home. I lack not two stiles to go over, and I am even at my father's house." His heart never failed. Throughout the journey he had been right merry, singing hymns and psalms, and now rejoiced that he should once more pass through Hadleigh, and exchange salutations with his beloved parishioners. The streets were crowded with people, through whom the horsemen made their way; and loud were the cries of sorrow and sentences of blessing poured on him by people, from town and country; but loudest far the recognitions of the poor. He had ever been the rich men's almoner for them; and, although he might have bestowed on his own family, now homeless, the remainder of moneys in his possession,—for they were poor,—he had carefully reserved it, and, on approaching the town, put it in a glove, which he threw in at a window of the almshouses in passing.

They were soon on Aldham Common, which, amidst the close-pressed retinue of horse, and under the dark hood, he scarcely knew. The people were keeping pace, and collecting from all the country round; and, as the guards halted thus amidst the crowd, he asked where they were, and what meant that concourse. "This is Aldham Common," said one, "the place where you must suffer; and people are come to look upon you."—"Thanked be God," said he, "I am even at home," and, alighting, with both hands rent off the hood, and

disclosed his ancient face, with silvery beard, and hair jagged by the scissors of Bishop Bonner, pitiful to look upon. The sight so wrought upon the multitude, that they burst into a loud and continuous wailing; and, as the cry subsided, well-familiar voices from the flock greeted their smitten shepherd: "God save thee, good Dr. Taylor!—Jesus Christ strengthen thee and help thee!—the Holy Ghost comfort thee." He would have answered. He began to speak; but the yeomen brandished their tipstaves, and the Sheriff reminded him that he had promised the Council not to speak to the people; for the Council, if report be true, had extorted that promise from all the martyrs, under a threat of cutting out their tongues. "Well," he answered, "promise must be kept." So he sat down and undressed himself, all except his shirt, and gave the clothes away; when, forgetting the promise, he rose, looked on the people, and said, with a loud voice, "Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the Holy Bible; and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood." And this was all he could say; for a heavy stroke of a cudgel from the hand of one Homes, a yeoman, who had already dealt brutally with him, put him to silence. Yet he was permitted to pray. Kneeling on the ground, he committed himself to the God of all consolation; and a poor woman of the crowd, passing between the horses, knelt down, and prayed with him. The yeomen raged; but she prayed on. They spurred their horses, and threatened to trample her under the hoofs; but she still prayed on, and, restrained by Him who bowed down his ear to listen, they could not do more than threaten. She mingled her supplications with those of the martyr, who, when he had finished, went readily to the stake, kissed it, got into a pitch-barrel, which they had set for him to stand in, folded his hands, looked up towards his Father's house, and prayed in silence while the Sheriff chained him. The man commanded to bring faggots refused. Two vagabond fellows were employed for that service, of whom the more zealous flung a faggot at his head. As the blood streamed down his face he meekly asked the man, "O, friend, I have harm enough! what needed that?" One of the impatient ruffians shortened his suffering; for, as the fire began to burn, and he was singing, "In God have I put my trust, I will not fear what man can do unto me," he clave his skull with a halbert; and the body fell dead into the fire (February 9th, 1555). His successor in the incumbency of Hadleigh, formerly a Protestant, now a Papist, and afterwards a Protestant again, had made haste to drive Mrs. Taylor and her children out of the parsonage, and was preaching against heresy to the mourning and disgusted population of that town.

Rogers, Hooper, Saunders, and Taylor were thus martyred within six days, in London, Gloucester, Coventry, and Hadleigh, by appointment of the Commissioners, and express desire of the Queen. And on the last of those days, six others received, from the same Commissioners, sentence to be burnt. Yet, on the very day following that sentence, King Philip's Chaplain, Alfonso de Castro, in a sermon preached before His Majesty, inveighed against the Bishops for putting

heretics to death, which he affirmed to be contrary to Scripture. If nothing more were known of the preacher, we might fancy him to be somewhat more enlightened than his brethren, benevolent, and exceeding bold. For punishment of heresy by death was then required by the law of England; the Council had determined that the time was come to execute the law; the Queen had approved of that determination, and signified her approbation in writing, as cited above. And it is certain that Philip and Mary were then desiring the death of Cranmer. But Alfonso was well known as a valiant warrior against heretics. He had written a book "against all heresies," and another book to prove that "all the punishments appointed for heretics in the civil and canon laws were just." In that book, as Bradford expressed it, he had written that it was "not meet nor convenient that heretics should live." The book, in several editions, had then extensive circulation; it was read and quoted all over Europe.* To appoint such a man to preach against burning heretics, was a trickery too gross to blind the public; but it produced a momentary impression, and was intended to provide a loop-hole of retreat, that, if the zeal of Mary should be found to have endangered the throne by its excess, the mercy of Philip might serve to placate England, and enable the Clergy to change their course, under a decent cover of royal interposition. Accordingly, the execution of the last sentence was deferred for about five weeks, until it should be known whether the country would quietly submit to such proceedings. At any rate, the sermon of De Castro contradicted the doctrine of his Church; and, therefore, when a book, printed on the Continent by the refugees, was circulated in England to prove the wickedness of putting people to death on account of religion, some one was employed to write another book to prove the contrary.

As barbarian huntsmen beat the field to rouse game from their coverts, so Bonner set all the Priests of his diocese on the look-out for heretics. The hunt was to be in Lent. Every layman was required to come to confession, or, if troubled with doubts, to apply to a Priest; some more clever Ecclesiastics were appointed to allay scruples, and the "Pastors and Curates of every parish" commanded by their Archdeacons to certify to Bonner, "in writing, of every man and woman's name that had not been so reconciled."

Having waited to observe how far it might be safe to carry his design, he began again by burning Thomas Tomkins, a weaver. This was an uneducated, but deeply pious, man, who might have been sheltered by obscurity of station, had not piety made him conspicuous among his neighbours in Shoreditch. For about six months the Bishop had kept him in prison at Fulham; but, as it was the custom of Ecclesiastics to make the most of their prisoners in busy times, Tomkins was turned out into the hay-field in the summer of 1554,

* The Rev. George Townsend, in his invaluable edition of Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii., pp. 44, 179, 191, 763, provides full evidence, in the absence of Castro's book, which is become exceeding rare, of the character of the Monk and his productions. Dr. Lingard, vol. v., p. 86, affects to partake of the general surprise, and attributes the five weeks' intermission to the effect of De Castro's sermon. But he must have known who the preacher was.

and there worked so much to the satisfaction of his Lordship, that he almost obtained forgiveness of his heresy. Bonner, walking over a hay-field, saw the Gospeller labouring as heartily as if he had been a hired servant, and, throwing himself on a heap of mown grass, beckoned him to come near, and entered into conversation. "Well," began the Bishop, "I like thee well, for thou labourest well: I trust thou wilt be a good Catholic."—"My Lord, St. Paul saith, 'He that doth not labour is not worthy to eat.'" Poor Tomkins could not have appealed to a less welcome authority: Bonner's countenance fell, and he gruffly muttered, "Ah! St. Paul is a great man with thee." The poor prisoner had a beard of six months' growth, which Bonner then made subject of remark, wishing his beard off, that he might look like a Catholic. "My Lord," said the weaver, "before my beard grew I was, I trust, a good Christian; and so I trust to be, my beard being on." The Prelate flew into a rage, seized him by the beard, pulled out a handful, sent him back to his dungeon, and had him shaven there. When his face was healed, solicitations to be a good Catholic were renewed, but without effect; and at last Bonner bethought himself of a stronger argument. One evening, having Harpsfield, his Archdeacon, and other Priests sitting with him in the hall at Fulham, he commanded Tomkins to be brought, and, taking his hand, held it over the flame of a wax candle fed by three or four wicks, that he might understand the pain of burning, and turn good Catholic, to save the whole body. But Tomkins stood firm while Bonner with one hand held his, and with the other applied the flame, until the skin blistered, sinews shrank, veins burst, and the blood spirted into Harpsfield's face, who begged the tormentor to desist. Unsubdued by those savage methods of persuasion, the good man signed a confession of his faith, stood by it in a public examination before Bonner, (February 8th, 1555,) underwent further imprisonment in Newgate, and was burnt in Smithfield (March 16th).

William Hunter, apprentice to a silk-weaver in London, was commanded by the parish Priest to attend mass at Coleman-street, in Easter, 1554, but refused, and was severely threatened. His master, fearing trouble, desired him to quit his house, which he did, and returned to his father at Brentwood. Five or six weeks afterwards, in the chapel of Brentwood, this youth found a Bible laid on a desk, and gladly sat him down to read. He had not long been so employed, when an old man, a Sumner, called Atwell, came in, and abruptly entered into conversation. After giving some angry threats and very hard names, Father Atwell flung out of the chapel, saying that he was not able to reason with him; "but," said he, "I will fetch one straightway which shall talk with thee, I warrant thee, thou heretic." He crossed the way, well knowing where to find a Priest; and, from an alehouse opposite, brought the Vicar of South Weald, Thomas Wood, who found the youth still reading the Bible, picked a quarrelsome controversy with him, and then went away to Sir Anthony Brown, a Justice of the peace, and reported him as a heretic. The Justice sent a Constable to bring up Hunter's father; for the son had not lost a moment in leaving Brentwood. Moved by the threat-

enings of Brown, the father took horse, and rode over the country, for two or three days, in search of the fugitive, whom he found wandering on the highway, brought home, and soon saw taken into custody by the Justice. Thence to Bonner's prison, thence again to Newgate; and, finally, this faithful youth was brought back to Brentwood, and burnt, under the direction of the Sheriff and Sir Anthony Brown (March 26th).

The Consistory, assembled in St. Paul's, (February 9th,) that condemned William Hunter, also consigned to the fire two gentlemen of Essex, Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed. With much difficulty they obtained permission to read a confession of their faith, in the hearing of the Mayor and Sheriffs, who attended officially. They attempted to appeal against the sentence to Cardinal Pole, but without success, and were burnt, the one at Horndon-on-the-Hill, and the other at Rayleigh (March 26th). Sir Anthony Brown was present at Rayleigh, with a company of yeomen, by command, probably fearing that people would prevent the execution.

The county of Essex was highly honoured. At Braintree William Pygott, at Maldon Stephen Knight, received their crowns in martyrdom, (March 28th,) and, at Colchester, John Laurence, a Priest, (March 29th,) all condemned by the same Consistory. The Priest suffered the severest treatment: worn with hunger, and bruised with fetters, he could not walk, but was carried to the stake in a chair, and there consumed. As he sat in the fire, a number of young children gathered around him, and cried aloud, "Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise."

The Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, had promoted Dr. Robert Ferrar to the see of St. David's, in Wales. When the Protector fell, Dr. Ferrar shared in his misfortune, was prosecuted by discontented Priests on frivolous and false charges, and subjected to arrest, under sureties, and heavy fines. On the change of religion in this reign, an accusation of heresy succeeded to former complaints of superstition, covetousness, and folly, and the persecuted Bishop found himself deprived of the bishopric, and again a prisoner in London, whence they sent him into Wales to undergo final examination, and be condemned. Griffith Leyson, Sheriff of the county, presented him in the church of Caermarthen, (February 26th,) before his successor, Henry Morgan, Constantine, one of his old accusers, being public Notary; and left him, as an Ecclesiastic, in charge of the intruded Prelate, who, having transferred him to another keeper, offered him mercy from the King and Queen, if he would submit himself to the laws of the realm, and conform to the unity of the Church. He received the offer in silence, and also refused to answer questions as to marriage of Priests, and transubstantiation, denying the legality of that Commission, he being himself the real Bishop of St. David's. Morgan answered his demurrer by imprisonment; but, although he compelled him to external submission, could not extort subscription to Popish articles,* and, after a succession of tedious formalities, and

* During his imprisonment in the King's Bench he so far gave way as to consent to receive the host next day. But Bradford, his fellow-prisoner, interposed such powerful

in spite of an appeal to the Cardinal Legate, he pronounced him a heretic excommunicate, degraded him, and gave him back to Sheriff Leyson to suffer death. Dr. Ferrar stood unmoved in the fire, until, when life was nearly extinct, the stroke of a cudgel laid him at the foot of the stake. The scene of this martyrdom was in the town of Caermarthen, on the south side of the market-cross (March 30th).

Romanism, like death, levels all ranks. Caermarthen received the ashes of a Bishop, and Cardiff those of a fisherman. When the Welsh began to hear the rumour of emancipation from religious bondage, and confessions of doubt, mingled with avowals of conviction, were uttered in all companies, Rawlins White, long a zealot after the established fashion, conceived a desire to search the Scriptures for himself. His only science lay in hooks and nets. He knew not a letter. But he deputed his little son to acquire the elements of all knowledge, and the child soon became an English reader. Every night, after supper, through summer and winter, the boy read from the Bible, or from some book of wholesome doctrine. Rawlins digested as he heard; and, as his knowledge of holy Scripture increased, his diligence in fishing languished. He had gained the pearl of great price; and, burning with zeal to teach others where to find the heavenly treasure, he went from place to place, an itinerant evangelist, a lay-preacher, opening the way for established ministrations in better times. As to books he was blind; but God compensated for that defect by the gift of a singularly retentive memory, and he could "vouch and rehearse" the text with admirable accuracy. Five years had been spent in this way when King Edward died, and Rawlins gradually refrained from addressing public congregations; but went from house to house, like the Lollards of England in the preceding century, and, with prayer, exhortation, and the evidence of a spotless life, brought many to knowledge of the truth. Persecution approached, and dangers multiplied; but he would not consent to flee; the officers of the town took him, and carried him away to the Bishop of Llandaff, at Chepstow, who lodged him in his own prison for a time, and then, finding that he would neither accept opportunities of escape, nor be divested of the character of a Gospeller, placed him in the Castle of Cardiff. But he was very happy there. Leaving the care of his family with Providence, he preached incessantly to companies of friends who came thither to visit him, ever admonishing them to beware of wolves in sheep's clothing. One year having elapsed, the Bishop had him back again to Chepstow, tried promises and threats to bring him to recantation, and failed in all. However, the Bishop was constrained to persevere, or yield himself as an abettor of heresy. On an appointed day, therefore, he went, with his Chaplains, to the episcopal chapel, and, in the presence of the congregation, offered Rawlins the last alternative. The unhappy Bishop could not rise above his bonds, and knew not how to break them. The fisherman would not wreck his conscience;

dissuasion, that he not only disappointed the Priests of their conquest, but recovered more ground than he had lost, and displayed an undeviating firmness to the last moment of his life.

but desired him to proceed in law in God's name. "But, for a heretic," added he, "you never shall condemn me while the world standeth." The Bishop suddenly bethought himself of a refuge from perplexity, and, contrary to the universal usage of his Church in such matters, bade his Chaplains join him in prayer, that God "would send some spark of grace upon him," trusting that he then might turn. Rawlins thanked the Bishop for his great charity and gentleness, reminded him and the Clergy of Christ's promise to be present with two or three gathered together in his name,—"and there be more than two or three of you,"—and Bishop, Chaplains, and congregation all fell on their knees, these words of the confessor resting on them: "If so be that your request be godly and lawful, and that ye pray as ye should pray, without doubt God will hear you. And therefore, my Lord, go to: do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God. I know that God will both hear my prayer and perform my desire." For his part, he turned away from the crowd, knelt down alone, covered his face with his hands, *and prayed*. After a while the Bishop rose, and all the rest stood up in silence, until he broke it by asking, "Now, Rawlins, how is it with thee? Wilt thou revoke thy opinions, or no?" "Surely, my Lord," said Rawlins, "Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me; and, by God's grace, Rawlins I will continue. Certainly, if your petitions had been just and lawful, God would have heard them: but you honour a false god," (the host,) "and pray not as ye should pray; and therefore hath not God granted your desire. But I am only one poor simple man, as you see, and God hath heard my complaint; and I trust he will strengthen me in his own cause." Clearly, their prayer had failed. The Bishop and his Chaplains consulted, and thought a mass might be more effectual: so a Priest began to celebrate. Rawlins left the choir, and betook himself to prayer during the ceremony, until the bell rang for adoration, when he came to the choir-door, and, there standing, called on any brethren who might be present to bear witness at the day of judgment that he bowed not to the idol then elevated. To pervert him was hopeless, although the Bishop again laboured to do so; sentence was read, they took him back to Cardiff, and threw him into the common jail, a dark, loathsome place. Some officious authorities of the town appointed a day for burning him; but the Recorder informed them that, in such cases, a writ *De comburendo* was necessary, or their doing would be illegal. A writ, however, soon arrived. With indomitable patience he endured the pangs of separation from his wife and children, whom he passed on the way, the terrible preparations for death, a vexatious sermon, that was preached while he stood chained to the stake, and surrounded by faggots, and the fierceness of the fire. The day of his death is not recorded; but it took place in March, hastened, no doubt, by the diligence of Gardiner.

Our notices must henceforth be very brief, giving only the more remarkable incidents. The martyrdoms now recorded were but as drops before the shower; yet sufficient to assure the Queen and her Council that they might venture to shed blood, that England might

be subdued by terror. Lent, as usual, was deemed the most appropriate season for the display of ecclesiastical power; and there can be no doubt but that it was intended to begin the carnage in earnest as soon as Easter should be past. Easter-day, be it observed, in 1555, was on April 7th. On March 25th, after the Lent preachers had prepared the way, and when the ceremonies of Passion-week were near, instructions, signed by Philip and Mary, were sent to all the Justices of England, to the following effect:—"1. The Justices of each county were to meet, and divide their county into districts, with eight or ten Magistrates to each. 2. The Magistrates were to attend at sermons, use the preachers reverently, persuade the reluctant to attend also, and imprison all that would not. 3. Preachers and teachers of heresy, and procurers of secret religious meetings, were to be dealt with most severely of all. 4. Justices and their families were to be exemplary in zeal. 5. Freedom of speech was to be prevented. 6. There should be one, or more, 'honest men' employed in every parish, to give secret information of the behaviour of parishioners in private. 7. A special court in every place to try vagabonds, that is to say, travelling preachers, like Rawlins White. 8. The statute of Hue-and-cry * should be faithfully executed, for the tumultuary seizure of heretics; and, from April 20th following, watches were to be kept.† 9. Justice was to be done summarily on all offenders. 10. Sessions were to be held monthly, at least." ‡ A commission, to hear and punish, (*Oyer* and *Terminer*,) was issued on the 27th, in which Philip and Mary told the magistracy that, of late, the common sort of people had grown into liberty and insolence, and remembering that the time of the year was at hand when disorders were wont to be most dangerous, they confided to them the maintenance of peace.§ Thus were the instruments prepared for such a

* *Huer*, "to shout, and cry." By the old common law of England, and then by statutes, 3 Edw. I., c. 10; 4 Edw. I., *De officio coronatoris*, and 13 Edw. I., c. 1 and 4, *Winchester*, it was required of every one who heard the cry to pursue and take felons fugitive.

† This instruction demands a note. Besides the hue-and-cry, already explained, there was to be a *watch* kept from April 20th ensuing. Not only were heretics to be chased from place to place, from town to town, from county to county, by day, but so hemmed in at night, that it should be impossible, even under darkness, to hide themselves. The statute last quoted (13 Edw. I., c. 4, *Winchester*) required the gates of all walled towns to be shut from sunset to sunrise; forbade persons to lodge in the suburbs, or anywhere out of town, except under surety of a host; obliged Bailiffs to inquire, once every week or fifteen days, whether any persons had lodged in the suburbs or foreign places of towns; bound them to punish all who lodged strangers or suspected persons; placed a guard at each gate, of four, six, or twelve men, according to the size of the town; authorized those armed guards to take whomsoever they might suspect, and commit him to the Sheriff, neither watchmen nor Sheriffs being liable to punishment for false imprisonment; and required that all who fled should be pursued with hue-and-cry by night, as well as by day. And, by the same law, (c. 2,) all householders were to be armed, in order to act effectively on such occasions. Nothing could be more severe and oppressive than the law of Edward, revived by Mary after the lapse of two hundred and seventy years, as if to resume the despotic power exercised by that Prince, and to replunge the nation into the deeper barbarism of his time. Not only does the revival of that extraordinary law show the intensity of persecution at this period, but exhibits Mary herself acting in the character of a consummate tyrant, whose measures indicate haste, suspicion, and excess, a hardened heart, and a guilty conscience.

‡ Burnet, part ii., book ii.; Collections, No. 19.

§ Strype, Queen Mary I., chap. 27.

general and sanguinary persecution as this country never knew before, nor since.

And here it may be noted, that Pope Julius III. having died, *dirigies** were commanded to be sung in all churches for the repose of his soul. A woman, who spoke lightly of the ceremony in St. Magnus's church, was put into the cage at London-bridge, and bidden to cool herself there. He had excommunicated all who retained church-lands; and, although those in power in this country could not venture to acknowledge that Bull, the Queen determined to promote a gradual restitution, or the obtaining of an equivalent for the Clergy, and therefore surrendered (March 28th) all that were in possession of the crown. She fancied herself pregnant, expected to be confined about Easter-day; and, by way of preparation, sent for her sister Elizabeth, to offer her good words, made this gift to the Church, prepared death for all dissentients, and retired to Hampton Court to keep her chamber there. But, after making new calculations, and waiting four months beyond the time first set, expectation died; and Priests who had sung *Te Deum* in London for the birth of a Prince —one of whom even preached a flowery sermon, wherein he described minutely every feature of the new-born boy—desired that the premature rejoicings might be forgotten. Her Grace then (August 2d) left Hampton Court; and Philip, weary of her and of England, soon left the country, only to visit it once again.

George Marsh, native of Dean, in Lancashire, sometime Curate in Langton, Leicestershire, to Laurence Saunders, was imprisoned successively at Latham, Lancaster Castle, in the house of the Bishop, at Chester, and in a dungeon in the north gate of that city, where he was burnt (April 24th). A small barrel full of tar was hung over him, that its dripping might feed the flames, and aggravate his suffering.

William Flower, once a Monk in the abbey of Ely, then a Priest, sometimes acting as a surgeon also, sometimes as a schoolmaster, apparently a sincere but unsettled person, sacrificed his life by an act of extreme temerity. Haunted by an inclination to assault a Priest in the act of saying mass, and persuaded that such an act would be agreeable to God, as a testimony against that idolatry, he went into St. Paul's church, having a knife ready; but conscience, it would seem, restrained him, and he walked away. The propensity, however, returned with greater force; while the prospect of a shameful death, as the inevitable consequence of the meditated crime, rose before him; but he believed that even the murder of a Priest in such a situation would be no crime. The insane purpose gained strength, as he dwelt upon presumed examples, in the histories of Moses, Aaron, Phinehas, Joshua, Zimri, Jehu, Judith, Mattathias, and others; and he imagined himself impelled by the Holy Spirit to lay down his life for the sake of bearing one practical testimony against the idolatry of the mass. Passing by the Gate-house in Westminster, he turned in, and gave two groats to the

* As they were then called; now, more commonly, dirges; *dirige* being the first word of the antiphone.

prisoners, as if to introduce himself favourably to their acquaintance, thence proceeded to St. Margaret's church, and waited there until the officiating Priest began to give the wafers to the people. Then, drawing his knife, he rushed on him furiously, wounded him in the head, arm, and hand, and would, indeed, have killed him, if he had not been seized by the bystanders. The consecrated hosts were sprinkled with blood, which flowed profusely, the wounded Priest was carried into a vestry, the congregation quitted the church with horror; the building, defiled with blood, was shut up until it could be "reconciled" with the appointed ceremonies, and Flower was thrown into the Gate-house, laden with heavy irons. At his first examination before Bonner, he would not acknowledge the deed to be criminal; but his view changed on calm reflection. He saw that death was near indeed; as a married Priest, and one who entertained and taught doctrines prohibited, he was sure to die; his thoughts rose to higher objects, and, in prospect of the tribunal of Christ, he became penitent for the mad outrage, and confessed his guilt; but would not concede a single point of Christian faith, although offered pardon. His right hand was cut off at the stake, because with it he had assaulted a Priest; and he was then slowly burnt, calling upon God, through Christ, for mercy, (April 24th,) in the *sanctuary*, by St. Margaret's church-yard. The Reformed were grieved at his outrage, because it was calculated to give their enemies an unreasonable advantage, and to bring dishonour on the cause of Christ.

Gardiner and Bonner figure, above all others, as leaders of the Marian persecution; but, in justice to the English Prelates in general, it must be said that they were far from being united in the sanguinary enterprise. We have just seen the Bishop of Llandaff struggling with his own sense of humanity before the condemnation of Rawlins White, and have observed the *magistracy* of England employed as a check upon the *clergy* in prosecuting the Gospellers for sedition, and the *populace*, in districts where ignorance and superstition were dominant, required to be ready to pursue Christian "brethren" with hue-and-cry, as if they were felons. Hence it is evident that before a humane or enlightened Bishop or Priest could refuse to proceed against a reported heretic, he must have been willing to incur peril of death, as an abettor of heresy. If neighbouring Magistrates did not court the Government by officious inquisition, or if the populace were not set on to hunt the victims, if all were agreed to be quiet, then, and only then, could the royal mandate be evaded. And even if evaded for a time, a fresh proclamation or letter would urge some one to make inquisition. This state of things was well understood at Court; and a letter from Philip and Mary (May 24th) affords evidence honourable to a part of the English Bishops, even after the more conspicuous Reformers had been sifted out. In that circular letter each Bishop was reminded of the injunction laid upon the Justices to admonish "such disordered persons as leaned to any erroneous and heretical opinions," and, failing to reform them by fair means, to deliver them to the Ordinary, in order to examination and sentence. But "understanding now," says the letter, "to our no

MARTYRDOM OF JOHN CARDMAKER AND JOHN WARNE, IN SMITHFIELD.

little marvel, that divers of the said disordered persons, being, by the Justices of the Peace, for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the Ordinaries to be used as is aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or, if they be received, are neither so travelled with as Christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice; but are suffered to continue in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others," &c. Then follows a stern admonition to proceed against all persons presented by the Magistrates.* Burnet found one of these circulars in Bonner's register; and, overlooking the fact that every Bishop received a similar letter, supposes that Bonner had grown weary of persecution, or that he solicited this verbal reproof to justify renewed activity. The latter is most improbable. The former conjecture is contradicted by many facts; for, weeks before this date, he was hotly raging both against living and dead, and was then proceeding judicially against several. Yet it is caught by Popish writers, as if it were history; and Dr. Lingard, for one, founds thereon a long apologetic note, carefully overlooking Strype, who affirms that each Bishop had the letter, and as carefully concealing the internal evidence of the passage here cited. Bonner was anything but averse from bloodshedding; but the truth is, that many of the Bishops of England *abhorred the obligation laid on them by their Church, and by their Queen.* Neither Bonner, nor Gardiner, nor Pole, nor Alfonso de Castro can be exculpated in the least.

On the same day, (May 25th,) four confessors stood before Bonner at Fulham, and soon received sentence. They were John Cardmaker, Prebendary of Wells; John Warne, upholsterer, of Walbrook; John Simson of Colchester, and John Ardeley of Great-Wigborough, Essex, both husbandmen. Cardmaker had endured long imprisonment; for at his first examination before Gardiner and the Commissioners, he either seemed to retract some points of his belief, or they wished to make it appear that he had done so. But he stood firm, and maintained the truth in many conferences and in correspondence by letter. From the Bishop's palace at Fulham he was taken to Newgate, under charge of the Sheriffs, and suffered patiently in Smithfield (May 30th). Warne was consumed at the same stake.

The body of a thief who had been hung at Charing-Cross, and there spoke against the Church of Rome, was cited, at the desire of Cardinal Pole, to answer to an accusation of heresy; but failing to appear, and the proxies failing to disprove the charge, the said body was solemnly excommunicated, exhumed, and burnt in real fire in Smithfield, on the 4th day of June, 1555.

Simson suffered at Rochford, and Ardeley at Rayleigh, in Essex, both on the same day (June 10th).

Thomas Haukes, a gentleman of good family, for some time in the household of the Earl of Oxford, refused to have his child baptized with Popish ceremonies, was reported to the Earl, sent by him to London to be examined by Bonner, with whom, and with his Chaplains, he had many conversations, serving to establish the fact of his

* Burnet, part ii., book ii.; Collection, No. 20.

dissent, and was burnt at Coggeshall (June 10th). A multitude of brethren surrounded the place; and when he raised his hands, and clapped them in the flame, in signal that his soul was happy in the peace of God, they raised a loud and long shout in signal of joy, to the amazement of Lord Riche and his armed companions, who were there to keep guard during the execution, and prevent disturbance. Other gentlemen came to help them, in event of tumult, and had the thanks of the Council.

Thomas Wats, another of the Essex brethren, a native of Billericay, had been established in London as a linen-draper, but, expecting that his life would be taken, sold his stock, and, probably, returned to his native place. By a court of Commissioners in Chelmsford, he was convicted of heresy, and sent up to Bonner, who, at that time, was exceedingly anxious to obtain recantations; but Wats yielded not, and, being delivered to the secular arm, finished his course at Chelmsford (June 10th).

Nicholas Chamberlain, weaver, was executed at Colchester (June 14th); Thomas Osmond, fuller, at Manningtree, and William Bamford, *alias* Butler, weaver, at Harwich (June 15th). These were all natives of Coggeshall; as were Thomas Osborne, fuller, Thomas Brodehill, and Richard Webb, weaver, condemned by Bonner at the same time, but whose execution is not on record.

An English book, printed abroad, under the title of "A Warning to England," was found to be circulated; and a severe proclamation, commanding all possessors of evangelical or anti-Popish books to give them up within three days, issued from the press of Cawood, (June 13th,) with instructions to the Warders of companies to keep watch on foreigners, and report concerning them.

Few names are more deeply engraven in the memory of the church of Christ in England, than that of John Bradford. He comes next in the train of witnesses, and we must stay with him a few moments. He was born and educated in Manchester; his mastery of Latin and general proficiency recommended him to Sir John Harrington, Treasurer of the royal camps in Calais, in the reigns of Henry and Edward, who made him a confidential servant; but, as might have been expected of such a man,* ill repaid his fidelity. He next studied law in the Temple; but, becoming more deeply impressed with sacred truths, went to Cambridge, and, after rapid progress in study, attained the degree of Master of Arts, and a Fellowship in Pembroke Hall. Urged by Martin Bucer to employ his talent in preaching, and encouraged to do so, notwithstanding much diffidence, by Ridley, then Bishop of London, he received ordination as Deacon; but, by the indulgence of Ridley, the use of some part of the ceremonial which he thought to be superstitious was dispensed with. From his ordination to the death of Edward, he devoted himself to the publication of the Gospel in many parts of England. "Sharply he opened and reproved sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithily he impugned errors and heresies, earnestly he persuaded to godly life." Before the death of Edward, Master Bradford was advanced to a pre-

* Who falsified his accounts.

bend in the cathedral of St. Paul's, where he grew deservedly popular with the people of London. While Mary and her new court were yet in the Tower, Bourne, Bishop of Bath, preached, as we have said, a sermon at Paul's-Cross, on a Sunday morning, so offensive to the audience, that they made great uproar, and the affrighted preacher, trembling for his life, turned to Prebendary Bradford, who sat behind him in the pulpit, and entreated him to speak to the people. Bradford stood up, just at the moment when the Bishop was stooping to avoid a dagger flung by some one in the crowd, which narrowly missed himself, and beckoned to the people, who instantly shouted, "Bradford! Bradford! God save thy life, Bradford!" In a few seconds the tumult subsided; he so effectually exhorted them to quiet and patience, that they dispersed in silence, each man to his house. Bourne prayed him not to depart until he had seen him safely under cover; and, placing himself under the protection of the worthy Prebendary, made a hasty retreat to his lodgings. A party of angry citizens followed; and Bradford, throwing his gown over Bourne, protected him from further violence. One gentleman walking beside them, could not refrain from saying, "Ah, Bradford, Bradford, thou savest him that will help to burn thee. I give thee his life. If it were not for thee, I would run him through with my sword." The same afternoon Bradford preached in the Bow church, Cheapside, reproved the people severely for their misconduct, which he called seditious not fewer than twenty times in the course of his sermon, until many began to manifest impatience; and he nearly lost his credit as a Reformed Minister. Thus did he hazard life and reputation to screen a man who indeed helped to burn him; and in endeavouring to protect the Papists from an outbreak which a word would have excited, and which, if he had chosen to lead it, might have crushed them all at once.

Mark his reward. On the Wednesday following he was taken to the Tower, to answer to the Queen's Council on a charge of sedition. Malapertly, said they, he had conducted himself at the Cross; saving Bourne, indeed, but discovering a popularity that was to be dreaded. They committed him, forthwith, to the King's Bench in Southwark, where many brethren were soon brought, Gospellers and felons being crowded together; and Bradford, for several months, preached to the profane, held sweet conference with the persecuted, by an exhibition of unfeigned and fervent piety won the respect of all, and had so much confidence of the keeper, that he was permitted, without any guard beyond his own inviolable word, to go out at night and visit the sick. He was even offered means to escape, but would not so have liberty, and awaited patiently the course of events. Cheerful in the joy of Christianity, he appears not once to have been troubled with fear of death; yet often and again did he weep for the calamity that had befallen the country and the church of God. On the memorable 22d day of January, 1555, the Under-Marshal of the King's Bench brought him into the presence of the Commissioners, with Gardiner at their head. They were seated at a table. The good man dropped on one knee, until Gardiner bade him stand

up, and fixed his eye keenly on him, as if to overwhelm his courage under the gaze of dignity. Bradford stood, and also fixed his eye searchingly on that of the Lord Chancellor, only relieving the visual grasp by one prayerful glance heavenward, imploring wisdom. The Chancellor, half daunted, began incoherently, but came round to the point that his prisoner had been justly imprisoned (August 16th, 1553) for seditious behaviour at Paul's-Cross, false preaching, and arrogancy. But the time of mercy, he said, was come, and the Queen's Highness offered mercy if he would return to the true Church, as they had done. Bradford denied the charge of sedition, reminded Gardiner of his book written in support of the King's supremacy, and of the oaths they had taken to withstand the authority of the Pope. Those oaths he had taken six times, and he would not commit perjury. Already he had suffered long imprisonment, having committed no breach of any law; and he would rather stay in prison, or yield up his life, than act against his conscience. Gardiner grew violent, reiterated offers of mercy on the condition of apostasy, and, at last, bade the Under-Marshal take him back to whence he came, keep him close, allow him no correspondence by writing, nor interviews with friends; for, said he, "he is of another manner of charge to you now than he was before." Bradford followed the official, looking as if he preferred confinement in the King's Bench, to vexation before the Queen's Commissioners. Yet twice again he appeared at their bar, and maintained a good confession with a patience and dignity that constrained admiration, even while mercy was denied. Their sentence was, that he should be delivered to the Sheriff of London, and transmitted, through the Earl of Derby, to his native town, there to be silenced by death.

But the eminence of Bradford, acknowledged all over England, together with other considerations of policy, induced them to labour for his perversion with extraordinary diligence. Bonner himself, cap in hand, came to him in the Compter, proposed conference, and introduced Archdeacon Harpsfield, as ready to undertake that service, even with a rebel and heretic excommunicate. Harpsfield thus forced himself into conversation with him many times, supported or followed by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Chichester, Chaplain Willerton, Prolocutor Weston, Dr. Pendleton, Alfonso de Castro, who pompously disputed in Latin, and other personages of lesser note. Subtlety of argument, smiles, promises, compliments, threats, the reiteration of every conceivable method, prosecuted during five months, could not overcome his integrity. In the afternoon before his martyrdom, as he was walking, with a friend, in the keeper's chamber, the keeper's wife came to him, almost breathless with haste and sorrow, and told him that on the morrow he must be burnt, that his chain was a buying, and soon he must go to Newgate. Raising his cap, he thanked God for it, and prayed to be made worthy; and, thanking her for her gentleness, took his friend into his chamber, joined with him in prayer, and gave some papers into his charge. A small party of friends came in the evening, with whom he spent the time in prayer and solemn conversation, put on his "wedding garment," as he called

it,* offering a prayer so divinely eloquent—for it was the Holy Spirit who taught him—that all eyes were fixed on him. He also gave money to every servant and officer in the house, and exhorted them all to fear and serve God, and continually labour to eschew all manner of evil. It was near midnight when the Sheriff's officers came to take him away; and as he was leaving the place, the prisoners all called out to him, giving their farewell. The report of his removal had been spread, and the Sheriff was surprised when, in spite of his precaution, large companies of people, with lights, assembled in Cheapside, and other places, saluted him, as he passed, with audible lamentations. Next morning a strong military force, greater than had ever been brought out in London on a similar occasion, kept the multitude in awe, being stationed from Newgate to Smithfield, and around the stake. The Sheriff betrayed his fear by extreme severity in enforcing order; and Bradford, after a few moments spent in silent prayer, was stripped and burnt, (July 1st,) together with John Leaf, a young man of about twenty years of age. He was not suffered to address the people, but, turning his head to his companion, chained to the same stake, said, "Be of good comfort, brother, for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night;" and, embracing the reeds, uttered the last sentence that could be heard from his lips: "Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate, that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." The letters of Bradford to the City of London, to the University and town of Cambridge, to Lancashire and Cheshire, to Manchester, to his mother, to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and to a wide circle of friends, were circulated extensively, and, with his other productions, contributed to the maintenance of experimental religion at a time when its public exercise was impossible. The Earl of Derby complained of the writer in Parliament, and Gardiner included the letters with his other offensive doings; but no magisterial power could prevent their distribution, and they are still extant among the valued writings of our English Reformers.

At Canterbury, (July 12th,) at two stakes, but in one fire, were burnt John Bland,—a Priest, having been first imprisoned, then interrogated at various times and places, and convicted of heresy on confession thus elicited,—Nicholas Sheterdon, John Frankesh, and Hum-

* Among the marks of contumely inflicted on the martyrs, was that of stripping off their clothes before the stake. To reduce, in some degree, the indecency of such an exposure, a shirt was usually prepared that would cover the person to his feet,—a shroud for the living man. The preparation of this shirt devolved on some faithful friend, often on the wife of the sufferer; and some of the allusions to this mournful service are most affecting. A hasty letter from Laurence Saunders, in one of his last days, to his wife, is an example. "Grace and comfort in Christ, Amen.—Dear Wife, be merry in the mercies of our Christ, and also ye, my dear friends. Pray, pray for us, everybody. We be shortly to be despatched hence unto our good Christ. Amen, Amen. Wife, I would you send me my shirt, *which you know whereunto it is consecrated.* Let it be sewed down on both sides, and not open. O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of thy Christ, or else I shall not be able to abide thy countenance, such is my filthiness. He will do so, and therefore I will not be afraid what sin, death, hell, and damnation can do against me. O wife! always remember the Lord. God bless you! Yea, he will bless thee, *good wife*, and thy poor boy also. Only cleave thou unto him, and he will give thee all things. Pray, pray, pray!"—Townsend's Foxe, vol. vi., p. 635.

phrey Middleton. At Rochester, (July 19th,) Nicholas Hall, a bricklayer. At Dartford, about the same time, Christopher Wade and Margaret Polley, a widow, of Tunbridge. The Bishops of Dover and Rochester were exceedingly zealous in the condemnation of these persons; and the exhibition at Dartford was not only disgraceful to the chief actors, but to the populace. Early in the morning a cart-load of faggots and a stake were taken to a place about a quarter of a mile out of town, called the Brimpt, where was a gravel-pit, the Golgotha of Dartford, in which criminals, real or reputed, surrendered their lives to the sanguinary justice of that age. Another heavy load of faggots and brush-wood followed. Then people began to congregate from the neighbouring places; and fruiterers, with many horse-loads of cherries, made their best profit of that delicious fruit, so abundant in the county. About ten o'clock the Sheriff of Kent came in sight, with a retinue of gentry bravely mounted, and yeomen in their train, well horsed and armed. Christopher Wade, pinioned, with Margaret Polley sitting behind him, on a led horse, followed the Sheriff. Their voices were heard above the trampling of the cavalry, singing a psalm, until, having penetrated into the midst of the multitude, they ceased, and the good woman, surveying the scene, cheerfully, and in a loud voice, bade him rejoice to see so great a company gathered to celebrate his marriage that day. They then rode into the town, Wade undressed himself at an inn, put on "a fair long white shirt" made for him by his wife, and was led back on foot to the place of execution, Margaret Polley waiting there until the Kentish gentlemen had seen him duly executed. The Sheriff then proceeded with the widow to Tunbridge, and had the distinction of putting to death the first woman martyred for Christ's sake by the savage Queen, his mistress.

Dirick Carver, a brewer, in Brighthelmstone, (Brighton,) had accumulated considerable property, which he employed charitably, succouring the poor and the persecuted, and had meetings in his house for the reading of the word of God and prayer. He could not himself read, but devoutly listened to the brethren who could, until one evening, when about twelve persons were so assembled, one Edward Gage, probably a Magistrate, came into the house, apprehended the whole company, sent them up to the Commissioners, then sitting as a permanent court inquisitorial, and the Commissioners threw them into Newgate, there to await the pleasure of Bonner. After eight months' imprisonment had tested their faith, Bonner commanded them to be brought into his presence, offered the unvaried alternative, perversion or death; and three of the twelve chose the latter. These were, first, Carver himself, who was burnt at Lewes, (July 22d,) and of whom it should be recorded that, in order to draw strength from the word of God when unable to hear it read with freedom, he learned to read in prison, and spent much time in studying his Bible. Then John Launder at Steyning, (July 23d,) and Thomas Iveson at Chichester. About the end of the month John Aleworth died in prison at Reading, being then in bonds for conscience' sake.

But the holy courage of the martyrs, their confession of a pure

faith,—often made to the Judges in the presence of crowded assemblies,—their letters and other writings, and, above all, their superhuman patience under the pains of burning, aroused the spirit of England, and people met together to devise how they might cast off the insufferable yoke. Such combinations were discovered in several counties, but especially in Dorsetshire and Essex; and persons known or suspected to have taken part in them were apprehended, sent up to London, and committed to the Tower. Friar Peto, too, the Queen's Confessor, and a brother Franciscan, were stoned by people on shore as they were going down the Thames; and although Her Highness sent the Lord Treasurer to the Lord Mayor, requiring him to offer a reward for the discovery of the offenders, no one would inform. King Philip, seeing the rising disaffection, meditated a retreat from England. Mary, disappointed of a heir to the throne, mortified at the coolness of her husband, and alarmed at the appearance of insurrection, resolved to pursue no middle course towards the opposers of either her government or her religion, and sent two or three Privy Councillors to the Tower, with a letter from the Council to the Lieutenant, ordering him to put the prisoners to the question at their discretion: but of the dark doings within that citadel there was no effect perceptible without; the rack, if employed, extorted nothing available for further cruelties towards the discontented, nor is there any record in the archives of that time.

The next month, August, so many persons were driven to the stake, that the task of narrating their sufferings is contemplated with repugnance. Nay, it cannot be done. And the general reader will forgive the omission of details that would only produce weariness and horror.

James Abbes, a young man who had long wandered from place to place, to avoid death, was detected, brought before Dr. Hopton, Bishop of Norwich, and in a moment of weakness signed a recantation. The Bishop, pleased with so rare a conquest, (for the Gospellers of these times were very far superior to the Lollards of the preceding century,) gave the poor young man money, and dismissed him. But scarcely had he left the palace, when his conscience awoke terribly; he ran back, threw down the money, surrendered himself to the Bishop as a true believer in the Lord Jesus Christ, and was burnt at Bury St. Edmund's (August 2d).

Edmund Tyrrel, Esq., a Justice of the Peace in Essex, had just attended at the execution of two martyrs, and, returning homeward, met two persons who, he thought, looked like heretics. On accosting them, the suspicion was confirmed; and, having unbounded authority, he seized them, searched, found papers that proved more than enough to substantiate a charge of heresy, and immediately sent them to London in custody of some poor men, who, according to the old law of hue and cry, just revived, were bounden to assist in the taking of heretics, thieves, or any breakers of the peace. They were two brethren of Maidstone, on their way to quit the country, had they not been thus detected; and one, a gentleman, John Denley, carried letters, and a confession of faith written by his own hand. His companion

was John Newman. Denley underwent the usual treatment, and suffered, triumphantly, at Uxbridge (August 8th). The same day, and in the same place, Robert Smith, formerly a Clerk of Windsor, crowned his confession in like manner.

Elisabeth, widow of John Warne, martyr, both having been of the company surprised when at prayer and communion in a house in Bow-church-yard, on New Year's day, followed her husband by the same path to glory, at Stratford-le-Bow (August 12th). Her companion in martyrdom was Stephen Harwood. About the same time Thomas Fust was burnt at Ware.

George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, sickened under severe treatment in the Lollards' Tower, and, not to cause the trouble of removal when dead, were discharged, but died, and, being denied ecclesiastical burial, were interred, at night, in a field. William Andrew, a prisoner in Newgate, was also buried privately, as a person excommunicate.

Six men were burnt in pairs at Canterbury in one day towards the end of the month. Their names were William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, and William Stere. About the same time, William Hale, of Thorp, in Essex, was burnt at Barnet.

George Tankerfield, a cook in London, had been a Papist until Mary and her Priests began to take the lives of the Reformed. He then suspected that such a religion could not be of God, and prayed for divine influence to resolve his doubts. With prayer, he had recourse to the New Testament, and soon became utterly alienated from the Church of Rome, and converted to lively faith in Christ. His zeal was irrepressible; and an earnest godly conversation marked him for the hatred of those whose communion he had left. A fit of sickness followed, wherein it is likely that his views of eternal verities became yet more vivid, and his dissent from the dominant sect more evident. One day, when convalescent, while he was walking in the Temple fields, Beard, a yeoman of the guard, came to his house under the pretext of inviting him to prepare a banquet for Lord Paget. His wife, gratified with such a call, gave the gentleman a welcome, offered him refreshment, and hastened to bring home her husband. The good man suspected a plot. "A banquet, woman!" said he: "indeed it is such a banquet as will not be very pleasant to the flesh; but God's will be done." To her horror, she saw him seized on his return, and taken away to Newgate. Bonner spent but few words: with little delay he was sent to St. Alban's, and received by the High Sheriff of Hertfordshire, there to suffer, but left under guard at an inn, while the Sheriff, with several knights and gentlemen, went to dine at a neighbouring mansion. Having obtained of the host the indulgence of a private room, he called for bread and wine, and, kneeling down, devoutly pronounced the words of consecration, confessed his sinfulness, and prayed for grace. "O Lord," said he, "thou knowest it, I do not this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of those which are thy Ministers, but only because I cannot have it ministered according to thy word."

And then he received, with thanksgiving. He would accept no more food after this eucharistic meal. The Sheriff and his party, having ended their dinner, quickly had him to the flames. But one of them, far otherwise minded than his companions, took him aside, grasped his hand, and whispered in his ear: "Good brother, be strong in Christ." "O Sir," he answered softly, "I thank you: I am so, I thank God." Having bidden the people to pray for him, he struggled victoriously with the last enemy (August 26th). Another, Patrick Packingham, suffered immediately after him in the same town, (August 28th,) for not lifting his cap at mass.*

In the neighbourhood of Ipswich,† a married Priest, named Samuel, expelled from his benefice, in common with many others, taught his flock privately, from house to house, residing at Ipswich with his wife, but probably assembling them at night in their own village. A zealous Justice, named Foster, of Cobdock, employed spies to trace him to his lodgings in Ipswich, which they entered at night, fearing to apprehend him by day-light, found him with his wife, and, attended by a strong body of armed men, carried him to the gaol, where he found many Christian brethren, and after some time was taken to Dr. Hopton, Bishop of Norwich. This Bishop, and Dr. Dunnings his Chancellor, both notorious for cruelty, chained him in the prison to a post, so that he could only stand tip-toe, the weight of his body bearing on the chain, and allowed him daily but three mouthfuls of bread and three spoonfuls of water. Exhausted with pain and hunger, after some days and nights, he fell into a torpor, dreamed of angels and divine communication, and, forgetting pain, gathered strength of soul to endure martyrdom (August 31st). John Newman, a pewterer of Maidstone, a man of established piety and no common intelligence, suffered at Saffron Walden (August 31st); and about the same time, Richard Hook, at Chichester.

Early in September, five persons, at least, were burnt. William Allen, a labouring man, for not walking in procession, and refusing to join the "Catholic Church," at Walsingham. Roger Coo, of Melford, an aged man, after long imprisonment, for not going to mass, and denying transubstantiation, at Yoxford. Thomas Cob, a butcher of Haverhill, for the same cause, at Thetford. Thomas Hayward and John Goreway, at Lichfield. In honour of the Sacrament of the Altar, five were burnt in one fire at Canterbury (September 6th). Their names were George Catmer and Robert Streater, of Hythe; Anthony Burward, of Calete; ‡ George Brodbridge, of Bromfield; and James Tutty, of Brenchley.

Not only the persons, but the fortunes, reputation, and families, of good men became the prey of persecution; and when nothing more

* Foxe says he suffered at Uxbridge, Burnet says at St. Alban's.

† Foxe says at Barholt; and in subsequent editions, Barfold. Similarity of sound would indicate Bramford. Townsend suggests Bargholt. But none of these are names of parishes. Might it not be Brooks-Hall, a hamlet within the liberty of Ipswich? If so, notwithstanding the nightly watch commanded by Mary, the Charter might have allowed the inhabitants of that town and its liberty to have free ingress and egress at all times, which would account for these nocturnal visits.

‡ Or Caley's Grange, in the Isle of Thanet.—Townsend.

remained, even their graves were violated. John Glover, a gentleman of good family and extensive patrimonial estates at Mancetter, and elsewhere, in the county of Warwick, and resident in Coventry, enjoyed universal esteem in that neighbourhood on account of sincere piety and unblemished integrity. He never took part in controversy, nor did he mingle in public life. The greater part of his lands he divided between two younger brothers, Robert and William, confiding the management of the remainder to servants, that he might enjoy retirement, perform works of piety, and spend much time in undistracted meditation. Having a tender conscience agitated by an erroneous view of a sentence in the Epistle to the Hebrews,* he suffered much anguish, intermitted only as now and then a gleam of hope shone in upon his soul. Such a person might have been spared; but the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, knowing that there was a godly gentleman in the town, wrote to the Mayor and officers to apprehend him without delay. The Mayor, however, first sent him private information and advice to be out of the way, and then proceeded, as if to execute the Bishop's pleasure, by communication with the Sheriff. John and his brother William had left Coventry when the Sheriff's officer entered the house, and, not finding him, took Robert, who lay in bed sick, and carried him to his master. The Sheriff refused to receive a gentleman against whom there had been no complaint; but the officer who had seized him contended that, as a known heretic, he should be kept under arrest until the arrival of the Bishop. They threw him into prison until his Lordship came, who would not hear his complaint of injustice, but engaged him in conversation, noted an acknowledgment of dissent from the dominant Church, and had him recommitted to prison. With other prisoners he was taken publicly to Lichfield, thrown into a filthy dungeon, visited, examined, subjected to the usual vexatious solicitations, and at length burnt, together with Cornelius Bungey, a tradesman of Coventry (September 20th). His brother John wandered from place to place, hiding himself in woods, until compelled by disease to return home, where, after a short concealment, he expired. Grief hastened his death; for although he had evaded a second search, the officers, missing him, dragged away his wife to prison at Lichfield, and an ague-fit delivered him from the dwelling now made desolate. Some friends, without a Priest, interred his body in the churchyard; and Dr. Dracot, the Chancellor, would have had it exhumed, and thrown into the highway, if any one could have been found to endure the stench that must have risen from the recent grave. But the Chancellor gained his point. He gave the Parson of the town a written order, with the following injunction:—"Take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soul; a twelvemonth after, take up his bones,—for then the flesh will be consumed,—cast them over the wall, that carts and horses may tread upon them, and then will I come and hallow again the place in the churchyard where he was buried." William, the third brother, having died at Wem, in Shropshire, was denied burial in the

* Heb. vi. 4—8.

churchyard; and, after long delay, his body was drawn with horses into a broom-field, and there put out of sight.

William Wolsey and Robert Pygott, of Wisbeach, were burnt at Ely. The former refused to quit the prison, when Dr. Fuller, the Chancellor, offered him permission to do so; and the latter courted martyrdom by a bold confession, even when his Judges were disposed to let him go free, as if he were not a dissentient from their doctrine. Rather than be thought to have made shipwreck of his faith, he made so clear an avowal of it that they condemned him to die with his companion (October 16th).

The general condition of the Gospellers at this time might be stated thus:—A great multitude had complied with Popery; too great a multitude to be subjected to penances, as in some foreign countries, or in England in the preceding century, and not sufficiently earnest to bear the character of penitents. Some who had been sincerely zealous, but, having no root in themselves, in time of temptation, had fallen away, became conspicuous in saying or hearing mass. Not a few complied externally, persuading themselves that in such times God would accept inward faith, and dispense with confession before men. Those persons must have laboured hard to forget many declarations of holy Scripture to the contrary. Some, sheltered by remoteness of situation and disinclination of neighbours to injure them, or being too obscure to draw attention, held fast their faith in secret, without inquisition, and without compromise. Many, as we have already observed, were exiles on the Continent. The prisons still contained a multitude of confessors, ready to die for Christ's sake; and among these were the fathers of the English Church, chiefly Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley. Ridley and Latimer are now brought out to suffer death, and Cranmer will soon follow them.

Ridley was a Northumbrian,* of a highly respectable family, educated in Newcastle, and afterward Doctor of Divinity and head of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, having spent some time in Paris, where his uncle, Robert Ridley, had acquired fame as a scholar. He then rose to be Chaplain to Henry VIII., and was placed successively, by that Monarch, in the sees of Rochester and London. His conduct as a Bishop was exemplary; and never did the palace at Fulham undergo a greater change than when, on the deprivation of Bonner, Ridley took possession of it (April, 1550). With most scrupulous exactness he sent to his ejected predecessor every article of personal property, or purchased what the other might have claimed. "He continued Boner's receiver, one Staunton, in his place. He paid fifty-three of fifty-five pounds for Boner's own servants' common liveries and wages, which was Boner's own debt remaining unpaid after his deposition. He frequently sent† for old Mrs. Boner, his predecessor's mother, calling her his mother, and caused her to sit in the upper-

* "The town where he was born was called Wilowmontiswick, now Willowmont."—Strype, Memorials, Mary, chap. 29.

† "—— *always* sent for this said Mrs. Bonner, dwelling in a house adjoining to his house, to dinner and supper, with one Mrs Mungey, Bonner's sister, saying, 'Go for my mother Bonner.'"—Foxe, Mary, A.D. 1555.

most seat at his own table, as also for his sister, one Mrs. Mungey. It was observed how Ridley welcomed the old gentlewoman, and made as much of her as though she had been his own mother; and though sometimes the Lords of the Council dined with him, he would not let her be displaced, but would say, *By your Lordships' favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Boner.*" * Bertramn, the first great antagonist of transubstantiation in the ninth century, taught him, by his writings, the absurdity of that doctrine, at a time when the divines of this country were constrained to give attention to the subject, instead of burning the Sacramentarians, as Henry had burnt Lambert. Cranmer and Peter Martyr helped him to find the way of truth more perfectly; and the grace of God crowned all. During the happy reign of Edward VI. he was equal with the foremost in advancing reformation; and on the death of that Prince found himself involved with them in doing what was legally wrong, while endeavouring to do what they trusted to be morally right. He had once been sent by the Council to endeavour to prevent the celebration of mass in the Lady Mary's household, and to offer to preach there; but was rejected with a promptness, and even dignity, that so coercive a measure might have justified, if the entire conduct of Mary were not so artful and wicked as to leave her little credit for a momentary advantage. On the proclamation of Lady Jane Gray, he was appointed to advocate her title in a sermon at St. Paul's, and to warn the people of what might be expected if Mary should reign. But after a day or two Mary was Queen, and the preacher, charged with treason, became her prisoner in the Tower, for about eight months, until removed to Oxford, where he and his brethren underwent the vexation of a mock debate, as has been already related, and were ignominiously remanded to their cells as heretics.

No period of his career had been more actively employed. On those few brethren it devolved to maintain the truth by their pens as long as life might be spared; and in constant expectation of being led away to the burning, they made the best use of the uncertain interval. After the disputation before the University, their servants were discharged, and orders given to prevent them from holding conferences and receiving intelligence. Means, however, were found by friends to supply them with food, money, and clothing, which persons, both known and unknown, contributed; but the keepers grew increasingly severe, not even allowing them to see each other, and from the University came not a single expression of benevolence. This gave them the more complete leisure. Good old Latimer read through the New Testament seven times with deliberation and prayer. Cranmer wrote a vindication of his doctrine of the eucharist against a book of Gardiner's; but the work is lost. They all, like other brethren, wrote many letters, to friends, to churches, to exiles, to prisoners, and to men in power; and "the Letters of the Martyrs" are yet read with reverence. Ridley composed three treatises against Winchester, of which one was written on the margins of the printed book with lead of a window, for want of pen and ink; one on "the Abo-

* Strype, Memorials of Cranmer, book ii., chap. 16.

Latimer.

minations of the Roman See, and of the Roman Pontiffs;" and Annotations on Tonstal on Transubstantiation. Other smaller pieces are mentioned by the historians, but they were stolen after his death. Among the large companies of prisoners in London, notwithstanding that every week some were taken away to the stake, a controversy had arisen from re-action between the equally unscriptural extremes of ultra-predestinarianism and Pelagianism. Bradford was eminently zealous in writing in opposition to that most unseasonable and humiliating brawl, and not without good effect; but the inmates of the Bocardo bent their energies towards other objects. Nothing caused Ridley so much grief as the apostasy of many who had seemed to be good men, some of his own household included: so little wheat, as he said, remained after all the chaff was blown away. One West, formerly his steward, courted life and favour by compliance, and wrote him a letter of solicitation to do the like. Ridley's answer to him is inimitable in earnest, heart-stirring solemnity. Toward the end he says, "I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say I must either agree or die: and I think you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make such an agreement, by the which I could never escape this death, which is so common to all; and also that I might incur the guilt of eternal death and damnation? *Lord grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement as long as I live!*" * And he warned him and others who, through fear or gain, would play the apostate, that they should die the death. West himself, unable to battle out his conscience, lost health, rapidly declined, and died. He had *agreed;* but his master, without any such "damnable agreement," outlived him.

The Papists were now mad against the Gospellers, and made a virtue of their madness. "Wherever," said one of Bonner's servants, "I meet with any of these vile heretics, by my Maker's blood, I will thrust an arrow into him." But the hour of release drew nigh. Ridley and Latimer—Cranmer had appeared before the Pope's Legate —were taken from the Bocardo to the Divinity School at Oxford, (September 30th,) before the Bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, appointed for that purpose by Cardinal Pole. Ridley refused to acknowledge the authority of the Pope; and while he rendered every expression of courtesy to the Bishops, and raised his hat at the name of Cardinal Pole as "a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the most regal blood, and in that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learning and virtue," remained covered and stern, when the Commissioners spoke and proceeded to act as representatives of Papal authority. He suffered a beadle to remove his cap: the Bishops paid him as much respect as they could well render to a prisoner, and spared no effort to persuade him to recant; but, as a Christian, he stood firm, and, as a scholar and divine, argued to the last. But we must now mention his venerable companion, Hugh Latimer.

Son of a husbandman, or small farmer, in Thurcaston, Leicester-

* Strype, Memorials of Cranmer, Appendix, lxxxvi.

shire, he entered the University of Cambridge at the early age of fourteen years, and became remarkable for zeal against heresy, an especial dislike of Master Stafford, the devoted Reader of the Scriptures in that University, public opposition to the writings of Philip Melancthon, and a painfully scrupulous observance of the ceremonies of his Church. He was a fine young man, graced the processions as cross-bearer, and was on the high-way towards popularity, when Bilney, earnest in the propagation of true religion, set his heart on extricating him from error, visited him in his study, drew him into religious conversation, and gave him an impulse in the new career which afterwards became so brilliant. By that time he had become an acceptable preacher, and forthwith began to discourse against the errors of divines, and the sins and superstitions of the people. Others preached against him, but he defended himself and his doctrine; and the people lost nothing by familiar discussion of his sermons and those of his antagonists, always leaving to him the larger share of approbation. Some inhibited him from preaching in their churches, others gave licence. Some appealed to Cardinal Wolsey; but Wolsey, to their surprise, applauded the zeal of the young preacher, admired his eloquence, and armed him with his high permission to preach anywhere. Cambridge had already had the benefit of his sermons, example, and influence for three years, when he obtained this licence. Becoming known at court, he was called up to London, and laboured to promote the cause of royal supremacy over the Church of England, until, weary of the society of courtiers, he asked and obtained a country benefice at West Kington, Wiltshire, where his congregations were crowded, and his priestly adversaries many. With tongue and pen they laboured to refute him, but in vain, and then had recourse to the more powerful method of a citation to appear before Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Stokesley, Bishop of London; and after being long detained there and wearied with vexatious and often-repeated examinations, he was induced to subscribe articles contradictory of propositions which were reported from his sermons; but probably the subscription was given with some reservations. The truth is, that he was favoured by Henry VIII., to whom he had written a long letter of remonstrance the year before, (A.D. 1530,) on account of the King's prohibition of good books; but he expressed himself with such transparent honesty and sound religious feeling, that the letter gave no offence, but raised him in the estimation of Henry, who, with all his defects, could value an upright man. John Stokesley, on the contrary, lost patience, and forbade his preaching in the diocese of London (October 4th, 1533); but the King compensated Hugh Latimer by giving him the see of Worcester. That see, however, he resigned, and ceased to perform the functions of Bishop, after his royal master had enacted those six persecuting articles that no good man could conscientiously enforce. Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, resigned at the same time, (July, 1539,) and for the same reason. Latimer had not sought preferment, neither did he desire preaching before King and courtiers, nor would have willingly remained where many sought his life. Once, for instance, when Henry had called many

of them together to take their counsel, Latimer being among the rest, one knelt down and accused him of sedition; but he also knelt, rebutted the accusation, appealed to the King for leave to discharge his conscience, and found protection for that time.

Gladly did Latimer throw off his rochette. When his shoulders were lightened, and his mind relieved of the burden of a bishopric, he almost danced for joy; and as Wycliffe had withdrawn to Lutterworth to avoid the dangers of a too public life, so did he retire to a country cure in hope of quiet. But having been injured by the fall of a tree, and going to London for surgical assistance, some freedom of speech there afforded the Bishops a pretext for persecution, and he was sent to the Tower, where he remained for six years, until the reign of Edward, who not only released him, but showed him special favour, and restored him to Worcester, which see he occupied without any relaxation of zeal, or declension from apostolic simplicity. His sermons, which are extant, and well known, tell more clearly in his praise than any eulogy which could now be written. While Edward lived, Gardiner was powerless, being in disgrace or in prison; but when at large again, on the accession of Mary, he lost no time in procuring the apprehension of Latimer, who, six hours before the arrival of the Pursuivant, had received warning by a friend,* but, instead of making his escape, employed the interval in preparing for the journey, and, when that officer arrived, addressed him cheerfully:—"My friend, you be a welcome messenger to me. And be it known unto you, and to all the world, that I go as willingly to London at this present, being called by my Prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two excellent Princes, so he will enable me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort or discomfort eternally." The Pursuivant delivered his letters and returned, leaving the good Bishop to obey the citation or elude it by flight; but he needed no further compulsion to meet his enemies, and was soon in London. Passing through Smithfield on his way, he observed that Smithfield had long groaned for him; and, being taken before the Council, received sentence of incarceration without a murmur, and endured severe treatment in the Tower with equal patience. It is related of him, that one day in the depth of winter, when, notwithstanding his age and dignity, he was not even allowed a fire, he pleasantly told the Lieutenant that instead of living to be burnt, he should be likely to deceive his expectation by starving there of cold.

The reader will remember that he was taken to Oxford with Ridley and Cranmer to go through the forms of a disputation, but without its reality, and then transferred to the prison of the Bocardo, where they were confined separately. He made unceasing prayer there for three things:—for grace to endure unto the end, and give his life for the Gospel;—that the Gospel might be restored to England yet once again, reiterating with reverential earnestness the ejaculation, "Once

* John Careless, of Coventry, who afterwards died in prison, and was buried in a dunghill.

again! once again!"—that God would preserve the Lady Elizabeth, and "make her a comfort to his comfortless realm of England." To each of these petitions a signal answer followed.

On the north side of the town of Oxford, as it then stood, in a ditch opposite Balliol College, the place of execution was appointed for Latimer and Ridley. The Lord Williams, by command of the Queen, attended by householders of the city, all armed, and "sufficiently appointed," took their station round the spot to prevent uproar. The Mayor and Bailiffs then took their share of civic honour by bringing forth the prisoners. Ridley came out of the Mayor's house, where he and his companion had been in custody after their degradation, dressed in the ordinary apparel of a Bishop, exhibiting the same air of self-respect that had distinguished him throughout; but wearing slippers, that he might undress the sooner, and walked between the Mayor and an Alderman. Master Latimer also, in his proper character, bearing costume of extreme simplicity, with the remarkable addition of a new long shroud—the oft-mentioned "wedding garment"—underneath, and hanging over his hose. Ridley, to whom precedence had always been awarded, went first, and, passing the Bocardo, slackened his pace, and looked up towards Cranmer's chamber, hoping to catch a sight of him; but the Archbishop was held in disputation by Soto, a Spanish Friar, and saw him not, until, as the procession advanced, he perceived it through the window, when he fell on his knees, and "prayed God to strengthen their faith and patience in that their last, but painful, passage." Ridley, while looking for Cranmer, caught sight of Latimer coming after, somewhat lame, in consequence of the hurt that sent him to London many years before, and weary with old age. "O, be ye there?" cried he. "Yea," answered his aged fellow, "have after as fast as I can follow." A few minutes brought them to the resting-place, where Ridley raised his hands in prayer, and for some time appeared unconscious of all except his pleading at the mercy-seat, until, seeing Latimer again, he ran to him, embraced him, kissed him, and encouraged him in the most affectionate language to abide the last ordeal. "Be of good heart, brother," said he; "for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it." The two martyrs then knelt together at the stake, which they embraced as the instrument of their deliverance, and exchanged a few more sentences of brotherly consolation. One Dr. Smith, once a sort of Gospeller, but always a lover of this present evil world, made a short and bitter sermon, according to the direction given for the more decorous consummation of discipline; and when Ridley would have spoken in reply, the Vice-Chancellor and Bailiffs stopped his mouth with their hands. Master Shipside, Ridley's brother-in-law, who had lodged in Oxford during the whole period of imprisonment, that he might supply his wants, through the Sergeant, stood by, and received his gown and fur-tippet. Some of his clothes were taken by the Bailiffs; but several gentlemen, their faces wet with tears, pressed in to receive from his hands the most trifling article, and tore the remaining garments into shreds for memorials of him. As for Latimer, he let his

keeper take everything, and, when undressed to the shroud, stood erect, seeming to be stronger, lighter, and even younger than before. A burning faggot was first laid at Ridley's feet, to whom Latimer then exclaimed: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. *We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out.*" While life lasted, they both called on the Lord Jesus to receive their souls. Latimer soon expired, his death being accelerated by gunpowder.* Ridley suffered much; for his brother-in-law, who certainly knew not how to act the executioner, thought to diminish his sufferings by heaping on much fuel, but pent down the flames, so that his legs were consuming while the body was untouched. Piteously did he cry, "Let the fire come to me, I cannot burn;" and when a bystander, perceiving the cause of his extreme anguish, opened the pile, and a strong flame rushed up, he threw himself on one side to catch it, that a speedier death might launch him into the world where there is no more pain (October 16th).

Mary and her Council would have displayed prudence if they had not added to the reproach of other misdeeds that of gross injustice. When Ridley entered on the see of London, after the deprivation of Bonner, he guarded his personal interests as carefully as if they had been his own, and showed his mother and sister the utmost courtesy and benevolence. But now Bonner refused to acknowledge the leases he had granted, and threatened to eject several families, who therefore expected to be utterly ruined. His sister and her excellent husband, Shipside, were involved in the same calamity. When he had been degraded in the house of the Mayor of Oxford by Dr. Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, he read to the Bishop a memorial, addressed to Queen Mary, describing the case, and praying that Bonner's intention might be overruled. To Lord Williams, the day after, when standing by the stake, he repeated the same request, which was acknowledged to be reasonable. Nay, going further still, he told the Queen where his movable property might be found, sufficient to pay Bonner a second fine for the renewal of those poor people's leases, if that should be exacted. But the prayer was not heard. No gleam of generosity ever relieved the profound blackness of that Queen's administration.

About this same time (October) William Dighel suffered at Banbury.

The Parliament that met after the death of Ridley and Latimer (October 21st) gave unusual signs of resistance to the royal pleasure, refusing a part of the supplies demanded, and barely allowing the Clergy to be discharged from the payment of tenths and first-fruits to the crown.† Gardiner, as Lord Chancellor, attended on the first

* Some Popish writers carry their notions of propriety so far as to censure the martyrs for allowing gunpowder to be used to shorten their sufferings; as, say they, Polycarp did not. It would have been wonderful if Polycarp had; but when a man goes so far as to die for his religion, it is hard, indeed, if he may not be allowed any expedient to alleviate the pangs. When we burn Papists, they may be sure, we will allow them powder.

† It is remarkable that Sir Anthony Kingston, one of the Commissioners appointed to see execution done on Bishop Hooper at Gloucester, was a most active leader of this

and second days, but was not again seen in public. It was reported that, on the day of the burning at Oxford, he would not dine until he had received intelligence of the execution of those Bishops, which the courier did not bring until a late hour, when he ate a hearty dinner; but immediately fell sick, grew worse, and died in great agony of conscience, saying that he had sinned with Peter, but with Peter had not wept.* The Convocation also assembled, the Queen having given Pole a warrant, for their satisfaction; and the Cardinal Legate, following the example of the Council of Trent, where he had sat, and throwing into the scale of public opinion the counterpoise that we have seen so generally resorted to in times of persecution, put forth a beautiful scheme for reformation of the Clergy. Bishop Burnet, who seems unable to take a comprehensive view of such matters, attributes this to the virtuous disposition of Pole, who, however amiable in private life, was a thoroughly devoted servant of the Papacy, and strenuous opponent of the Reformation. Holding the reins of church government alone, he wisely refused to admit the Jesuits into England, as an order too recent to be received with confidence, and so singular as to be regarded with suspicion.

John Webbe, gentleman, with George Roper and Gregory Parke, were burnt at the same stake in Canterbury, (November 30th,) after very brief formalities. William Wiseman, a prisoner in Lollards' Tower, and James Gore, incarcerated at Colchester, died in their bonds, (13th and 7th of December,) and were denied Christian burial, until it was given them by their brethren at night. Such interments were frequent, parties of archers often encircling the graves to protect the mourners.

Almost all the sufferers in this reign were persons of humble birth, of whom piety and learning had raised many to eminence. John Philpot, however, was son of a Knight in Hampshire, educated first in Wickham's Grammar School, at Winchester, and then at Oxford, where he attained considerable proficiency, not only in Latin and Greek, but also in Hebrew. To complete his education he travelled on the Continent, principally in Italy, not without incurring suspicion of heresy; and, after his return to England in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII., preached with great boldness in various parts of the diocese of Winchester, to the annoyance of Gardiner, who, not then finding means to destroy a person of his rank and influence, could do no more than forbid him to preach, which he yet continued to do, regardless of the prohibition. When Arianism had spread in England, in the reign of Edward VI., he wrote a book in proof of the

opposition. That Knight reverenced the martyr, and would fain have reduced the power of the Church; but his independence in Parliament brought him to the Tower, where he lay for about a fortnight, and was released on asking pardon. He was afterwards accused of treason, with several others, and would probably have been beheaded, but he died when on his way to London.—Burnet, part ii., book ii.

* Notwithstanding his great zeal against heretics, there was one whom he always favoured, and would not suffer to be persecuted. Mrs. Clarke, great-grandmother to Fuller the historian, used to entertain him, when out of health, in Farnham Castle, rented by her husband; and, in compensation for her attention to him, as well as to secure the comforts of the table, he connived at her heresy; of which connivance Fuller makes formal acknowledgment.—Book viii., sect. 2.

divinity of Christ, employed his pen also to combat Anabaptism, and by such works gave evidence of perfect orthodoxy. But he could not dissimulate. His opposition to Romanism was as undoubted as his attachment to Christianity, both in doctrine and experience. The former was significantly expressed in these words of Bernard, written in his Bible,—*Spiritus est Vicarius Christi in terris,* "The Spirit is the Vicar of Christ on earth;" and the latter by a sentence inscribed in another book,—*In me, Johanne Philpotto, ubi abundavit peccatum, superabundavit et gratia,* "In me, John Philpot, where sin abounded, grace did much more abound." When Mary's first Convocation were required by the Prolocutor, at her command, to consider articles of doctrine, in order to restore Popery, Archdeacon Philpot was one of the few who argued for the Gospel. He displayed great earnestness, even kneeling before the house, and entreating them with tears; and Gardiner, long his enemy, rejoiced in the occasion of sending him to prison as a rebel against the wishes of the Queen. After eighteen months' confinement he was put into Bonner's hands, shut up in the famous coal-house, and subjected to many examinations; of which reports of no fewer than thirteen are extant, written by himself, and bearing evidence of an extensive and profound acquaintance with the sacred text, ecclesiastical history, and canon law. His rank and learning would have told strongly for the Church of Rome could he have been induced to recant, and therefore extraordinary efforts were made to overcome him; but he did not waver for a moment, and honourably finished his course in Smithfield (December 18th). "Shall I disdain," said he, "to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer a most vile death upon the cross for me?"

Sixty-seven persons are counted who gave their lives for Christ's sake in the year 1555, while a mass of suffering remained beyond possibility of record. "Some were thrown into dungeons, ugsome holes, dark, loathsome and stinking corners; other some lying in fetters and chains, and loaded with so many irons that they could scarcely stir; some tied in the stocks, with their heels upwards; some having their legs in the stocks, and their necks chained to the wall with gorgets of iron; some with both hands and legs in the stocks at once; sometimes both hands in, and both legs out; sometimes the right hand with the left leg, or the left hand with the right leg, fastened in the stocks with manacles and fetters, having neither stool nor stone to sit on, to ease their woful bodies; some standing in Skevington's gives, which were most painful engines of iron, with their bodies doubled; some whipped and scourged, beaten with rods, and buffeted with fists; some having their hands burned with a candle, to try their patience, or force them to relent; some hunger-pined, and some miserably famished and starved." * The reign of Mary, to borrow the figure of a poet of those days, was altogether fiery; Pole, Gardiner, Bonner, were like so many infernal gods:

Cuncta occupat ignis,
Solum elementum ignis, sceptrum gestante Maria:

* Coverdale, cited by Strype, Mary, chap. 31.

"Everywhere the flames raged, the only element was fire, and Mary kept up the conflagration." "When any are delivered to be burned," the Queen and Council commanded, (January 14th, 1556,) "let there be a good number of officers, and others, appointed to be at the execution, who shall apprehend and imprison all that comfort, aid, or praise those who are to be executed. And let all householders be charged not to suffer their servants to be abroad, but at their peril." This was intended to add an awful feature of terror to the persecution; and thenceforth the martyrs were to be burnt by companies. But no terror could utterly suppress demonstrations of sympathy. A Priest, a gentleman, three tradesmen, and two women,* were led from Newgate to Smithfield, and burnt at three stakes; but, although the order in Council had been published all over London on the preceding evening, and young persons forbidden to be present, so great a crowd of youth flocked to the place as never had been seen before (January 27th). Four women and one man† were thrown into one fire at Canterbury, (January 31st,) and the sound of a hymn they sang together mingled with the crackling of the faggots that consumed them. "The good Knight," Sir John Norton, compelled to be present at the execution, wept; and by this time it was calculated that, since the burning of Philpot, twenty thousand Romanists, sickened at the sight of such atrocities, had joined the ranks of the Reformed. Two women,‡ burnt at Ipswich, (February or March,) come next on our catalogue.

The most eminent advocate of the Gospel, and leader of the Reformation in England, had long been shut up in prison. It, no doubt, suited the purpose of Mary and her servants to defer his execution; but what this purpose was, has been variously conjectured. The delay cannot be accounted for by any respect of theirs to his dignity as Archbishop; for, in the eye of that Church, heresy, when followed by excommunication, annihilates all dignity; and even if it had been thought expedient to obtain a direct sanction from the Bishop of Rome for his trial, that might have been had as soon as the Legate landed. Already condemned for treason, he might have been beheaded. But his great offence was heresy: of that he was convicted by the Commissioners at Oxford, and, although Ridley and Latimer were burnt, he was reserved for execution until a sentence should be obtained from the Pope on the man who, before all others, had renounced subjection to his authority. Three Ecclesiastics—Dr. Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, sub-delegate, appointed by Paul IV., and Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, royal Commissioners—took their seats in the church of St. Mary, Oxford, on a platform magnificently furnished for the occasion, and, in humbler stations, a crowd of Doctors and other Clergy, with the Pope's collector. The reverend prisoner came from the Bocardo in custody of a body of armed men,

* Thomas Whittle, of Essex, a Priest; Bartlet Green, lawyer; Thomas Brown, John Tudson, John Went, Isabella Foster, and Joan Warne.

† Agnes Snoth, of Smarden; Anne Albright; Joan Sole, of Horton; Joan Catmer, of Hythe, widow of George Catmer, burnt also; John Lomas, of Tenterden.

‡ Agnes Potter, and Joan, wife of Michael Trunchfield, shoemaker.

wearing a plain black gown, with a Doctor's hood, and in his hand a white staff. To the Papal representative he paid no obeisance, but bent his knee to each of the assessors, as Commissioners of the King and Queen. Gloucester was offended; but the Archbishop, covering his head, stood erect, and, looking him full in the face, said that he had taken a solemn oath never to consent to the admitting of the Bishop of Rome's authority into this realm of England again; that, by God's grace, he would keep that oath, and commit nothing, either by sign or token, which might argue consent to the receiving of the same, notwithstanding the personal respect he would be willing to show to Gloucester when not representing a foreign authority. The Bishop and Dr. Martin then each addressed him in a formal oration, exhorting him to repent, conform to the Church from which he had fallen, and accept mercy. To this he replied by protesting against his Judge, refusing to answer him as such; but declaring his readiness to give an answer of the hope that was in him, if he might be permitted to speak extrajudicially. Having that permission, he knelt down, recited the Lord's Prayer, and, rising, repeated the Creed: which done, he delivered a full declaration of his principles as member of the Church of England, owing fidelity, as a subject, to the crown alone; demonstrated, in sentences which retain their force to this day, that the Pope is contrary to the crown, and, therefore, that no man can obey both; and maintained, with equal clearness, that the Pope is contrary to God, and "like the devil in his doings." And, further still, he required them to declare to the King and Queen that their oaths to the realm and to the Pope were incompatible, and could not both possibly be kept. Dr. Story then made his oration; a long conversation followed, in which Cranmer displayed the same calm dignity as had always distinguished him, and most signally in times of trial; and they, after calling on witnesses to prove what was already notorious, to whom he objected that, having broken their oaths of supremacy, they were all perjured men and incapable of giving evidence, read a citation for him to appear before the Pope within fourscore days. Then they shut him up in his chamber. At the expiration of the time Bonner, with the Bishop of Ely, came to Oxford, and, in the name of the Pontiff, declared their prisoner contumacious, for not going to Rome; yet the Papal commission affirmed that the King and Queen on one part, and he on the other, had appeared by Procurators at Rome to receive sentence. This was utterly false; but it stood as preface to the final condemnation, which the Bishops pronounced after the usual manner. Thirleby concurred in the sentence with grief,—for he had been a humble friend of the Archbishop, indebted by constant favour during many years,—but Bonner with savage glee. The most reverend confessor stood before them in Archbishop's robes, but made of canvass and rags, that contumely might aggravate his suffering; and Bonner, as junior delegate, gloried over him in a pitiless oration to the people. "This is the man," said he, "that hath ever despised the Pope's Holiness, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This

is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and is now come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man that, like Lucifer, sat in the place of Christ upon an altar * to judge others, and now is come before an altar to be judged himself." The orator, having caused the scarlet robe to be imitated, thus parodied the *Ecce homo*, beginning every sentence with "This is the man," while his colleague pulled his lawn, but could not stay the torrent of vituperation. This ended, they proceeded to complete the degradation, first taking the crosier from his hand; but he held it fast, and drew a paper from his sleeve, containing an appeal from "the Bishop of Rome, whom they call Pope," to the next General Council. Thirleby first refused to admit an appeal, as the commission required them to proceed definitively; (*omni appellatione remotâ;*) but Cranmer maintained that, as his cause was immediately with the Pope, the terms of the Papal commission should not be allowed to hinder the appeal to an authority that might arbitrate between the parties litigant: but the formality availed nothing; and he was forthwith reduced to the condition of a layman. And "now," said Bonner, "you are 'my Lord' no more." Followed by a crowd of people, who gazed on him sorrowfully, Cranmer returned to the prison, where he had spent nearly three years; but was reserved to a humiliation unspeakably greater than any he had yet suffered.

From prison they took him to the house of the Dean of Christ's Church, supplied him with every indulgence, placed him at table with the most dignified Oxonians, allowed him to walk abroad, and induced him to play at bowls with the Clergy. The loathsome durance of the Bocardo, the clamorous disputations, the sentence and the degradation, seemed to have nearly filled up the measure of punishment; his former rank, his learning and seniority were again courteously acknowledged, and groups of the most able polemics gathered around him in amicable disputation. They plied him with flattery, entreaties, promises, and gentle intimations of the doom of heretics; and one of the most skilful controversialists, Juan de Villa Garcia, a Dominican, appears to have figured chiefly in those conversations. He fell into the snare. In formal controversy he had been undaunted, as two letters written to the Queen after his citation to Rome testify; and those letters were deemed so important that no less a personage than Cardinal Pole wrote to him in reply. This might be considered a condescension, and it was followed up by redoubled persuasions. The noblemen, they represented, bare him good will: the King and Queen would be pleased by his return. He might either regain the dignity of Archbishop, or, if he preferred it, live in privacy and ease. He was yet a strong man, and might live many years more, if he would but save his life by setting his name on a piece of paper. Better do thus than burn. Then began a series of concessions. First he subscribed a submission to the Bishop

* On a platform over an altar in St. Paul's cathedral, some years before, on a public occasion. But that platform was erected there by Bonner's direction, as Cranmer reminded him.

of Rome, *because* the King and Queen had acknowledged him as chief head of the Church of England. Then he repented, revoked, but again wavered, and subscribed obedience to "the Catholic Church," the Pope, and the King and Queen. Thirdly, he set his hand to an engagement to "move and stir all others to do the like" to the utmost of his power. A fourth paper, professing unfeigned and full agreement with the Catholic Church concerning the sacraments, next received his signature. After this they obtained it to a yet larger recantation, where he was made to renounce, abhor, and detest the heresies of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings of the same kind, and profess belief in purgatory, repentance of his schism, and determination to return to the Church of his persecutors. This document was sent to the Queen, who received it very gladly; but persisted in her determination to put him to death. Not satisfied even with that copious recantation, they put another before him, in language of abject grief for his sins against the Church, with supplications for mercy; and, for the sixth time within four days, (if the published dates be accurate,) he subscribed his name. By this time it was doubtless known at Oxford that, in spite of all, he should be put to death; and he was brought to St. Mary's church again, surrounded by the armed retinue of the Lords Williams and Chandos, with several Magistrates, summoned by royal writ, and placed on an elevated stage to hear the last sermon from Dr. Cole. Cranmer held a paper containing a *seventh* recantation, which he was required to read to the audience, that, as they said, he might die in hope of heaven. But it was not the very paper that he had signed in presence of the Doctors, but another. After sermon, then, which he heard with an appearance of penitence that pleased the Priests and perplexed those who had hoped to see him steadfast to the end, he began to read. First of all he exhorted the people to pray for him. This was what the Priests had prepared. He then prayed, just as they had prescribed, asking pardon. He also gave some advice to the audience; but entirely omitted a declaration of the Queen's title to the crown. While those privy to the contents of the paper given him to adopt as his own were wondering at the omission, he went on with a confession of faith, unaltered at first, and read, still in the prescribed words: "And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any other thing that ever I did"—but, instead of enumerating his writings against the Papal supremacy and transubstantiation, he read on, with great solemnity, thus—"or said in my whole life; and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth, which now I here renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be. And that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand, since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for, may I come to the fire, it shall first be burnt. And as for the Pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy, and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine. And as

for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester. The which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the Papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to show her face." Further he could not read, for Cole shouted from the pulpit, the Priests rushed on him with cries of "Heretic!" "Stop his mouth!" and, in a few moments, he was dragged to the place where his brethren had made their last confession, and there they chained him to the stake. As soon as the faggots were kindled, he extended his right arm, that the hand which had offended might first feel the flame; and thus he stood, reiterating such sentences as these, "This hand hath offended," "Unworthy right hand," intermingled with the prayer, as long as the power of utterance continued, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit" (March 21st, 1556). For his burning, be it observed, Mary had issued the warrant with her own signature;* she had also appointed the day, and given Dr. Cole secret command to prepare the sermon. On the day following (March 22d) Cardinal Pole was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, having enjoyed the revenues of the see, without the mitre, until Cranmer's death. So hasty an assumption of the title, although already in possession of the profits, lowered the Cardinal in public estimation.

Few names of historical note now remain, and the murderous fury of persecution rages unchecked. We shall not load these pages with details which would add nothing new to the picture, but, sparing the reader the weariness of toiling through descriptions of apprehensions, incarcerations, mock trials, and burnings, merely set down a summary of the martyrdoms, passing by a mass of misery too diffused to be brought into any record, yet felt from one end of England to the other, and mourned by multitudes of wanderers and exiles, who, like their heavenly Master, had not where to lay their head. Neither would it be possible to estimate the number of persons who died in prison. There were burnt, after Cranmer to the end of the year 1556, at least as follows:—Three tradesmen † at Salisbury, in one fire (March 24th). Two Ministers and four tradesmen from Essex,‡ in Smithfield (April 24th). A man and woman at Rochester,§ (April 1st,) and a Minister ‖ at Cambridge (April 2d). Six tradesmen at Colchester ¶ (April 28th). A lame old man with a blind man at Stratford-le-Bow ** (May 15th). The former, after he was chained, flung away his crutch, and said to his companion: "Be of good comfort, my brother; for my Lord of London is our good physician. He

* It is in Rymer, xv., 431.

† John Spicer, mason; William Coberley, tailor; John Maundrel, farmer.

‡ Robert Drakes, Minister; and William Tyms, Curate. Richard Spurge, shearman; Thomas Spurge and George Ambrose, fullers; John Cavel, weaver.

§ John Harpole; and Joan Beach, a widow, of Tunbridge.

‖ John Hullier.

¶ Christopher Lyster, of Dagenham, farmer;—and of Colchester, John Mace, apothecary; John Spencer and Richard Nichols, weavers; Simon Joyne, sawyer; John Hamond, tanner.

** Hugh Laverock, painter; and John Apprice.

will heal us both shortly, thee of thy blindness, and me of my lameness." Three women * at Smithfield (May 16th). Two persons at Gloucester,† of whom one was a blind boy (May 15th). Three poor men at Beccles, in Suffolk ‡ (May 21st). Four at Lewes (June 6th), and two more in the same town a fortnight afterwards § (June 20th). A merchant's servant at Leicester (June 26th). Eleven men and two women from Essex, in one fire, at Stratford-le-Bow ‖ (June 27th); three others were delivered with them to the secular arm, but were released by Cardinal Pole, by whose dispensation it appears that they had recanted and petitioned him for mercy. Three at Bury St. Edmund's ¶ (June 30th). Three at Newbury ** (July 16th). Catherine Cawches and her two daughters were burnt at St. Peter's-Port in Guernsey (July 18th). One of the daughters, a married woman, gave birth to a child when in the fire. A person standing by snatched the babe from the flames and laid it on the grass; some one carried it to the Provost, who sent it to the Bailiff, and the Bailiff sent it back again to the fire, where it was consumed with its mother, grandmother, and aunt. Two men and a woman at Grinstead, in Sussex †† (July 18th). Joan Waste, a blind woman, at Derby (August 1st). Four at Mayfield, Sussex ‡‡ (September 24th). Two in Bristol §§ (September, beginning, and 25th). One at Northampton,‖‖ and another at Chester ¶¶ (October). One cannot wonder, after perusing such a catalogue, that there were rumours of rebellion in England in this year; nor can the patience of the Gospellers, who refused to take part in the projected insurrection, be too much admired, when we consider how extreme was the provocation.

The better part of the English Magistracy, who could not pander to the court, shrank from the work imposed on them, and allowed the followers of Jesus Christ to remain unmolested, and even to hold meetings for prayer in many towns. Informers found themselves branded with popular abhorrence; and many persecutors relented when they saw patience and faith triumph over a barbarism that now became terrible even to the barbarians themselves. Heavy complaints were made in the Privy Council against Magistrates who abetted heresy. Justices of Peace, as the impatient courtiers said, could not be found to arrest the Gospellers that ranged over the counties; and the inha-

* Catherine Hut, Elisabeth Thackvel, and Joan Horns.

† Thomas Croker, bricklayer; and Thomas Drowry, the blind boy.

‡ Thomas Spicer, labourer; John Denny, and Edmund Poole.

§ Thomas Harland, carpenter, and John Oswald, farmer, both of Woodmancott; Thomas Avington, of Ardingley, turner; and Thomas Read. The other two were Thomas Whood, Minister; and Thomas Milles.

‖ Henry Adlington, Laurence Parnam, Henry Wye, William Hallywel, Thomas Bowyer, George Searles, Edmund Hurst, Lyon Cawch, Ralph Jackson, John Derifall, John Routh, Elisabeth Pepper, and Agnes George.

¶ Roger Bernard of Framsden, labourer; Adam Foster of Mendlesham, farmer; Robert Lawson, weaver.

** Julius Palmer, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; John Gwin and Thomas Askin.

†† Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and Mother Tree.

‡‡ John Hart, Thomas Ravensdale, and two others, names unknown.

§§ Edward Sharp, and a carpenter, name unknown.

‖‖ A shoemaker, name unknown.

¶¶ Hooke.

bitants of many towns openly harboured those rebels against the Church. Letters were written from the Council to some towns, as Coventry and Rye, recommending persons to be chosen as Mayors, who, being known as zealots, might be depended on to renew the slackening persecution: but either such elections could not be compelled, or the new Mayors disappointed the expectation of their patrons; for we find no more burnings until towards the middle of January following, and then only in Kent; and when a company of twenty-two persons were sent up from Colchester to be judged by Bonner, a multitude of Londoners met them with expressions of sympathy so ardent, that the Bishop, in alarm, dismissed them, after exacting a very equivocal submission. Some Magistrates absented themselves from church, thus fearlessly showing their disgust; and in Bristol people marked the Dean and Chapter with derision as they saw them traversing the city on feast-days in procession, preceded by a cross, to fetch out the Magistrates from their houses, one by one, to hear sermons in the cathedral. The Council sent those worthy citizens a letter, requiring them to conform willingly to the orders of the Church, and go thither of their own accord.

Cambridge, long imbued with the Reformed doctrine, had slowly submitted to the Papistical re-action; and Cardinal Pole, partaking in the distrust of that learned body, of whom he was become Chancellor, sent down a Commission of Inspection. The Commissioners were the Bishop of Chester, the Bishops elect of Lincoln and Chichester, the Provost of Eton College, and chiefly, Niccoló Ormanetto, the Pope's Datary, a confidential servant of the Pontiff, appointed to England as a check on the Legate himself, whom no party could fully trust. The earnest Reformers had fallen victims, or were in exile; the timid and half-hearted made due submission, and complied with every requisition to observe the old ceremonial; the zealots were in their glory, and Cambridge was said to be thoroughly cleansed from every spot of Lutheranism. Yet this was not thought to be effected until the remains of Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, who had died there in the reign of Edward, had been exhumed, carried in procession under a strong guard from the violated graves into the market-place, the coffins placed erect, chained to a stake, and burnt. An interdict laid by the Visiters on the churches of Our Lady and St. Michael, wherein the bodies had rested, was then taken off, the pyx replaced on their altars, and the indignity done to those places by their presence avenged. Oxford was also visited; and with equal dignity the Visiters there summoned witnesses to prove heresy against the mortal remains of Peter Martyr's wife, as it had been proved against the others; but the Oxonian scholars, being all ignorant of the language spoken by the good woman when alive, could not say what manner of doctrine she had professed. The difficulty was laid before Cardinal Pole, who decided, that as she was known to have been first a Nun, and then a wife, she had died, by that fact, under excommunication, and therefore her carcase should be removed from consecrated ground and thrown into a dunghill. The sentence was executed. But Queen Elizabeth did those same relics honour by

having them taken from the dunghill and mingled with those of St. Frideswide, in order that if any successor of hers should again wish to dishonour the memory of a woman whose husband had been one of the brightest ornaments to that University, St. Frideswide's bones should share the profanation. Over the place she commanded this inscription to be engraved: *Hic jacet religio cum superstitione.* "Here lies religion with superstition." Those proceedings were manifestly inquisitorial, such as distinguished an *auto da fè* in Portugal, and were followed up by the institution of a real Inquisition, wanting only the name and peculiar apparatus, but having all the power. A royal commission * (February 8th, 1557) empowered Bonner, with a train of clerks and laymen, to make inquisition of heresy, and execute judgment, by aid of the civil authorities, who were commanded to obey their pleasure. This aroused great suspicion, as may be gathered from the words of Dr. Ponet: "Inquisition of heretical pravity *is now entered into England*, and likewise the Spaniard, to destroy the liberty of the English nation; whereby, no doubt, shortly the noses of the nobility shall be holden to the grindstone, and the necks of the commons tied under the Priests' girdles. From which misery I beseech Jesus Christ save so many as favour, from the bottom of their hearts, Christ and the whole realm of England. Amen." †

It was now customary to bring out the martyrs by companies, as at Lisbon or Seville. Fifteen had been long imprisoned at Canterbury: five perished of starvation, and the remaining ten ‡ were distributed to suffer, six in Canterbury, two at Wye, and two at Ashford (January 15th). Five ignorant, but pious, persons § were burnt in Smithfield, having been reported as non-attendants at church (April 12th); and three ‖ in St. George's fields, Southwark, for the same reason (May). Three at Bristol ¶ (May 7th). Seven at Maidstone ** (June 18th). On the same day, "two persons were carried beyond St. George's, almost at Newington, to be burnt for heresy and other matters." †† Seven at Canterbury ‡‡ (June 19th). Ten at Lewes §§ (June 22d). A man and a woman at Norwich ‖‖ (July 13th). Of the twenty-two

* Burnet, part ii., book ii. Records 32.

† Strype, Memorials, under Mary, chap. 43.

‡ John Philpot, Matthew Bradbridge, and Nicholas Final, of Tenterden; William Waterer, and Thomas Stephens, of Biddenden; Stephen Kempe, of Norgate; William Hay, of Hythe; Thomas Hudson, of Selling; William Lowick, of Cranbrooke; William Prowting, of Thornham.

§ Thomas Loseby, Henry Ramsey, Thomas Thirtel, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley.

‖ Stephen Gratwick, William Morant, —— King.

¶ Omitted by Foxe, mentioned by Burnet, but not named.

** Joan Bradbridge, of Staplehurst; Walter Appleby and Petronil his wife, and the wife of John Manning, of Maidstone; Edmund Allin and Catherine his wife, of Frittenden; and Elisabeth, a blind girl.

†† Strype, Memorials, chap. 49; not in Foxe.

‡‡ John Fishcock, Nicholas White, Nicholas Pardue, Barbara Final, widow, Bradbridge's widow, Wilson's wife, Benden's wife.

§§ Richard Woodman, George Stevens, W. Mainard, Alexander Hosman and Thomasin à Wood, his servants; Margery Moris, and James her son; Dennis Burgis, Ashdon's wife, Grove's wife. Richard Woodman was a clever man, and disputed sturdily with the Bishops.

‖‖ Simon Miller and Elisabeth Cooper.

whom Bonner had dismissed through fear of tumult in London, ten were burnt at Colchester * (August 2d). George Eagles, a tailor, had long travelled from place to place, to exhort and confirm the brethren, who faithfully concealed him from the persecutors. The Council, having heard that he had prayed that God would change the Queen's heart, *or take her away*,—but there was no sufficient proof that he had prayed for more than her conversion,—offered a reward of twenty pounds to any who would take him. He was seen on a fair-day in Colchester, the mob pursued him, and, after lying for some hours in a corn-field, supposing at last that no one was within hearing, he raised his voice in prayer, which one of the pursuers heard, dragged him into the town, and he was hung, drawn, and quartered at Chelmsford (August). His sister, and a man named Frier, were burnt at Rochester; as were a man at Norwich † (August 5th), and a woman at Lichfield. ‡ Four at Islington, § and two women again at Colchester ‖ (September 17th); followed by three others—at Northampton ¶ (September 20th), Laxfield in Suffolk ** (September 22d), and Norwich †† (September 23d). Seventeen at Chichester, at different times, ‡‡ one at Bury, §§ and three at Smithfield ‖‖ (November 18th). John Rough, a Scotchman, who had first fled into England and then taken refuge in Friesland, having ventured over to London, and become Minister of a secret congregation, was betrayed by a false brother, and burnt, together with one of his flock, Margaret Mearing (December 22d). So ends the year 1557; but this enumeration of deaths by fire is imperfect; and of those who died in prison, or suffered by less extreme, yet ruinous, persecution, no certain calculation can be made.

As the sole business of this reign had been the service of Popery, so every national interest was neglected. Philip, with ill-concealed disgust, was attending to other affairs on the Continent, and at war with France; Stafford, the Pretender, had nearly raised an insurrection; England and Scotland were on ill terms; Mary was discomforted, her health failed, no domestic joy, nor any marks of loyalty in her subjects, came to dispel the gloom of an unquiet mind; and on the first day of 1558, as if to make her condition utterly forlorn, the Duke of Guise, at the head of a powerful army, sat down before

* William Bongeor, William Purcas, Thomas Benold, Agnes Silverside, Helen Ewring, Elisabeth Folkes, William Mount, Alice his wife, Rose her daughter, and John Johnson.

† Richard Crashfield.

‡ Joyce Lewes.

§ Ralph Allerton, James Austoo, Margery his wife, and Richard Roth.

‖ Agnes Bongeor and Margaret Thurston.

¶ John Kurde, shoemaker, of Syresham.

** John Noyes, shoemaker, of Laxfield.

†† Cicely Ormes, wife of a worsted weaver, in the parish of St. Laurence.

‡‡ John Foreman, Anne Try, and Thomas Dougate, of East Grinstead; John Warner, of Bourne; Christian Grover, of the archdeaconry of Lewes; Thomas Athoth, Priest; Thomas Avington, of Ardingley; Dennis Burgis, of Buxted; Thomas Ravensdale, of Rye; John Milles, of Hellingley; Nicholas Holden and John Hart, of Withyham; James and Margery Morice, of Heathfield; John Oseward and Thomas Harland, of Woodmancott; John Ashedon, of Cattesfield.

§§ Thomas Spurdance, one of Queen Mary's servants.

‖‖ John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Richard Gibson.

Calais, and in a few days the French banner was floating on the walls. The submission of the adjacent territory followed, and England lost the key of France. But there was not enough patriotism under that reign of terror to attempt recovery of the loss; the people of England were disheartened; and the sullen Queen would have been driven from her throne, had popular discontent found a leader. She appealed to the Parliament; but the country was too poor to afford equipment for a fleet, and the utmost that could be obtained was a subsidy towards strengthening the sorry defences of the island. Yet the flock of Christ gathered fresh courage, and their private congregations appear to have been more numerous than ever, and held with greater frequency. Rough, as we have just seen, was Minister of one of those congregations in London; Cuthbert Symson was Deacon. It was their custom sometimes to go to an inn, order a dinner or other meal in a private room, and there spend two or three hours in reading the English service in King Edward's Prayer-Book, hearing a sermon, consulting on the affairs of their afflicted church, partaking of the holy communion, and contributing alms for the relief of their brethren in the prisons. An account of receipts and disbursements was kept by the Deacon of each congregation, in conjunction with the Minister, and probably exhibited in their meetings. Or they would occupy an empty warehouse, or a ship in ballast on the river, or assemble in a field. Like the primitive Christians, they addressed each other as "brethren;" and sometimes, by incautiously using that appellation in the hearing of strangers, were marked as Gospellers, and watched. Some foreign Protestants took part in those meetings. Cuthbert Symson, the Deacon, with two others, were betrayed by a perfidious member of their church; and after he had been several times tortured in the Tower of London, to disclose the names of those who had come to the English service, but whom he would not betray, he and his companions * were burnt in Smithfield (March 28th). On the same day, Cardinal Pole, as Prelate of the see of Canterbury, appointed a Commission of Inquisitors of his diocese, with the veteran zealot Harpsfield at their head. One William Nichol, a poor half-witted man, was burnt at Haverford-West (April 9th); but the custom of burning by companies was quickly resumed. Three at Norwich † (May 19th). Three at Colchester ‡ (May 26th). A congregation of forty persons were surprised in a field near Islington, and surrendered themselves, without resistance, to a constable and six or seven men. A few of the women escaped, as the whole company might have done. Two died in prison; § seven were eventually released, after being flogged by Bonner himself; seven were burnt in Smithfield ‖ (June 27th); and six at Brentford ¶ (July 14th).

* Hugh Foxe and John Devenish.

† William Seaman, a farmer, of Mendlesham, in Suffolk; Thomas Carman, Thomas Hudson, of Aylsham, Norfolk.

‡ William Harris, Richard Day, and Christian George.

§ Matthew Wythers and T. Taylor.

‖ Henry Pond, Reinald Eastland, Robert Southam, Matthew Ricarby, John Floyd, John Holiday, Roger Holland.

¶ Robert Mills, Stephen Cotton, Robert Dynes, Stephen Wight, John Slade, and William Pikes.

Richard Yeoman, formerly Curate of Dr. Taylor, of Hadleigh, suffered, after long imprisonment, at Norwich (July 10th). John Alcock, the young man who so long persevered in reading the English service alone in Hadleigh church, died in Newgate of gaol-fever. Thomas Benbridge, a devoted gentleman, was burnt at Winchester (August 5th). Four * at Bury St. Edmund's. One named Edward Horne,† at Newent (September), two at Ipswich,‡ a poor woman § on Southernhay, by Exeter (November 4th); and five at Canterbury ‖ (November 10th) brought up the rear of this noble army. It is remarkable that they prayed that their blood might be the last that should be shed; and so it was. Nor is it less worthy of notice that one of them, John Corneford, pronounced a singular excommunication of all those blasphemers and heretics who maintained error against God's most holy word, condemned His truth for heresy, or maintained a false Church, or feigned religion: "So that by this thy just judgment, O most mighty God, against thy adversaries, thy true religion may be known to thy great glory and our comfort, and to the edifying of all our nation." It might seem that the martyr had spoken by inspiration. At that moment the Parliament was sitting, but scarcely able to attempt either legislation or supply. Contagious diseases prevailed all over the realm, spreading death; and just one week after the immolation of the victims at Canterbury, Mary died of the epidemic (November 17th). On the morning after Mary's death, Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen: "in the afternoon all the churches in London rang their bells, and at night were bonfires made, and tables set in the streets, and the people did eat and drink and make merry." ¶ But astonishment and sadness brooded over the priesthood. Their chief at Lambeth lay sick of the same disease that had been fatal to his mistress, and boded no good to his cause from her whose queenship he heard proclaimed that night from the neighbouring belfries. His heart sank, and, before the dawn of day, Cardinal Pole, healer of the schism, but last Legate of Rome in these dominions, was numbered with the dead. Thus perished the final triumph of the Papacy over England, if, indeed, it be not too much to call that violence a triumph. The alien brought a bloody war into our country. Two hundred and eighty, or two hundred and ninety, persons were murdered in the flames; many more perished by imprisonment, torture, and famine; and a much larger number fled into Germany, and other parts of the world. Another multitude filled the prisons, or wandered, houseless, in remote parts of the kingdom. In the heat of this battle the leaders were suddenly cut off by death, or disabled, by the change of Sovereigns, from continuing the conflict, so that the temporary and unreal triumph terminated

* John Cooke, sawyer; Robert Miles, shearman; Alexander Lane, wheelwright; and James Ashley.

† Supplied by Strype, Mary, chap. 63.

‡ Alexander Gouch and Alice Driver.

§ Wife of one Prest.

‖ John Corneford, of Wrotham; Christopher Brown, of Maidstone; John Herst, of Ashford; Alice Snoth, and Catherine Knight.

¶ Strype, Mary, chap. 60.

in a shameful defeat. The burial of Mary, and the liberation of England from the Romish yoke, are collateral events in our history.*

CHAPTER V.

THE EMPIRE UNDER CHARLES V.—*Diet of Augsburg—The defensive League of Protestants at Smalcald—The Smalcaldic War—The Pacification of Passau and Establishment of religious Liberty in Germany—Sessions of the Council of Trent*—THE NETHERLANDS AND SPAIN UNDER PHILIP II.—*Endeavours to suppress the Reformation—Resistance of the Reformed Confederates—Crusade under the Duke of Alva—Independence of Holland, and Separation from the Spanish Netherlands—Suppression of the Reformation by the Inquisition in Spain—Later Persecutions in Spain and Portugal.*

THE Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse had withdrawn from the Diet of Augsburg, appointing persons to act there in their stead. Charles V., and the Popish majority who remained, unable to bring them to a submission that would have precluded all hope of religious reformation, or to extort from the Protestant states contributions towards the Turkish war, while, as Nonconformists, they were to have been excluded from the Imperial Diet, issued a second edict, or recess, at the end of the session, to this effect:—"None shall be tolerated for the future who teach contrary to the Church of Rome concerning the sacraments. There shall be no change in the celebration of public or private mass. Ceremonies are to be unaltered, images retained, or restored to the places whence they have been taken. The authorized doctrine alone is to be taught. Married Priests are commanded to put away their wives; and no preacher is to speak a sentence of controversy, or address one of reproof, to those of the Church dominant. No one shall attempt to proselyte another to the damnable and brutish doctrine of Luther or other sectaries." In short, the Reformation was to be extinguished at one stroke throughout the empire, and *loss of life and goods* was decreed for every recusant. The civil authorities were commanded to enforce obedience.

This was more than persecution: it was equivalent with a declaration of war on the Reformed, to whom no alternative remained, but to surrender conscience or hazard life. Charles and his party thus relinquished the succours needed for resisting Solyman and his Turks, who, but the year before, had besieged and stormed Vienna, whence they were expelled but by an extraordinary effort of the garrison and inhabitants, while Hungary had been conquered, and the barbarian, irritated, rather than conquered, at the metropolis of Austria, was again preparing forces to invade the eastern provinces of the empire, and threatened to overrun all Germany. The Pontiff had just engaged his imperial ally to send German troops into Tuscany to crush the independence of the Florentines, and humble the house

* The principal authorities for this chapter are Foxe, Burnet, and Strype, to whom all the historians of the period must be indebted. Others are acknowledged incidentally.

of the Medici; the free states of Italy were only held down by force from casting off the Papal yoke. All Christendom was threatened by the Turks, who seemed likely to recover, at least, the territories once occupied by the Saracens. Yet Protestant Germany was madly provoked to secede from the common defence of Christendom. So thought moderate politicians; but, in truth, it was well that the Turk hung upon the skirts of Popedom, to divert a power which, by falling with undivided weight on the few states then struggling for religious liberty, might have swept them away, as it had swept away their predecessors the Albigenses in the southern provinces of France.

Was it lawful for the Protestants to resist force with force? On this question they were not yet agreed. If the Electors and Princes of the Germanic empire were vassals of the Prince elected at its head, their duty, they thought, would be only to oppose passive resistance, —to die rather than sin against God by rebellion. If, however, they were Sovereigns over their own states, and the Emperor no more than *suzerain*, or liege Lord, with rights limited by the independent sovereignty of each Prince in regard to his own subjects, and by the general interests of the federated states, then each Prince was as much bound to protect his subjects against the Emperor as to aid the Emperor against a common enemy. The latter view was found to be constitutional, and prevailed. They also considered that a duty to God now bound them to resist their earthly superior, to unite in arms for this resistance, and to protect their subjects from the execution of the murderous edict. And since the Emperor and his instigators, or adherents, were leagued with a foreign Prince, the Pope, against the religious liberties of a part of the empire, and had determined to enforce their will by the usual instruments of war, deprivation of life and goods, including, of course, extinction of the reluctant states, it became necessary for them to appeal to those Princes whose cause might be thought common with their own. Luther, Melancthon, and other theologians were consulted, and, at first hearing, generally objected to Protestants taking the sword; but the question related to public right rather than private duty; the Princes were compelled to decide for mutual defence, because threatened with coercion by the sword, and the theologians were constrained to acknowledge the justice of their determination. Thus originated the league of Smalcald.

As "supreme advocate of the Church" Charles professed to entertain but one desire, to obey God and the Pope. The Legate, Campeggio, swayed the counsels of the majority at Augsburg. With extreme difficulty had the Protestants obtained permission to read their confession of faith, and, after all, they were severely prohibited from publishing any account of the proceedings of the Diet. Their remonstrances were treated with contempt; threatenings pursued them; and Germany was filled with intelligence of warlike preparations for mastering their constancy, which, however, was invincible. Disgusted with the tyranny of Charles, who had long trampled on the usages and constitution of the empire, some states and free towns, that had not hitherto given decided support to the cause of religious

liberty, now declared themselves, and even Augsburg, notwithstanding the presence of power enough to annihilate the city, withheld its seal from the authentication of the Acts of the Diet, to which the seal of the city where the states met had been customarily appended.

However peaceable the Reformed might wish to be, their enemies gave a signal of violence but a few days after the recess. On St. Francis's day, (October 4th, 1530,) a body of Spanish soldiers, who attended the Emperor, forcibly entered the church of the Franciscan monastery, where Cellarius, a Zuinglian, had preached. Priests performed the ceremony of "reconciliation," or purifying the place. The Senate had remonstrated, but in vain. They refused to supply furniture for the altar, and vessels for mass; but Cæsar sent them; and, after the celebration, the insolent Spaniards completed the hallowing of the temple by a general demolition of the seats belonging to the Protestant congregation; then a multitude of citizens assembled to revenge the insult. Many were wounded by the soldiers, and, in the moment of provocation, the multitude were proceeding to break into the cloisters and revenge themselves on the Monks, when the Magistrates, with great difficulty, appeased their fury.

From Augsburg Charles proceeded to Cologne, attended by a numerous company of Princes, with his brother Ferdinand, whom he wished them to elect King of the Romans. The Archbishop of Mentz, at his command, had summoned the Electors thither; but the Elector of Saxony went to Smalcald, and sent his son, John Frederic, to protest against the intended election. According to the *Bulla Aurea*, or charter of the empire, which had been already broken, such an election ought not to take place until after the death of the Emperor, when his successor should be freely chosen by the Electors. His title then was King of the Romans, and, when crowned by the Pope, he received the salutation of Emperor. By the present contrivance it was intended, notwithstanding that the imperial dignity was elective, to secure the succession to Ferdinand, as by a similar act it had been at first procured by Charles IV. from bribed Electors for his son Wenzel. The Elector of Saxony, after sending his protest to Cologne, hastened to Smalcald, where the following personages joined him in consultation on measures of self-defence: —Ernest, Duke of Brunswick; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt; Gelhard and Albert, Counts of Mansfeld, the latter of whom acted as representative of Philip, Duke of Brunswick. Legates were also there from Strasburg, Nuremberg, Constance, Ulm, Magdeburg, Bremen, Reutlingen, Heilbronn, Memmingen, Lindau, Isny, Kempten, Biberach, Windsheim, and Weissenburg. Their first care was to memorialize the Emperor for a suspension of the prosecutions consequent on his edict, and to employ learned men to study the history and attributes of Councils, and then deliberate as to what ought to be done if the Pope should claim to be head of the Council promised by the Emperor. But that a temporal Prince should presume to hear a confession of faith, appoint conferences on points of doctrine, treat of ecclesiastical discipline, and promise a Council, gave great umbrage to the Bishop of Rome; yet His Holiness thought

well to dissemble his indignation, and wrote an encyclical to the crowned heads of Europe, descriptive of the troubled state of Christendom, declaring his intention to attempt a remedy by the assemblage of a General Council, and desiring that they would all be there in person, or by proxy. It soon became apparent that Clement VII., no less than his predecessors, dreaded a Council, but endeavoured, by holding out a hope of reformation, to check the progress of discontent, and, by making the proposal seem to be his own, to prevent the Emperor from usurping his prerogative by the convocation of an ecclesiastical assembly. The Protestants of Smalcald, for their part, also wrote to the same Princes, disclaiming the subversive principles and practices of which they were accused, descanting on the extreme corruption of the Church, and soliciting influence for the convention of a free and Christian Council in Germany, where no coercion or injustice would be employed. The King of Denmark, fearing lest his own dominions should be disturbed by intrigues of the ejected Clergy, —for there the Reformation had been recently established,—joined the league. Hamburgh and some of the Hanse Towns gave their adhesion; correspondence with the Swiss began, in hope that they might be induced to unite under the Augsburg confession: this imperial edict, like that of Worms, had very partial and timid executors, and war seemed to be imminent.

At that juncture Luther used his utmost influence to avert so great a calamity, both commenting on the edict in a pamphlet issued shortly after its publication, and, in his extensive correspondence, expostulating with the hostile party, and exhorting the Germans not to take up arms against their brethren, who suffered for conscience' sake, not even if required to do so by the Emperor. In a second conference at Smalcald it was determined to commit no act of aggression, but only to prepare for defence in case of attack. Their union and growing strength at home, a direct alliance with some foreign states, and the favourable reception given to their representations by the Kings of England and France, compelled their adversaries to respect them. The Archbishop Elector of Mentz and the Elector Palatine interposed their mediation with the head of the empire, and, after some preparatory negotiations, a pacification was effected at Nuremberg, (July 23d, 1532,) when Charles consented to a peace between all the states of the Germanic nation, both ecclesiastical and secular, until a General, Christian, and free Council; or, if that could not be had, until all the states of the empire could again assemble. Meanwhile, he agreed that no one, on account of religion, or for any other reason, should make war on another, nor invade his territory, nor consent to any such invasion or violence; but that all should conduct themselves with mutual forbearance and charity. The edicts of Worms and Augsburg being suspended, the confederates agreed to contribute their share towards carrying on war with the Turks. So did Protestantism attain to political consideration, and Solyman was the unconscious instrument of saving them from a more terrible crusade than any that had yet been known in Europe.

Again the Court of Rome heard with indignation that Charles had

failed to execute the orders of the Church for the destruction of heretics, and had presumed to allow liberty of conscience; but they gladly accepted the succour needed. At the head of a great army, he expelled the Turk from Austria, then went into Italy, and, finding Clement at Bologna, conferred with him on their common interests. But that interview only served to demonstrate that the interests of the empire and of the priesthood were incapable of conciliation. Charles desired a Council in Germany; Clement would not consent to one out of Italy. The Protestants were dreaded by them both; and, now that their services were no longer needed, infractions of the Nuremberg pacification again became frequent in the provincial courts.

Historians have plodded with pedestrian diligence through the dreary period of twenty-five years that intervenes between the rupture at Augsburg and the establishment of religious liberty in Germany in 1555. We shall only stay to point out a few of the chief way-marks by which the toilsome march of Protestant Germany towards the attainment of civil liberty and of a political power that has contributed nothing to their religious prosperity, may be remembered. Yet this political establishment, subsequently shaken and re-modelled, may have been a basis whereon to raise a fairer spiritual structure in times yet to come.

Clement VII., pretended head of Christendom, quarrelled with Charles V., who, as arbitrator between the Holy See and the Duke of Ferrara respecting the principality of Modena and Reggio, had offended by deciding in favour of the Duke. To quarrel with the advocate of the Church at a time when his arm was needed to crush the Lutherans was impolitic, and much more so to go into France to visit Charles's rival, Francis I. (A.D. 1533.)

His successor, Paul III., thought well to simulate great anxiety for a Council, thereby to throw the Protestants off their guard, but artfully proposed conditions which he knew they would not accept. However, he sent Vergerio, a trusty Nuncio, into Germany, with instructions to sound the Protestants, and report. One Saturday evening, (November 6th, 1535,) the Nuncio entered Wittemberg, mounted on a mule,—for him to have ridden a horse would not have been so canonical,—and attended by twenty horsemen. The Governor of the province met His Eminence, conducted him to the castle, and lodged him hospitably. Next morning Luther sent early for his barber, told him merrily that he had been summoned to wait upon the Nuncio of his most Holy Father, and therefore must not make a shabby appearance, but go well shaven, and look as young as possible, that his adversaries might fancy him to be a young man, and have the greater fear of his living long to trouble them. Dressed in his best apparel, and wearing, over and above, a gold chain, which the Elector had at some time given him, he stepped into a carriage, sent for him from the castle, accompanied by his friend Pomeranus, saying, as they drove off, "Here we go, Pope Germanus and Cardinal Pomeranus!" On arrival at the castle they were instantly admitted, and he addressed the Nuncio with studied courtesy, but without any of the usual titles. Conversation soon turned on the projected

Council, which Luther said, truly enough, the Pope promised in jest rather than in earnest; but that, if it ever came to pass, the only business transacted there would relate to trifles, such as tonsures and robes, not to faith, justification, nor agreement of Christians in spirit and in truth. "We," said he, "are made sure of our faith by the Holy Spirit. We have no need of any Council; but leave that for those poor simple creatures who, oppressed under your tyranny, know not what they must believe. But go on, convoke a Council, if you please: I will go to it, God willing, though they burn me." "Where would you have it?" asked the Legate. "Where you will," said he, "at Mantua, Padua, Florence, or anywhere." "Why not at Bologna?" "To whom does Bologna belong?" "To the Pope." "What! has the Pope got that place too? Well, I will go even there." The Legate pleasantly asked what he would say to the Pope coming to Wittemberg. "Let him come," replied Luther: "we shall be glad to see him." "But shall he come with an army, or alone?" "We will receive him either way." After this sort of pleasantry they entered on serious colloquy, but parted just as they had met.

Vergerio soon returned to Italy, and related to the Pope the sum of his conferences with the German Protestants, who generally, as he said, desired a Council, but free, held in Germany, and not subject to the Court of Rome. Of Luther and his friends he said that they wanted it not, but were incorrigible; and advised that, it being impossible to give such a Council, or to overcome the obstinacy of the heresiarch by gentle means, Protestantism should be put down at once by force of arms. Paul would have gladly followed this advice, not on account of religion, which concerned him little, but to divert the Emperor from taking possession of Milan. Charles, covered with new glory by a recent victory on the coast of Africa, where he had liberated twenty thousand Christian slaves, and now intent on the pacification of Germany, since the Protestant states distrusted him on account of his severities on the one hand, and the reluctance of his concessions on the other, was then at Naples; and to him, also, Vergerio repaired, to incite him to war on the disaffected portion of his empire.* But, as he would rather employ the authority of a Council to withdraw the people from their teachers, than, by attempting force, commit himself to a German war of very doubtful issue, and relinquish his designs on Lombardy, he hastened to Rome, and held secret consultation with the Pope. Their objects were equally political. The Priest advised war: the soldier insisted on a Council. The robe yielded to the sword; and the Emperor, so far satisfied, appeared in the Consistory (April 28th, 1536) to thank the Sacred College for their consent to a universal Council for the peace and unity of Christendom, and prayed them to expedite the Bull of indiction before his departure from the seat of the Apostles. A committee of Cardinals prepared the document, and, at last, (June 12th,) the summons was issued, couched in language that neatly veiled their

* Yet Vergerio, some years afterwards, advised Maximilian to be tolerant, held correspondence with the Bohemian Brethren, and would probably have joined them, had he lived. The Romanists, of course, say that he was fickle.

conflicting politics, and declared a threefold wish,—to unite the Church, destroy heresy, and wage common war upon the Turk. The Fathers were to assemble at Mantua. But when the Protestants heard this, they would not consent to appear in a Council convoked by authority of the Pope, to whom they were not subject, instead of the Emperor, to whom alone they had appealed. They could not agree to a convocation expressly made for the eradication of their faith under the name of "heresy," nor submit that faith to the sentence of men whose judgment was bound unchangeably by oath to the will of their spiritual Chief. Nor could they trust themselves to meet in Mantua, where the Council would be Italian, not German, and where they, as hated heretics, would be exposed to ecclesiastical intrigue and military force. Of the decisions of such an assemblage there could be no question, nor any doubt of the consequences to the condemned states. No safe-conduct would suffice to save them from imprisonment, nor, if that should suit the Priests better, from tumultuary violence or private assassination. By no persuasion could the Emperor conquer their repugnance. They anxiously deliberated at Smalcald, assisted by Luther, Melancthon, Pomeranus, Bucer, Osiander, and others, and, encouraged by the favourable correspondence of Albert, Duke of Prussia, and by the cordial and unqualified adherence of Gustavus I., King of Sweden, resolved to prepare for defence in case of war, refused to recognise the Pope as principal in negotiations for a Council, and would not give audience to a Bishop whom he had sent to take part in the conference. The Duke of Mantua, too, who had consented to allow a Council to be held in that city, when no one expected that the project would be realized, as soon as he saw the Bull of indiction, refused to admit any such assemblage, unless a strong garrison were placed under his absolute command, for protection against the Council itself, and unless the expenses of that necessary defence were defrayed by the Pope, as convener of the perilous congregation. Henry VIII. of England, also, launched a manifesto against the projected Council, because it was convoked by the Bishop of Rome, whom he did not acknowledge. Even the Italian states took alarm, suspecting that Paul had formed some design prejudicial to their liberties; and thus the idea of a Mantuan Council was relinquished. A second Bull conferred the doubtful distinction on Vicenza: a second manifesto from Henry VIII. contributed to nullify the Bull. The Papal envoys found no one to do them honour at Vicenza; and Paul, having prorogued a Council that would not come, vented his anger in a harmless fulmination against Henry VIII., who felt it not, but persevered with the more lively diligence in the demolition of English monasteries. And the confederated Protestants, increasing in number, found their promised subsidies large enough to warrant them in waging defensive war at any moment. Charles V., alarmed, proposed a conference of theologians to endeavour reconciliation: the Pope, dreading even the shadow of a national Council, ran to his Consistory for the succour of their wisdom to avert that evil; and his Legate, following the Emperor and his brother, whom he met in the Netherlands,

ineffectually endeavoured to engage them in the establishment of a league to counteract that of Smalcald, (A.D. 1539,) but obtained, shortly afterwards, (A.D. 1540,) a cruel edict from the King of France against the Reformed in that country.

The Diet of Ratisbon assembled, in obedience to the Emperor, to make one more effort for effecting the impossibility,—a union of Protestants and Papists (April, 1541). He had prayed the Pope to send a Legate with full powers to end the dispute at once, and give one religion to Germany. Cardinal Gasparo Contarini came, indeed, but disappointed his imperial host by declaring that his powers to consummate religious uniformity in Germany were not full, because Jesus Christ had conferred the gift of infallibility on Peter and his successors only, by virtue of the words, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not," and that the Pope's infallibility could not be delegated. However, the theologians entered on their colloquies, and the Princes on theirs; but nothing was done beyond the repetition of Roman claims and Lutheran remonstrances. The hope of suppressing controversy by Diets was nearly given up; and Charles dismissed the assembly, (July 28th,) with adjournment of the matter to a General Council, a German Synod, or an Imperial Diet. He promised to go to Italy again to endeavour to obtain a Council from the Pope; and, meanwhile, forbade the Protestants to receive any more articles of doctrine than those on which they had been able to agree with their antagonists in conferences holden during that Diet, and commanded the Bishops to reform their churches. He graciously allowed the Protestants to doubt concerning the articles that lay unsettled, after the labour just ended; but no more monasteries were to be suppressed, nor any one solicited to change his religion. The goods of the Church were to remain untouched, except by the Ministers of religion, without distinction of party. The edict of Augsburg was suspended. This done, Charles V. went to Lucca to confer with the Pope concerning a Council, and Cardinal Contarini made haste to purify himself from a suspicion of having caught a taint of Lutheranism during his intercourse with the heretical divines. The Cardinal repaired his reputation for Romish orthodoxy, and the Emperor obtained a Bull for the celebration of a Council at Trent, (May 22d, 1542,) yet by no means satisfactory to himself; for, notwithstanding all his labours to obtain a Council, he was not associated with the Pope in the instrument issued for its convocation, but merely exhorted, in common with other Sovereigns, to be present.

Three Cardinals, Pietro Paolo, Parisio, and Giovanni Morone, Italians, and Reginald Pole, with a few Italian Bishops, arrived at Trent, (November 22d, 1542,) and were met by the imperial envoys and a few Bishops, chiefly Neapolitans, sent by the Emperor. But no more came, and again this purpose was frustrated. Diets and conferences are related as having been holden in Nuremberg, Smalcald, Frankfort, and Spire, but with no very important results. A peace between the Emperor and the King of France gave an aspect of tranquillity to Europe; and the Pope, unwilling to be again urged to assemble a Council, resolved to do so promptly, and without solicita-

tion, in hope of turning it to his own advantage. Another Bull (November 19th, 1544) invited all concerned to appear in Trent; another followed, conveying powers to the Legates; and yet another, but private, furnishing instructions, with authority to suspend, remove, or dissolve the Council, if necessary. Again, in a Diet at Worms, the Protestants reiterated their objection, much to the annoyance of the Emperor, who artfully interposed occasions of delay, by citing the Archbishop of Cologne to answer to himself for religious innovations, and by appointing a conference at Ratisbon, to treat of the differences of doctrine, while he was making secret preparations for war.* And Paul, aware of his exasperation against those whom he could not manage with edicts, colloquies, or Diets, sent Cardinal Farnese with secret instructions to urge him to a crusade, that might be conducted during the sessions of the Council, which was, at last, begun, December 13th, 1545. This was precisely what the Emperor intended. For this, although he had made peace with Francis and a truce with Solyman, he was raising fresh troops, and now gladly entered into the preliminaries of a treaty with the Pope, which was afterwards ratified at Rome. The conferences at Ratisbon, into which the Protestants entered with extreme reluctance, were soon broken up; and although the Reformation made greater progress than ever in Germany, they were afflicted by the death of Luther, who entered into his rest, leaving clearest evidence of his trust in the Redeemer, (February 18th, 1546,) but two months after the opening of the Council. The death of Luther was followed by successive indications of a fearful struggle. The secret of an intended war transpired, and Germany was agitated with alarming rumours.

The Elector of Mentz and but few of the other Protestant Princes went to Ratisbon; and even they, after noisy controversy, in which a Spaniard, Malvenda, took the lead against them, delivered a protest, and withdrew (March 20th). Among the theologians deputed thither was Juan Diaz, a native of Cuenca, in Spain, a learned man, whom the Senate of Strasburg had sent as their representative, together with Bucer. Malvenda was mortified at seeing a Spaniard sustain the character of Protestant theologian; but, being unable to bring him back to the Church he had forsaken, by a countryman, one Marquina, communicated intelligence of his employment at Ratisbon to his brother, Alfonso Diaz, Advocate in the Rota at Rome. Alfonso, roused to anger, instantly took post-horses, and, accompanied by a man under the character of servant, hastened to Ratisbon, but found that his brother had retired to Neuburg on the Danube, in Bavaria. To this retreat Juan had been persuaded by his friends, who had reason to fear that the Spaniards in Ratisbon would take his life. Alfonso, with the attendant, went to Neuburg, and, professing a purely religious zeal, endeavoured to recall him from Protestantism; but finding that to be impossible, pretended to be himself converted by

* This repeated assumption of authority in matters of religion gave great umbrage, both at Trent and Rome, "to those," as Courayer (Hist. Conc. Trente, tom. i., p. 227) observes, "who, neither in one place nor the other were in the secret of affairs, and knew nothing of his design to make war upon the Protestants."

the force of argument. Juan rejoiced in what he believed to be the triumph of truth, without suspicion heard his brother propose that they should return to Italy together, and there labour for the propagation of the Gospel; and thus they returned to Ratisbon, where the friends of Juan, and especially Ochino, as they heard, who had recently fled from Italy, and wrote from Augsburg, unanimously dissuaded him from venturing to show himself in that country. Alfonso concealed his disappointment, bade Juan an apparently affectionate farewell, after having, in private, warned him against Malvenda, and forced him to receive a sum of money in acknowledgment of spiritual benefit, and set out as if on return to Italy, while his brother went back to Neuburg. But he soon left the highway, and, taking various roads to elude observation, made his way at night to the neighbourhood of Neuburg. Before day-break he was at the gate of his brother's lodgings. The ruffian servant knocked for admission, said that he had a letter to deliver to Don Juan Diaz from his brother Alfonso, was readily admitted, went up stairs, while Alfonso himself kept watch at the foot, and, while Juan was reading the letter, clove his skull with one stroke of an axe that he had concealed under his cloak. As Juan fell, the assassin, leaving the weapon in his head, ran down stairs, Alfonso and he mounted their horses, and rode away; but, although relays were ready to take them out of Germany, they were overtaken at Innspruck, and thrown into prison. The civil authorities promptly took measures to punish the fratricide and his accomplice, who were brought before the criminal court at Innspruck; but the Cardinals of Trent and Augsburg managed to get the trial suspended; at length the Emperor prohibited the Judges from resuming it; and Alfonso and his man returned to Rome, boasting of the horrible achievement. At Trent, also, he appeared, and the fathers of the Council listened with complacency to his relation of the deed, as he took his seat in their jovial companies.*

The conference at Ratisbon was to be followed by a Diet of the states, summoned by the Emperor, who came first (April 10th). Three days before the opening of the Diet, some Protestants were deputed to wait on him with a complaint that justice had not been executed on the murderers of Diaz; but he put them off by saying that he would advise with his brother, as King of the Romans, to whom they next applied; and Ferdinand, again, promised to advise with Charles. That a theologian, delegated to the Conference in compliance with the wish of the Emperor, should have been murdered with impunity, and justice be denied by the Emperor himself, portended no good.

In honour of St. Boniface, the pioneer of Papal domination in Germany, the Diet was opened with great solemnity on the day sacred to his worship, (June 5th,) a Cardinal saying mass. The imperial speech, prescribing the business of the session, called on the states to

* M'Crie, in his History of the Reformation in Spain, gives an account of this murder, by help of additional authorities, rather more minute than that collected by Sleidan and Seckendorff.

advise him how to put an end to dissensions on account of religion, since conferences had failed, and intimated the necessity of increasing the army, as a precaution of "defence." He was pretty sure of the advice to be had from the Popish states for the suppression of the Reformed religion, and had employment ready for additional military force. The Papists, however, advised that the Protestants should go to Trent, and be required to submit to the Council. These asked for peace and religious liberty, and again presented their confession to the Emperor, who smiled ironically when they expressed their confidence that the gates of hell would not prevail against them. No Act of the states had sanctioned war; but seeing that the preparations were no longer secret, he suddenly despatched Cardinal Madruccio to Rome (June 9th), to demand of the Pope the contingent promised. To Italy and Flanders he sent, within two days following, officers supplied with money to raise recruits; and applied to the German Protestant Princes who had not joined the league at Smalcald, to assist him in putting down the rebellious states, as he thought fit to call them, declaring that he was not waging a war of religion, but only endeavouring to save the empire from sedition. The confederate Princes presented themselves before him in a body, to demand the reason of those war-like preparations. They wished to know why, when there was no foreign war, so active a levy of troops was going forward throughout Germany and the Netherlands, and even in Italy, and others on their march from Spain. He briefly answered by assurance of his love towards all Germany, desire for peace and unity, and determination *to compel to obedience all who opposed his wishes.* Next day he sent a long circular letter to the free cities adhering to the league of Smalcald, telling them that he was not going to make war on any for the sake of religion, but to break up that league by force, as far as persuasion should fail to detach the confederates from it.

But that the war in preparation was intended, not to put down a few rebels, but to make an end of evangelical religion, was clearly avowed in a treaty between the Emperor and the Pope, already prepared, and then waiting to be ratified at Rome. Madruccio had been sent off by post to accelerate the business; and in a full Consistory of the purple-robed (June 22d), a Cardinal read the compact: "Seeing that for many years Germany had been troubled with heresy, to the great damage both of Church and State, and not without peril of bloodshed: seeing that all means tried for the restoration of tranquillity were fruitless, a Synod had been at last assembled at Trent; but the Lutherans and Smalcaldians had refused to submit themselves thereunto. Therefore, in order that the work of that Council might be conducted to the glory of God, and benefit of Christendom, and especially of Germany, it had seemed good to the Pontiff and to Cæsar mutually to agree to the following engagements. Cæsar, the Pope assisting, should make war, in the month of June, upon the Protestants of Smalcald, and other heretics, and endeavour, with all his might, to compel them to render absolute obedience to the true and ancient religion, and the Apostolic See: although it should be lawful

for him, in the mean time, to try milder means.* It should not be lawful for Cæsar to enter into any treaty with those heretics, without consent of the Pope or his Legate. Within a month from date, the Pope engaged to pay at Venice 100,000 *scudi*,† in addition to the same sum already deposited at Augsburg, to be expended by Papal agents on the war; and any surplus to be retained by them, if the war should cease. The Pope engaged to send, and support for six months, twelve thousand infantry and five hundred horse, with an Apostolic Legate as Commander, and a regular appointment of officers." By the original compact, Cæsar would have had half the revenues of the Spanish churches for one year, and 500,000 *scudi* from the sale of property belonging to Spanish monasteries; but the Consistory would not sanction this, and therefore promised an equivalent. "If during six months, any Christian Prince should attack Cæsar, the Pope would attack that Prince with arms temporal and spiritual. Other Catholic Princes might join this league." ‡ Thus were the resources of the Papacy brought to bear on the Protestant states of Germany with the full weight of a foreign invasion for the suppression of the Gospel.

On their side, the Protestants spared no effort for self-defence. Their deputies, unable to consult each other at Ratisbon, quitted the place. An army was raised in haste; appeals were made to friendly states all over Europe; and although it was impossible to assemble and to distribute forces equal to the exigences of such a war, much was done. The details of letters, embassies, treaties, levies, and military operations must not occupy these pages; but it was necessary to record, however briefly, evidence that the civil war which now afflicted Germany was waged entirely on account of religion, and was a crusade against Protestantism. Amidst the tumult of military preparation the Protestants did not neglect the higher duty of prayer. Saxony took the lead in this appeal to the King of nations. The seventh Psalm, with some appropriate prayers, was printed and profusely circulated. From all pulpits the people were instructed and encouraged, and solemn assemblies every where appointed by public authority for imploring help of God. Vast congregations united in deprecating the Divine displeasure, the licentiousness of war, the spread of heresies, the failure of evangelical ministrations. They besought the Most High to dispose the hearts of the Emperor and Princes to peace, and to save their country from carnage and destruction. And, notwithstanding the peril to which every Christian was exposed, it is most worthy of observation that, even then, the Reformation advanced; and Leutkirch, an imperial city, dared to cast off the yoke of Romanism, and make unanimous profession of the Reformed religion.

Yet all did not abide the trial. John Marquis of Brandenburg-Anspach, Eric Duke of Brunswick, George Duke of Mecklenburg,

* As the month of June was far advanced (26th) when this treaty was signed, it was explained, in an appended note, that that same month of June was meant, and that the permission to try milder methods was accounted for by the copy having been received at Rome from Cæsar a long time before.

† A *scudo* is now valued at 4*s.* 4*d.*

‡ Pallavicini, Hist. Conc. Trident., lib. viii., cap. 1.

Ulric Duke of Wurtemberg, and the city of Frankfort, yielding credit to the assurance of the Emperor that he had not made war on account of religion, or overawed with the prospect of an unequal conflict, consented to join in hostility against their confederates. Joachim Elector of Brandenburg, and Frederic Elector Palatine, stood neuter. The aged Archbishop of Cologne resigned his electorate, unable to join in such a war, on either side, or to submit to the pleasure of the imperial persecutor. The league, thus weakened, was unable to array a sufficient force in legitimate defence, although seventy thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse took the field with extraordinary promptitude; and, under an able General, with the advantage of making the first attack, might have conquered Charles, while as yet waiting for the greater part of his newly-recruited army. But instead of marching on his camp at Ingoldstadt, the officers in command of the Protestant army were otherwise instructed; the Papal columns made their way into Germany without any effectual resistance, and the slight advantage attained by the occupation of two or three towns was lost in the first battle. Maurice Duke of Saxony had not always been on terms of amity with the Elector John Frederic, a good man who, like his late brother, stood first among the Protestant Princes; but he was a member of the league of Smalcald; and the Elector, not suspecting a secret collusion between him and the Emperor, intrusted him with the entire government of Saxony on his departure from Wittemberg to join the confederates. With shameless perfidy, he received and obeyed the command of Charles, who had put the Elector and the Landgrave of Hesse under the ban of the empire, to seize the forfeited estates of the Prince who had left them under his protection. Assisted by Ferdinand, King of the Romans, he marched on Wittemberg as an enemy; the Elector hastened back to repel the aggression, and several of the other confederates, disheartened by his absence, returned to their homes. The league thus suffered a second division of strength; several of its members, unable to resist singly, were compelled to submit to fines and the humiliation of imploring pardon; and after a few months the Emperor marched into Saxony, and defeated the Elector at Muhlberg on the Elbe. Ferdinand and he saw that venerable man brought wounded into their presence, together with Duke Ernest of Brunswick, treated them with dastardly indignity, and retained them as prisoners of war (June 24th, 1547). But never did John Frederic appear greater than while, during a captivity of more than five years, and under a sentence of death, which, however, was not executed, he displayed the meek dignity of a Christian and the unbending courage of a soldier. The secret of this magnanimity lay in the fact that he had ever acted on right principle, and when conquered by a more powerful enemy sought strength from Him in whose cause he suffered.

After the day of Muhlberg it seemed as if the Emperor was absolute, and all hope of religious liberty extinct. But their enemies had never been cordially united; a schism between the chiefs of Church and empire had already begun; and the religious principle that had been overpowered in some of the Princes for a time, was gaining

strength in the bosoms of the people. In whose name the Council should be called, or for whose glory war should be waged, were questions never fully settled. The Legate's cross was carried at the head of the Papal army; and in all transactions relating to religion the Legate claimed an authoritative voice. A zealous confessor, too, ever solicited the ear of Charles; while a larger-minded secretary gave him better and more weighty counsels. Yielding to those counsels, and to the exigence of war, the Emperor, while the Protestants were as yet able to meet him on the field, had offered toleration to some cities on condition of laying down their arms. The Legate deemed this a usurpation of his prerogative; the Pope heard with indignation that the very object for which he had furnished men and money was, in those instances, relinquished by a layman, who should have considered it his only duty to serve the Church by making utter extirpation of her enemies; and, in his anger, recalled the Legate with his whole contingent as soon as the six months were ended, but before the campaign was over. Charles and Ferdinand were therefore the conquerors in Saxony; and no sooner did the Pope hear of their success than, fearing lest the imperial army, instead of being reduced, would be marched into Italy in prosecution of claims on some of the lesser states and on Milan, sent a Roman Cardinal to propose, again, a counter-alliance with the King of France. Some independent Spaniards, too, had pressed hard on the Italians in the Council of Trent; the opportune decease of a Bishop enabled the Legates to obtain medical certificates to the existence of an epidemic, and served to justify a politic terror in the Fathers, who, with or without leave, deserted Trent. Germany was as discontented as ever; and the dispersion of that assembly, while it relieved the Pope from much anxiety, gave umbrage to the Emperor, who had hoped to arm himself with conciliar authority for the suppression of German liberty.

Bent on the pacification of Germany, and considering Protestantism, with its demand for emancipation from spiritual bondage, incompatible with the attainment of his object, which was absolute power, to be yet too deeply rooted in the public mind for instant eradication, the Emperor endeavoured to complete by authority what had been begun by arms,—the empire of power over conscience. With that intent he entered Augsburg at the head of an army of French and Italians, and surrounded by a formidable array of cavalry, and in that attitude opened a Diet (September 1st), and attempted an expedient for religious concord. After several months spent in the composition of the document, with disputation at Augsburg and correspondence with Rome, came forth the *Interim* of Charles V., "containing articles quite consonant with the religion hitherto received, [Romanism,] except that it did not absolutely condemn the marriage of Priests, nor altogether reject the communion of the body and blood of Christ in both kinds; but proposed that both ways of administration should be tolerated until the whole matter should be settled by a sentence of the Council." * Roman jealousy rose intensely when this "book" came

* Thuani Historiarum, lib. v., sec. 5. Thuanus so tells as much of this Interim as is worth knowing. A summary may be found in Sleidan, book xx.; and a more perspi-

to the view of the Consistory, containing not only the Interim, but a scheme of ecclesiastical reformation by way of appendix, the work of a secular Prince, who had dared to attempt what they only had authority to do. However, Paul gave himself no further trouble than to note some of the most obnoxious passages, and sent back the instrument, wondering at the folly of "so great a Prince," who could fancy himself capable of managing two hostile parties by a measure that would be equally disagreeable to both. The Romans feared that by that Interim Charles V. would become over Europe what Henry VIII. was over England, supreme head of the Church; but the wise Pontiff saw that headship was not to be so easily attained. The idle scheme was adopted by the Diet (September 1st, 1548),—over whose deliberations a strong garrison kept guard,—and published, but could not be realized. Gaspar Aquila, Minister of Salfeld in Thuringia, was already wielding his pen in its refutation. Cenalis, Bishop of Avranches, did the same in his way. The General of the Dominicans, at Rome, joined in the labour of destruction, and the Pope himself withered the performance by an authoritative censure. By some it was reluctantly admitted, because enforced by the sword; by others, as in the Netherlands, utterly rejected. And this gave occasion to a persecution that must be subject of distinct relation.

After visiting that part of his dominions, and issuing an edict for the establishment of an Inquisition, the Teutonic Cæsar, encircled, as before, with martial terror, assembled another Diet at Augsburg (July 26th, 1550). All the members had to confess to an utter contempt, or a very partial observance, of the Interim in their territories. The Protestants had believed, taught, preached, and worshipped as before; and their Princes could only confess or deplore their inability to subvert the faith accepted by the understanding of their subjects, and seated in their heart. The Popish Governors laid infringements committed within their states to the charge of Clergy exempt from ordinary jurisdiction. The grand Dictator saw his labour lost, and could only wink at a transgression too general to be punished. Both parties were equally culpable—if there was any fault—in refusing to surrender conscience to the civil Magistrate, and found the superiority of moral constancy to the force of battalions and artillery. Still he exerted his utmost influence to obtain a re-opening of the Council; and when at length a Bull, finally signed and sealed, brought intelligence that the new Pope, Julius III., had consented to his desire, he parried the objection of the Protestants to submit themselves to an assembly where they were not to be allowed a part in the deliberations, nor the right to vote, but which the Pope explicitly declared that he would both *preside over* and *direct*, by assuring them that he would sit down in the neighbourhood of Trent, just as he had sat elsewhere, with force enough to compel the Fathers to allow them fair play. The truth is, that Julius was indolent, and evaded a present difficulty, trusting to his "good fortune" for some favourable issue;

cuous compendium is furnished by the continuator of Fleury, cxlv., 22, who gives the twenty-six articles, apparently from Dupin's Ecclesiastical writers, where, also, they may be found.

and Charles was weary of conflicting with a religious feeling that he began to find invincible. To him and to the court of Rome delay and compliance seemed equally dangerous; and without any explicit compact, a day was appointed for the Council, in deference to Germany, to return to Trent. More openly than ever the heads of the Church and of the empire disputed for supremacy.

In the cathedral of Trent, on the 1st day of May (A.D. 1551), on seats which had remained untouched during a four years' vacation, a Legate, two Nuncios, and a few poor Italian Bishops, stipendiaries of the Papal exchequer, having assisted at a mass of the Holy Spirit, heard an oration in the form of sermon, and the Bull that warranted their attendance. The Legate then delivered a speech, and the Secretary of the Council read the following interrogations:—"Does it please you, for the honour and glory of the holy and undivided Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and for the increase and exaltation of the Christian religion and faith, that the holy, ecumenical, and general Council of Trent be *resumed*,* according to the form and tenor of the letters of our Holy Father, and that the discussion of matters be *continued?*" * The Bishops gave their *placet*,—"Yes." He continued: "And does it please you that the next session be holden and celebrated on the 1st day of September?"—"Yes." Thus were four months allowed for preliminaries, and chances of prorogation.

Would the Protestants send any of their theologians? The Emperor offered them his safe-conduct; but they reminded him that Huss and Jerome were murdered at Constance, notwithstanding the safe-conduct of Sigismund, and apprehended that the like might happen to them. This apprehension was reasonable, and he therefore sent three Ambassadors with instructions to represent the difficulty, and solicit a safe-conduct from the Council. After consulting the Pope, the Council reluctantly consented to give a general safe-conduct to the "Ecclesiastics and laymen of the German nation;" but with reservations that went far to nullify its value; also vitiated, to their judgment, by a formal mention of the authority of the Pope presiding by his Legates. After long remonstrance, both by the Imperial Ambassadors, and other Protestants, especially by the representatives of Saxony and Wurtemberg, a more ample guarantee was given for their personal security; but none for the exercise of their religion when at Trent, nor for their taking part in the deliberations of the Council. While these negotiations lingered, an occurrence at court indicated what the preachers of the Gospel might expect from the Emperor himself. One morning after sermon (August 26th), the Doctors and preachers of the church of Augsburg, ten in number, were summoned to appear at the lodgings of Granville, Bishop of Arras, Imperial Secretary, together with the schoolmasters. Each came alone, not aware that the others were to be there; and each was kept apart, and called, singly, into the presence of the great man. A lawyer questioned them on their doctrine of the sacraments; and

* *Resumed—continued.* Thus they maintained the authority of every preceding act as definitive, contrary to the demands both of the Protestants and the Emperor.

when they had honestly answered, the Bishop of Arras, in great anger, lectured them on the prerogative of the Emperor to prescribe rules in spiritual affairs as well as in temporal. From that, also, they dissented, knowing no other standard of belief or practice than the word of God. The Senators of the city were then called; the Ministers and schoolmasters were brought in a body before them, and made to swear that they would quit the city before sunset on the third day following, not disclosing to any friend or relative the cause of their departure. And they were prohibited to preach any more within the boundaries of the empire. The Town-Council received orders not to allow any preaching in the Lutheran churches, until the Emperor's pleasure should be known: and thus public worship ceased; the Pastors were driven from their flocks and families; and the Protestants in general found themselves exposed to persecution by the very Sovereign who had promised their representatives protection at the Council. Similar acts at Memmingen, and some other places, confirmed their fears. Yet several of the Princes shielded them, and pleaded on their behalf with the greater urgency, as they saw personal liberty trampled on so wantonly. But the importunity of the Protestants at Trent, while it extorted some slight show of justice, caused the managers of the Council to devise means for eluding the concession made; and before one advocate of the Reformed doctrine could reach the place, a fiery preacher (February 7th, 1552) opened an attack on heresy, so called, and declared that heretics, as tares among the wheat, were only to be tolerated until a fit time came to root them out without causing greater danger to the Church. Maurice of Saxony, who had been always an anti-Papist, although, by his perfidy, he had brought defeat on the confederacy of Smalcald, was now preparing to attack his patron the Emperor, and watching for an opportunity amidst the alarm which these proceedings caused throughout Germany. The Protestant Elector of Treves, fearing violence, left Trent. Others did the same. A few Protestant theologians came thither, but no sooner presented themselves than it was proposed to prorogue the Council. Charles was then at Innspruck, watching the proceedings, but with a very slender guard. The Electors of Mentz and Cologne hastened to him in alarm; for it was reported that the Protestants were everywhere in arms. Within the city there had been for several days nothing but confusion. The Protestants pressed for a conference with their Ministers; but the Legate, unable any longer to guide affairs with a steady hand, unable by art to evade fair demands, shut himself up in his lodgings, sick in reality or in pretence. So passed the month of March, 1552.

Maurice, with consummate cunning, contrived to blind both the Emperor and Ferdinand, while he sat before the walls of Augsburg (April 1st), which capitulated after two days' siege. The intelligence of the capture of that city (April 6th) struck terror into the Fathers of the Council. Bishops and their trains poured out at the gates, pale with dread. They stayed not to ask leave of absence, but fled as if Saxon artillery were already roaring in their ears. A few stouter-hearted ones endeavoured to arrest the precipitancy of their timid brethren; but quite in vain. The Legate lay trembling in bed.

His colleagues hurriedly said mass, dismissed the Council in form, after it was in reality dispersed, made an unpardonable blunder by ratifying the Acts of sessions,—a sanction reserved, when men were masters of themselves, to the Pope alone,—and, quick as hand and foot could help them, decamped. A dozen brave Spaniards tarried to the last, half-angry, half-amused, and, in decorum surpassing far their pontifical superiors, mounted on mules, and proudly left Trent behind them. Pope Julius was pleased that the guns of controversy were spiked, and well content to see the Emperor diverted, by the summons of a German war, from watching his reverend brethren. The Emperor had not been much alarmed at first, so entirely did he believe that Maurice was his man; but with tidings of Augsburg came the disclosure of a new confederacy. The insurgent had made common cause with all the discontented states, had invited Henry II. of France to aid in restoring the liberties of Germany, and, not as a Protestant, but as a German patriot, appealed to the sympathy of all. Many were in arms. The Emperor had neither men nor money at command. He lay suffering with gout, and his brother Ferdinand went to negotiate with Maurice, now at the head of a great rebellion. A day was fixed for the beginning of a truce, in order to an interview, and perhaps a treaty, when a report that Maurice had stormed a neighbouring castle, and was marching with full speed upon Innspruck, wrought on him not less fearfully than the bruit of more distant battle had done on the scattered Ecclesiastics. John Frederic, who had been kept prisoner near His Majesty's person, and thus dragged from one end of the empire to the other, was left at liberty (May 22d), while Charles V. and his court fled, carrying as much as was on their backs, or little more. As many as could, took horse and galloped into the mountains, others followed on foot, Charles in a litter, and thus they wandered during the night; and but a few hours after their departure the abandoned movables were in possession of the enemy. At that moment the yoke of civil and military oppression was broken, and the German Protestants began to taste of liberty. As for Maurice, we cannot admire his conduct, which was profoundly dishonest from first to last; but neither can we fail to mark the hand of God. The man with whom the Emperor had secretly plotted the betrayal of a brother, became, at last, the instrument of retribution on himself.*

The treaty of Passau (August 2d, 1552) shows the result of this sudden revolution, which was certainly provoked by the ambition and injustice of the Emperor, and is not to be attributed to the Protestants. It was agreed that before the expiration of ten days the confederates should lay down their arms. Within the same period, the Landgrave of Hesse, who, like the Elector of Saxony, had been long a prisoner, should be set at liberty, and conveyed in safety to his castle of Rheinfels. A Diet should be assembled within six months; and therein the encroachments made on the liberties and

* Robertson, Hist. of Charles V., book x., (1552,) traces this extraordinary event with great clearness, and shows that the *cause* of Maurice was not without its merits, while his dissimulation was consummate.

constitution of the empire were to be considered. As regarded religion, it was remitted to that Diet to determine the best means for obviating further differences, whether by a general or national Council, a conference of divines, or a general Diet of the empire. An equal number of persons deputed from each side should be appointed to treat of the best method of conciliation. Meanwhile, neither the Emperor nor any other Prince could force the conscience or the will of any one in regard to religion, whether by a direct act, or under pretext of instruction, nor show contempt or inflict injury on any one on account of his religious profession. The Princes of the Confession of Augsburg would not trouble either churchmen or laymen of the old religion, but leave them in possession of the property, authority, jurisdiction, and liberty of worship. Justice was to be rendered with impartiality in the Imperial Chamber, without regard to diversity of confessions; and the assessors in that Chamber were to be free to swear by God and the saints, or by God and the Gospels, after the manner of Augsburg or of Rome. In case of being unable to agree in the Diet, the dissenters on both sides were still to be bound by this condition of amity. The Interim, which never had been operative, except as a pretext for persecution, was annulled. A succession of political difficulties deferred the assemblage of the Diet far beyond the time appointed; and, during the interval, Ferdinand, as Archduke of Austria, careful to withhold the forbearance prescribed in the treaty of Passau from his hereditary dominions, published an edict forbidding any change in faith or worship. A new Catechism was to be the standard of faith; uniformity of worship being assured by the usual instruments of coercion. Schoolmasters were placed under the superintendence of Magistrates. His Protestant subjects remonstrated, but without redress; and that a secular Prince should, by his sole authority, make his Catechism a standard of faith, appeared monstrous, not only at Rome, but everywhere else.

However, this same Ferdinand, in his brother's name, opened the Diet at Augsburg (February 5th, 1555), not with the dignity of a Sovereign, but the petulance of a bigot. "Deplorable," he said, "was the state of Germany, on account of an infinite variety of professions of faith which daily produced new sects among a people that had received the same baptism, spoke the same language, and were subjects of the same empire. A thousand deeds of irreverence towards God had been perpetrated, consciences were troubled, men knew not what doctrine to believe; many of the chief nobility, to say nothing of inferior persons, were destitute of faith, and gave no sign of conscience or virtue in their conduct. The links of society were broken, the Germans were no better than barbarians and Turks, and this had brought down calamities upon them. Religion, therefore, must be restored." He then recounted the means which had been employed and failed, and inclined to propose another trial of colloquies and disputations. But if they could find a better way, they had his permission. The speech was printed, circulated through Germany, and commented on in the light of his own conduct in the publication of a persecuting edict, and banishment of more than two hundred

Ministers out of Bohemia. In the Diet the debates were important, and often vehement. The Reformed insisted on unrestricted religious liberty. Their enemies maintained the rigid doctrine embodied in the Inquisition. Ferdinand would gladly have dissolved the Diet, could such a measure have been ventured on with safety to his brother and himself. At length, it being found impossible to deny to any the exercise of his own religion, the only point contested was an equal freedom and just facilities for its propagation. The Papists contended that every Priest or Bishop of "the ancient religion" who should leave it, ought at once to be deprived of its revenue. The Reformed saw in this proposal, reasonable as it may appear to us, a device hitherto unthought of for binding the Clergy to the ancient superstition, by imposing a mulct on those who would cast it off. However, it became evident that the Emperor and the churchmen would hazard another war rather than leave the temporalities to the hands of Lutheran Ministers,—whom they contemptuously called "lay Prefects of the new societies,"—and the Protestants yielded. With this "ecclesiastical reservation," as it was called, liberty was granted, most reluctantly granted, to the Lutherans; but Zuinglians and Calvinists had no participation in the privilege, not being included under the Augustan Confession (September 25th, 1555).

Charles V. had nearly spent all the energies of his life in contending against the Papacy on one hand, as a hinderance to his policy, and against religious liberty on the other, as a check upon his power. When his strength was nearly exhausted, when it was impossible for either the Popes or him to tamper with each other or with their antagonists any longer, he gave up the hopeless contest, bestowed the Netherlands on his son Philip, to be united with Spain, just after the Diet of the empire (October 25th, 1555); and, in less than a year afterwards, executed a deed of abdication of the empire to his brother Ferdinand, (August 27th, 1556,) and retired to a Spanish monastery, in the neighbourhood of Plasencia, in the character of a private gentleman, having resigned the crown of Spain to Philip. There he died (September 21st, 1558).*

Twenty-five years elapsed from the presentation of the Lutheran Confession at Augsburg to the establishment of liberty of worship in the same city; and during that interval the Reformed enjoyed peace, as numbers or union made them formidable, or suffered persecution when the immediate rulers were hostile to their cause. Voluminous, indeed, would be a full martyrology of that quarter century. It is enough to mark the chief instances, as illustrative of the oneness of the grace of God in every nation, and the inexorable enmity of Antichrist, "always and everywhere the same." In the Netherlands, where no mutual protection, like that of the Smalcaldic League in Germany, afforded succour, the ravages of persecution were terrible. Fifty thousand persons of various sorts are said to have been hanged, beheaded, buried or burnt alive. To the penalties prescribed in a

* The principal authorities are Seckendorfii Historia Lutheranismi; Sleidan's History of the Reformation; Fra Paolo, Histoire du Concile de Trente; Pallavicini Historia Concilii Tridentini; Thuani Historiarum Libri; and Robertson's Charles V.

preceding edict at Brussels were added (December 7th, 1531) public flogging, branding, the extraction of an eye, or the amputation of a hand, at the discretion of the Judge, to be inflicted on every author or printer who should contribute to any publication, on any subject, without having previously obtained letters of licence. Thus ordained Charles V. where he was absolute master. Nine men were taken out of their beds at night in Amsterdam, carried away unseen by their fellow-citizens, imprisoned at the Hague for a fortnight, beheaded by order of the same tyrant, their bodies buried, their heads packed in a herring-barrel, sent back to Amsterdam, and exposed on stakes. At Haarlem (A.D. 1532), a woman was drowned, by way of convincing the public of the folly of Anabaptism: her husband and two other men were taken to the Hague, chained to a post, and slowly roasted to death within a circle of fire. The Magistrates at Limburg were said to be remiss in executing the edicts, therefore the Emperor sent special agents, who burnt six persons of the same family at once; a father and mother, with their two daughters and sons-in-law, were led to the stake together, cheering each other by the way with psalms and invocations of the Saviour. For having been re-baptized, a man called Sikke Sniider was beheaded at Leeuwarden; three were burnt at Arras for refusing honour to the holy candle,* and four for Christ's sake at Bois le Duc (A.D. 1533). Ignominious penances were frequent; but symptoms of impatience began to appear in the people; the magistracy of Holland requested permission to put heretics to death in private, and Mary, Queen-Governess, graciously permitted them to evade popular observation, perhaps vengeance, when to their judgment it might seem expedient so to do. One William Wiggertson was privately beheaded in the castle of Schagen; and again, at Bois le Duc, Joost, a potter, suffered the same kind of execution publicly. Isbrand Schol, a Priest of Amsterdam, died by fire at Brussels (A.D. 1534). Member of an honourable family, and a scholar, he had won the admiration of the learned, such as then were, and, by an unaffected simplicity of eloquence, swayed complete mastery over crowded congregations. The Priests enjoined reserve on him, but he could not suppress the truth of God; once and again he was summoned to receive reproof and threatening, and then conveyed away to prisons at Brabant and at Vilvoord, and to the flames at Brussels. The people grew desperate. Wildest and most gross fanaticism drew down the fury of the Magistrate, which was wreaked on them in forms loathsome and incredible to be related. Good men were, no doubt, involved in the aggravated persecution. They were slaughtered by crowds. After the recital of these horrors, the pages of our histories bear the narrative of a distinguished victim, William Tyndale, an Englishman. He, too, was a man of gentle birth. Oxford gave him proficiency in learning; and there he acquired so exact a knowledge of Greek as enabled him to undertake the first English translation of the New Testament from the original. Then Cambridge provided him with instruction in the deep things of God. For some time he occupied a cell in the monastery of Greenwich, yet felt not

* Probably the great Lent candle, made to burn for forty days.

much at home in such a place. Subsequently acting as tutor in the family of Sir John Welch, a Knight of Gloucestershire, he became known as a Gospeller, and was hated and threatened by the Priests. With an honest and irrepressible zeal he had openly defied the Pope and all his laws, and pledged himself that, if God gave him life, he would let the ploughboys of England know more of the Bible than ever the horde of illiterate Priests had fathomed, who thenceforth hunted him with suspicion. His last refuge in this country was the house of Alderman Humphrey Mummuth, in London. He had become conspicuous for learning, piety, and sacred eloquence, expounding Gospel truth as far as he yet knew it, and his voice would have been silenced by the executioner had he not fled. His devoted host gave him ten pounds sterling to pray for the souls of his father, mother, and all "Christian sowles" departed, the folly of which practice they had not yet discovered; and with that stock he embarked for Hamburgh, and, proceeding thence to Saxony, joined Luther, with whom associated he finished his great work, the version of the New Testament. Of his "Obedience of a Christian Man," and the circulation of that book in England, we have already spoken, as well as of other writings that were either his, or attributed to him, and honoured with insertion in prohibitory catalogues, and with virulent abuse, especially from Sir Thomas More. It must have been mortifying to such a man as Sir Thomas to find himself contending with an antagonist who could respond freely, and confute him without fear; and Henry VIII., who, perhaps, not less than his Chancellor, thirsted for the blood of this exiled subject, employed Steven Vaughan, his Envoy in the Low Countries, to induce him by fair promises to return to England, together with his companion, John Frith. Frith yielded, returned, was imprisoned in the Tower, and then burnt; but Tyndale kept out of the snare, although suffering extreme poverty, obliged to live in concealment, and only eluding the pursuit of persecutors by wandering from place to place, and often changing his abode, as one Englishman or another received and sheltered him. Sir Thomas More, however, obtained from Vaughan and others, to whom he was well known, so correct an idea of his person, as to describe it to one Phillips, whom he sent over as a secret agent, in order to effect his death. The spy, assuming the air of a gentleman, mingled in the society of the English merchants at Antwerp, and, at length, meeting Tyndale, contrived to get his confidence, and introduction to the house of Mr. Pointz, where at that time he was entertained. After becoming familiar with the daily habits of both Tyndale and his host, Phillips went to Brussels, obtained a warrant for his apprehension, and, believing that no one would be found at Antwerp willing to execute it on an Englishman surrounded by so strong a circle of admiring friends, he brought officers back with him, called at his temporary home, at a time when the master of the house was absent, induced him, under some pretence, to go to an hotel, and there gave him over to the officials from Brussels, who conveyed their victim to prison at Vilvoord, a village between Brussels and Malines, on the road to Antwerp.

If the intention of Sir Thomas More and his emissary was to put Tyndale to death secretly, they were disappointed. The British merchants at Antwerp united to procure his deliverance by writing to Secretary Cromwell and others in England, and to the court at Brussels, whither Pointz went as their representative. From Brussels this indefatigable friend went to London, to represent the innocence of Tyndale, whom Phillips had accused of some political offence, and to solicit interference on his behalf. These efforts were nearly successful, when Phillips, together with the Priests at Louvain, managed to get Pointz arrested on charge of heresy, and thrown into prison; whence, however, he made his escape, eluded pursuit, and came over to England. Tyndale was thus deprived of that most active intercessor; and, as the theologians of Louvain had drawn him into correspondence, his own writing soon became sufficient evidence of what Rome calls heresy, and, after a few formalities, he was taken out of the castle of Vilvoord to be burnt on a rising ground close by. As they chained him to the stake he prayed devoutly, and, raising his voice, was heard to cry, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes." The hangman strangled him, and then burnt the body (September, 1536). The time of imprisonment, prolonged in consequence of efforts made by his friends for his release, which was nearly effected when Pointz fell into the hands of the Priests, was actively employed; and from the castle of Vilvoord issued the manuscript of an edition of his New Testament, in which a provincial orthography made the volume more intelligible to the labouring people of his native county, to whom he thus fulfilled the pledge given many years before, that the plough-boys should know more of the Scriptures than the Priests. His execution, be it observed, was not in pursuance of any sentence for political misconduct, but only for the sake of Christ, and under the edict of Augsburg.*

Thirty-one persons, who had fled from England, and were confounded with the Anabaptists, were murdered in one day; the men were beheaded, and the women drowned in the stagnant waters of Delft (A.D. 1539). Disputations among those who had left the Church of Rome, bitter sectarianism, and worse than Anabaptist folly, brought disgrace on the infant Reformation, and gave some colour of reason to a proclamation issued from the Hague, forbidding all preaching out of churches, convents, and hospitals: but it was also found necessary for the Magistrates to restrain the authorized preachers from railing at each other, and reviling their betters; a fact which goes to show that Dutchmen in those dark days were generally quarrelsome. Another imperial edict confounded all sects together under one irrevocable condemnation, subjecting to outlawry all who had fled on account of religion, and withholding pardon from those who should return or be discovered, even if they solicited it, renouncing their belief. And the Emperor, "of his certain knowledge, authority, and absolute power," annulled every "privilege, law, statute, custom, or usage to the contrary" (September 22d, 1539). Prohibited books were to be searched for, and their possessors put to

* Foxe, Acts and Monuments, book viii.

death. Houses were ransacked, multitudes thrown into prisons, and, of these, many were beheaded, drowned, buried alive or burnt, in all parts of the kingdom. Menno and his followers, the Mennonites, now became conspicuous, and many of them gave evidence of true piety, notwithstanding the deterioration of error in their doctrine, and suffered death with triumphant patience.

When these terrible effects of the last edict had continued for nearly five years, another was issued to revive the persecution (January 27th, 1544), and directed against such as harboured fugitives, or concealed their property. Every departure from absolute obedience to authority was pursued with vengeance; and when the people of Wesel, a Hanse town, in Brabant, published their intention to open a school, because they had not asked permission either of the Emperor or the Pope, another placard (March 7th) made its appearance, forbidding the inhabitants of the neighbouring country to have any dealings with the town, or send their children thither for education. The reason of this expedient for starving out Wesel was that many refugees from England, as well as Holland and Belgium, had taken up their abode there, in hope of enjoying the exercise of their religion. But the town, although nominally free for commerce, was not free for Christianity. At Rotterdam, a congregation of Anabaptists was surprised. Few escaped: the men were beheaded, and the women drowned. As always happens, when the government of a country undertakes to rule by force instead of law, the press was dreaded, and placed under severe restrictions. At Ghent, the Emperor's birth-place, a proclamation appeared, of singular interest in the history of printing (December 18th).—"Whoever presumed to print anything without licence," even though it contained nothing of heresy, "should be banished for ever, and forfeit three hundred Carolus guilders." Nor might any one print any kind of book or pamphlet in Italian, Spanish, English, or other language not generally understood, under the same penalties. All printers having obtained privileges, were required to place the contents in the beginning of the book, and to express the name of the secretary from whom they had received the privileges, or be subject to the aforesaid penalties. None were allowed to print, sell, or have in their possession any books without the name of the author, printer, and place of publication, under penalties as aforesaid. Every bookseller discovered to have sold, or to have in his shop, any books without a privilege therein printed, must every time forfeit fifty guilders. No one might have foreign books in his shop more than three days, without delivering a catalogue of them to the officer of the place, under the like penalties. The officer of that place where any books were sold was obliged, twice a year at least, on days appointed, to visit each bookseller's shop, take inventories, and consult learned men about such books as he did not understand, punish transgressors, or lose his place, and become liable to arbitrary correction. Whoever refused to allow an officer to search his house, should forfeit one hundred guilders, and be searched besides. And all this to be done effectually, notwithstanding any privilege, liberty, or exemption to the contrary, *or even any difference*

of jurisdiction, "which we," says the Emperor, "for the sake of the common good, and for avoiding all dangers and inconveniences, especially considering how much the faith of holy Church may be thereby affected, will not suffer to be maintained or pretended, so as to prevent the execution of this our placard." * The *non obstante* clause in this decree, like that of Papal Bulls, and the publication of a mock decree of equal date, for the reformation of the Priests, who were said to be ignorant, illiterate, and scandalous, incidentally exemplifies the assimilation of civil to spiritual despotism, where the latter is suffered to prevail.

It cannot be imagined that the operation of such edicts could be uniform, nor that divine truth could be everywhere suppressed. Truth penetrated beneath the surface of society, where the searching eye of inquisition could not detect it; or it aroused men to arduous conflict, too arduous for some, while others were sustained even to the solemn victory of martyrdom. Of both classes history preserves examples. Latomus, a Canon, Doctor and Professor of Theology in the University of Louvain, perceived the truth, and almost attained strength to make a good confession, but suddenly changed, and, having quenched the Spirit of God, did all in his power to suppress it. He not only wrote against Erasmus, but against Luther, Œcolampadius, and Tyndale. This gained him eminence, and he was honoured with a command to preach before the Emperor at Brussels. For the fulfilment of that service he ascended the pulpit, saw the demigod, Charles V., under whose rule all things were expected to give way, and every distinction of jurisdiction, of right, or privilege, or virtue was wont to be confounded. The Doctor's heart failed. To attain honours he had stifled his conscience, and perhaps, when just at the height of his ambition, that conscience stirred again. He was confounded, stared on the congregation, looked abashed and vacant, and strove to speak, but could not utter one intelligible sentence. He became ridiculous, a general burst of laughter drowned his incoherent utterance, and, overwhelmed with shame, he hurried from the place, threw off his robes, returned to Louvain, and there, tormented with consciousness of guilt, deplored and openly confessed that he had fought against the truth. His friends could not persuade him to refrain from that confession; therefore they shut him up in his house, where he languished in despair, continually crying out that he was damned, rejected of God, could not hope for pardon or salvation, had presumptuously fought against God. And so he miserably died. But shortly after him, Peter Brully, a Minister from Strasburg, one who had separated from Popery, and occasionally served the Reformed congregations of the Walloon Netherlanders, having continued steadfast, manfully endured the trial of imprisonment, cheered his fellow-prisoners, encouraged his wife with letters, faced death without dismay, from the midst of a slow fire calling on his Redeemer with unshaken confidence, and peacefully assumed the crown (A.D. 1545).

While Brully lay in prison at Tournay, some of his followers were burnt. Two of them recanted, overcome by horror of burning; but

* Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, book iii.

for the surrender of their faith, as the last edict forbade pardon, they were rewarded only by a commutation of punishment from burning to decapitation. Yet, having but the sorry indulgence of sword instead of faggot to offer them, the Priests vexed the prisoners with incessant solicitations to recant, and assailed with brutish clamour those who endeavoured to offer reasons in justification of their refusal. "If you will not hear me," said one of those confessors to a company of noisy Clerks, "send me back to the toads and serpents, my companions in the dungeon; for they do not disturb me when I sing or pray. But you, although you are rational creatures, made after God's image, refuse to hearken, when I mention his eternal word." The reader will observe that, as yet, women were put to death differently from men. They were generally drowned, or buried alive; but to give the burial greater publicity, it was sometimes performed above ground. A coffin, made so near the size of the person to be buried that she would have to be squeezed into it, with no room to struggle, and with a hole in the bottom towards the head, and holes for the insertion of bars, was laid on a scaffold. The woman was then forced into it, and three or four iron bars passed through the sides so as effectually to keep down the body. A cord was passed over her neck through the bottom of the coffin, and held by a man below, who pulled it with his whole weight when those on the scaffold began to throw earth into the coffin. Thus was she buried alive, and the people impressed with fear of the Clergy as they witnessed the barbarous interment. The frequency and atrocity of the executions must have provoked those whom they did not intimidate; and, not improbably, the press refused to render so absolute submission as the last placard had required, for another made known Charles's pleasure that no man should presume to print until he had obtained from himself a licence to exercise the craft of printer,—a licence which would only be granted to persons who could produce full proof of their "quality, condition, fitness, and good name." The vocation of public schoolmaster was to depend on the permission of the Priests. The penalty of death was to be inflicted on refractory printers, and that of banishment on self-constituted schoolmasters (July 31st, 1546). A prohibitory catalogue followed, containing a specification of no fewer than thirty-nine distinct impressions of Bibles and Testaments, in Latin, Dutch, and French. But Liesvelt, printer of one of them, was beheaded, because of this sentence in a note: "The salvation of mankind proceeds from Christ alone." Pregnant women were kept in irons until the time of delivery, and, after a brief respite, racked, to extort discovery of others. One, because a Latin Testament was found in her house at Leeuwarden, had to suffer torture with thumb-screws and shank-screws before drowning; death being deemed insufficient to expiate the possession of that hated book. While undergoing the torture she was asked whether she expected to be saved by baptism, and admirable was her answer: "No; all the water in the sea cannot save me, nor anything else but that salvation which is in Christ, who has commanded me to love the Lord my God above all things, and my neighbour as myself" (A.D. 1548). The grace of God thus elevated the

courage of his children to the height of their trial, as appeared, among a thousand instances, in a schoolmaster at Ghent. He had fled from Tournay, come down the Schelde to Ghent, there settled, probably over a private school; and when any of his religion were imprisoned, it was his custom to write letters of earnest remonstrance to the Magistrates, imploring them not to defile their hands with innocent blood, nor, by doing so, expose themselves to the fearful wrath of God. They endured his admonitions for a time, but at length consigned him to the flames. On the road between Tournay and Mons, Master Nicholas, a Reformed Minister from France, returning, with his wife and another woman, from visiting the Christians in the latter town, was arrested and taken back. His wife, to save her life, betrayed those who had entertained him. A company of Monks beset him with questions; but them he baffled with arguments, until they cried out all together, "The devil is in him! To the fire! To the fire with the Lutheran!" To the fire he went, after brushing the dust from his clothes, that he might go clean, as he said, "to the marriage of the Lamb;" and walked through the town exclaiming, "O Charles! Charles! how long will your heart be thus stony?" A timorous woman, condemned to die, thus answered one who exhorted her to save her soul by recantation: "You may easily see that I have a great concern for my soul, since, rather than do anything against my conscience, I would give my body to be burnt. In this I count myself happy, that I do not suffer for a wicked life, but only for the word of Jesus Christ, for which all the martyrs have shed their blood, as I hope to shed mine." And so she did. As it was not the custom of Dutch Priests to burn women, she was laid in a coffin, and a wretch, to show his diligent zeal in the service of the Church, stamped on her till she burst (A.D. 1549).

Over this protracted and most brutal persecution Charles V. thought it his glory to preside; and the more so as the Netherlands, which he was labouring to make a circle of the empire, could not, although his hereditary dominion, be persuaded nor compelled to accept his *Interim*, that foolish expedient for conciliating the irreconcilable opposites of Romanism and Reform. He was at Brussels. His son Philip, afterwards consort of Mary of England, had attained his twenty-first year, and came from Spain to receive homage as Prince of the Low Countries, and presumptive heir to all his father's dominions. The unlovely Prince witnessed the formal and showy manifestations of that loyalty which the towns saw it their interest to profess, with sullen coolness; gave no hope that his rule would be gentler than that of his inexorable father; and awakened a general emotion of dislike that afterwards found expression in revolt, and rent the Netherlands from Spain. However, he received a ceremonial homage at Dort (September 26th, 1549).

Confiscation, be it observed, was a penalty of heresy; and the prospect of receiving spoils made many a zealot. But to whom did the confiscated estates belong? To the Lords, whose vassals had held them, or to the Emperor? The soul of Charles was not great enough for a purely imperial ambition; and while reddening his sword as

"advocate of the Church," the gains to be derived from the ruin and death of the Reformed were an element in his calculations. But the Lords disputed for possession; and as each spoliation diminished their property, it added to their discontent. However, fancying himself to be omnipotent, he put forth a placard (November 20th), to the following effect:—When the heretic had died in pursuance of an act of the Inquisition,* or spiritual Judges, and continued obstinate to the end, his estate, if holden of the Emperor, should be forfeited to him; but if of a subject, having right of confiscation, then it should fall to him. But if the civil Magistrate had tried and given sentence, "then the forfeited estate was to be divided between the Emperor and such as had the aforesaid right." Some towns pretended that there could be no confiscation or forfeiture of estates within their jurisdiction; but the Emperor, notwithstanding all privileges, &c., to the contrary, ordained, willed, and commanded that, for the future, confiscations should be made in all parts of his dominions.

The practice of persecution was assimilated to that of Spain in another particular, by an edict which expelled all *new Christians*, or converts from Judaism, with their wives, children, and goods, who had taken refuge in the Netherlands during the six years preceding, revoking permission of residence to all such persons for the future.† Some endeavoured to establish a plea for exemption; but another edict silenced them (May 30th, 1550), and they were all banished. And the edict which intimated the imminent establishment of an

* Mark the cunning. Charles had not yet succeeded in introducing *the* Inquisition. Limborch, indeed, says that he introduced it into the Netherlands twenty-seven years before; but Limborch is accustomed to consider an appointment of Inquisitors as equivalent with the establishment of the tribunal itself. It was certainly a first step, but no more. Limborch (lib. i., cap. 31) and Brandt (book ii., A.D. 1522) agree as to the fact that Francis vander Hulst and Nicholas van Egmont were appointed to act as Inquisitors; but, although they threw people into prison, Erasmus, whom both these authors quote, understood that in doing so they exceeded their powers, and, after all, could act only as *accusers*, not Judges. "Primum conjiciunt homines in carcerem, ac post quærunt quæ objiciant." "These things," says Erasmus, "Cæsar knows not. But now his object is to introduce the Inquisition itself, which he names for the first time in an edict, and by naming it, is causing great alarm." And to supply the Lords of feuds with a motive for submitting to this Spanish Inquisition, which was what he wanted to bring in with Philip, he determined that the forfeited estates should only come entire to the Lords when the Inquisition had tried and sentenced the person afterwards put to death; but that if the civil Magistrates continued to try for heresy, one half of such estates should be taken from the Lords. This was one way of forcing them to consent to the tribunal in self-defence.

† On the accession of Charles V. to the throne of Spain in 1519, some of the sincere Jews and pretended converts—*new Christians*—made a last effort to return to that kingdom. They sent a deputation to him in Flanders to represent the wrong they suffered by being coerced into the profession of a religion they did not believe; represented, as with truth they might, their commercial importance, and fidelity to the Sovereign; and offered him 800,000 crowns in gold, for the privilege of religious liberty in Spain. He received the deputies, and heard their proposal graciously. The Council of Flanders advised him to grant their request; and his thoughts seemed to be lingering around the heap of proffered gold. But Cardinal Ximenes—"the liberal"—heard what was going forward, and wrote by an express courier to remind him that Ferdinand had refused to sell Christ to the Jews for 600,000 crowns, even when in his greatest need. Charles yielded to the Spanish Inquisitor-General, and rejected their prayer. (History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal, by E. H. Lindo, chap. 29.) Is it not remarkable that Protestant Christians have never yet earnestly *demanded*, what the more zealous Jews twice endeavoured *to buy*,—religious liberty in Spain? Yet such is the humiliating truth. The inquisitorial decree mentioned in the text was issued in the year 1532.

Inquisition, like that of Spain, was soon succeeded by another (April 29th, 1550), requiring the civil magistracy to give all favour, countenance, encouragement, and aid to the Inquisitors of the faith, when called upon by them to proceed against heretics. These edicts caused extreme alarm, and especially at Antwerp, where many of the principal inhabitants heard the Reformed doctrine, in private, from George Sylvanus and Gaspar vander Heiden. Many merchants prepared to quit the city, commerce and correspondence were suspended, rents fell, trades decayed, operatives were plunged into distress. The Magistrates examined several of the principal citizens on oath as to what harm had already resulted to Antwerp from fear of the Inquisition, and the evil which they feared would follow; and then laid the whole affair before Queen Mary, Dowager of Hungary, and Governess of the Netherlands, praying her to intercede with the Emperor her brother, that the chief emporium of commerce in his dominions might not be ruined by the Inquisition. The Council of Brabant joined in reclamation, as did several other bodies; and the Queen, perplexed as well as terrified,—for she was herself suspected at Rome of inclining to Lutheranism,—journeyed to Augsburg, where her brother was holding a Diet, and intreated him to spare his subjects from the irreparable ruin which the Inquisition would occasion. Yet all that she could obtain was another edict commanding the *concurrence* of the Magistrates, instead of their *obedience*, and substituting for the word "Inquisitors," its equivalent, "spiritual Judges." This placard was published with sound of bell in most of the towns; but the people of Antwerp would not receive it, until assured by letters from the Chancellor of Brabant that they should not have an Inquisition forced upon them, but that the inhabitants and merchants should be secured in their ancient privileges. And the Magistrates, at the same time, published a protest against the clauses now customarily employed by the Emperor in derogation of "ancient privileges, &c., to the contrary," with declaration that "they insisted upon their rights and privileges, laws, customs, and usages, from which they would not admit of any derogation" (November 5th, 1550). Still the Inquisitors contended that they had authority to come into Antwerp, execute their office, and do as they pleased, even if the Magistrates should forbid them. And this they affirmed to the Magistrates assembled, so that people were now convinced that the Emperor and the Church had united to subject them to perpetual slavery.

Notwithstanding the growing discontent, persecution continued; and the "spiritual Judges" and preachers laboured more diligently than ever to urge the Magistrates and inflame the multitude against all heretics. But the effect, contrary to all human expectation, was the confirmation of the dissidents, not merely in those Anabaptist and other notions which must be regarded as extraneous to Christianity, but in Christianity itself; and among the Anabaptists who suffered, many displayed sincere piety and wisdom, often to the confusion of their enemies. We can only cull a few incidents out of the diffuse narratives before us.

Walter Capel, a gentleman of Dixmuiden in Flanders, was remark-

able for benevolence towards the poor, and, in common with all good men whose wealth attracted the cupidity of the persecutors, was marked for death. As he stood before the Judges, a crowd of townsfolk listened to the trial, and among them a young idiot pauper, whom he had often fed. When one of the Judges pronounced the sentence that he must die, the idiot abashed them all by shouting, "Ye are murderers. The man has done no ill: he has always given me bread." When Capel was being chained to the stake, the idiot again stood by; and when the faggots were piled round him, came and threw himself on them, that he might die with his benefactor, but was removed, of course, and Capel alone expired in the flames. The half-burnt carcase remained hanging at the stake in the "gallows-field:" every day the idiot went to see it, and, stroking the decaying flesh with his hand, would say, "Ah, poor creature! you did no harm, and yet they have spilt your blood. You gave me my bellyful of victuals." Some time afterwards, while one of the Burgomasters was receiving a visit from several of his fellow-Magistrates, this idiot abruptly made his way into the room, laden with part of the skeleton, which he had pulled from the stake after the flesh had rotted off, and threw it on the floor, and, snarling angrily, turned on them his vacant stare, and said, "There, you murderers! You have eaten his flesh, now eat his bones." "Words," says Brandt, "too sensible to be spoken by a fool, and too bold for a man of understanding; but which probably he had heard others speak, and which he mimicked, without knowing or fearing the danger." Well might the murderers be tormented with compunction, as was the Drossart, or Lord of Bergen-op-Zoom, who had condemned a man to death for not kneeling to the host, as it was carried before his shop, and seen him burnt. The horrid spectacle haunted him, until he sickened with terror, pined away, uttering little more than the martyr's name, "O Simon! O Simon!" and died with the sad ejaculation on his lips, surrounded by a circle of Monks who had vainly striven to chase away the spectre and assuage the torment of his guilt (A.D. 1553).

A schoolmaster at Oudenarde, named Galein de Mulere, was brought before Peter Titelman, as Dean of Flanders, and required to answer for himself on charge of heresy. The poor man, trusting that, for the sake of his wife and children, he might be able to avert the penalty by appealing to civil authority, demanded to be heard before the Magistrates, his lawful Judges. But the Dean insisted, as plenipotentiary of both Pope and Emperor, on being answered. Still the schoolmaster endeavoured to evade, trembling under the weight of a dilemma, either to deny Christ, or to leave his wife a widow, and his children fatherless. As he hesitated, the Dean adjured him by the living God, and cited passages of Scripture in which Christ commands his disciples to confess him; adding, "I therefore now require an account of your faith." At those words the schoolmaster lost all fear, and, accepting the unwonted challenge, his tongue was loosened, and after silently offering a prayer that God would assist him according to His promise, he boldly turned towards the Inquisitor, and said, "Ask me now what you please, and I will answer plainly whatever the Spirit of God

suggests that I should say, and will conceal nothing." The Dean interrogated; and the schoolmaster answered with so powerful a disclosure and refutation of Popery, that his interrogator was confounded, and offered him his life—contrary to the spirit of the imperial edicts and the practice then prevailing—if he would retract. He even pleaded hard with the good man, reminding him of those natural ties which had caused him at first to shrink from death; but his Lord had spoken to him from the lips of the Inquisitor himself, he preferred death to apostasy, was condemned, delivered to the secular arm, and after being strangled was burnt (April, 1554). While these scenes were repeated all over the kingdom, some German regiments came on service in the war with France, and, to the amazement of the people, Lutheran Ministers officiated as Chaplains, both in camp and garrison. They even preached the Gospel openly, being heard in Antwerp and elsewhere by Flemings and Dutch, as well as by Germans, and without any hinderance. The Lutheran soldiers also ate flesh on fast-days; and when the Netherlanders saw that those subjects of the empire could say and do with perfect freedom that for which their fellow-citizens were daily put to death, their murmurings became louder than ever. The discontent gathered strength, preachers began to be interrupted in the pulpit, and mass-Priests at the altar (A.D. 1555). Nor did the University of Louvain enjoy its traditions undisturbed. Federico Furio Ceriolano, a native of Valencia, although a layman, had entered the lists with Giovanni di Bologna, Rector of the University. The Spaniard defended the translation of the holy Scriptures into vernacular languages,—the very thing forbidden, and even punished with death, by his successive patrons, the Emperor and the King,—and the Italian strove to justify the Clergy in sealing the fountain of life. Their disputation awakened great interest at Louvain; and his publication of it at Basil in the year 1556 carried the question throughout Europe, in spite of the Court of Rome, which had solemnly forbidden the reading of such versions, and also prohibited his book.* But for the protection of Charles and Philip, who dealt out their benevolence and their vengeance in very unequal measures, he would have been added to the martyrs; but no patronage could shield him from the interminable vexation of slander and abuse. This is apparent from some elegant verses of his own, addressed to Cardinal Mendoza, and copied underneath,† wherein he solicited his interference.

* Gerdes, Hist. Evang. Renov., iii. 255; M'Crie, Reformation in Spain, chap. v.

† "Magne Mendozi, referamne torvos
Hostium vultus, mihi qui cruento
Ense tergus dilacerant maligne, et
Viscera nudunt.

"Eloquar: Scribæ, Pharisæi, Judas,
Caiaphas, Pilatus et omnis orbis
Judæorum perdere me laborant
Arte dolosa.

"Hei mihi, eheu quam premor, urgeorque
Innocens, succurre, Pater, mihique
Fer, rogo te, suppetias, opemque
Ocyus aura."

The abdication of Charles V. (October, 1555) left the crown of this kingdom to Philip, already unpopular, and utterly unable to conciliate. One of his first acts was to give an edict against heresy, confirmatory of those issued by his father; but while it was accepted and published at Louvain and Bois le Duc, the Magistrates of Antwerp and the other chief towns of Brabant refused to accept it, and he was obliged to grant a revocation. Precipitancy thus followed by irresolution caused an inequality of administration in the consenting and non-consenting provinces, which became a new source of discontent, and constant occasion for discussing the reasons offered by the Antwerp magistracy in justification of their firmness. Nor were they the only example of reluctance to act as headsmen for the Church. Their brethren of Lille were publicly accused by the Dominican preachers of abetting Reform, and allowing religious assemblies to be held without molestation. Those assemblies multiplied, the Monks clamoured for the execution of the savage edicts, and the Magistrates thought themselves obliged to act. The person selected as first sufferer was Robert Oguier, in whose house the Reformed were wont to assemble, and who was therefore supposed to possess prohibited books. The Magistrates, involuntary persecutors, chose to search the house for books rather than for a congregation of living worshippers, and found some; but as the possession of a book was considered equally criminal with profession of its doctrines, Oguier, his wife, and two sons, were all arrested. Baldwin, the elder son, a young man of heroic spirit, came home just as the officers had completed the search and made prisoners of his parents and his brother. The Christian family made no effort to conceal anything; and Oguier himself honestly answered every question,—said that he went not to mass because it was not *the one oblation* made for the sins of all mankind, but a human invention, and that he had meetings of godly people in his house, because, although forbidden by edicts, they were commanded by Christ: he could not help disobeying his Prince, since he must obey God. They were conducted thence to a meeting of the Magistrates, to whose interrogations they replied without the slightest hesitation; and when one of them asked Oguier what they were used to do in their meetings, Baldwin anticipated his father by offering to give a full account of that matter. Leave being given, he described, first of all, their mode of prayer; and it deserves to be marked as a model of devotional simplicity. "When we are there come together in the name of the Lord, to hear his holy word, we all fall down at once upon our knees to the ground, and confess in humility of heart our sins before the Divine Majesty. Then we all join in the same prayer: that God's word may be purely preached to us, and rightly understood by us. We also pray for our Sovereign Lord the Emperor, and for all his Council, that the Commonwealth may be governed with peace, and to the glory of God. And you, my Lords, are not forgotten by us, as our immediate governors: we likewise pray to the Lord for you, and this whole city, that he would support you in what is good and just. Do you therefore still believe that our meeting together for these purposes can be so criminal as has been represented to you?

As a proof, I am ready, if you please, my Lords, to recite those very prayers before you." Some of the Judges made a sign of assent, and Baldwin knelt down, and poured forth a prayer for them with such fervour and evident sincerity, as drew tears from their eyes; and then, rising from his knees, while the power of God rested on him, and was not unfelt by the assembly, firmly said, "These, my Lords, are the things that pass in our conventicles." But the Monks, with whom emotion is an artifice, and truth itself a recitation, were unmoved. They demanded satisfaction of the law; and, after the prisoners had made confession of their faith, saw Oguier and his noble son laid on the rack and questioned for the names of those who had joined in their meetings. They would only name brethren who were already discovered, or had fled beyond the reach of the authorities of Lille, and after the torture were led away to execution, displaying the same sublime indifference to pain and shame and death as makes all Christian martyrdoms so glorious. Sweet was the communion of that father and son while chained to the same stake. "Behold, my father," said Baldwin, "I see the heavens opened, and millions of angels surrounding us, rejoicing for the confession of the truth that we have made before the world. Let us likewise rejoice for the glory of God, which appears before our eyes." "And I," screamed a profane Monk, "I see hell gaping, and devils waiting to carry you away." "Courage, Baldwin!" cried a bystander, "your cause is just: I am one of yours." The unknown brother walked away through the armed train-band and the Inquisitors' officers, whom the fear of God restrained from taking him. Baldwin did take courage. When the arching flames hid them both from human eyes, his voice was heard, encouraging his father. The mother and younger son were reserved to undergo another kind of trial,—solicitation to apostasy; and when the mother had yielded, her son Martin recalled her from the snare with tears and prayers. At the end of a week they were both burnt (A.D. 1557).

Among the sufferers at this time we find Charles Regius, (or Konynks,) formerly a Carmelite Friar at Ghent, who found refuge in England under Edward VI., where he translated Bale's Commentary on the Apocalypse, and the history of Francis Spira, into Dutch. During the Marian persecution he left England, and diligently employed himself in visiting the persecuted flocks in Flanders. He patiently endured the fire at Bruges (April 27th).

The name of Angel Merula adorns the history of the universal church no less than the martyrology of Holland. Born of respectable parents at Briel (A.D. 1482), to the advantages of rank and affluence, he received the best education that could be obtained in that period of literary revival; graduated in Paris as Master of Arts at the age of twenty-five, received ordination four years later at Utrecht, and said his first mass in the church of his native town. In consideration of his great learning and purity of life, although his patrimonial estate was more than sufficient for him, the Heer Joost van Kruningen, Lord of Henfleet, gave him the living of that place, where he applied himself to a profound study of holy Scripture; and, like many others,

discovered the disagreement of his Church with the only rule of faith! But the discovery was gradual. After many years employed in calm investigation, his preaching became evangelical by almost imperceptible degrees; and it was not until he had reached his sixty-eighth year that he ventured to alter some passages of the Missal.* For *merits* of saints he substituted the word *glory*, and added the sentence, "*Solius Unigeniti tui, qui omnium sanctorum est gloria, intercessione :*" "By the intercession of thy only-begotten Son, who is the glory of all saints." By the assistance of his patron he abolished several idolatrous customs in the church of Henfleet, and had imbued his congregation with a doctrine altogether opposite to that of Romanism. But when the aged Lord, his protector, died, the young one, a timid courtier, durst not venture to oppose the Clergy, who lost no time in attacking the evangelical Priest, whom they brought before the secular authority. A deputy Inquisitor came to Henfleet, seized his books, manuscripts, and correspondence, and demanded the notes of his sermons, which, contrary to the advice of his friends, he delivered without any hesitation. Then he was apprehended as a heretic; and one hundred and fifty-two articles contrary to processions, vows, and pilgrimages, monkery, and penance, worship of the Virgin Mary and the saints, and the superstitious use of masses, derogatory to the Romish priesthood, especially in Italy, and commendatory of the study of the Bible instead of ecclesiastical traditions, were exhibited against him. To these he answered in writing, acknowledging them as far as they really represented his doctrine; but pleading, that as a Council had been assembled for the very purpose of discussing and revising the Articles of Faith, and as he had understood that the Bishop of Utrecht and Archbishop of Cologne† wished him, with some others, to go to that Council, he had felt it his duty to investigate the truth, had come to those conclusions, and written those manuscripts. The Priests themselves ought to have supported a brother in the exercise of so reasonable a liberty; but what had they to do with liberty? He was accused of all sorts of misdemeanours, carried to the Hague, and thrown into a common gaol; and there the deputy Inquisitor, Sonnius, haunted him again with dogmatical disputations, but could not succeed in drawing him from the only safe ground of argument,—the word of God. During a protracted imprisonment, his friends and foes exerted themselves, on the one hand, to procure his release, and on the other, his destruction; of which the only result was that the Queen-Governess wrote to the Court of Holland, in order that the rigour of imprisonment might be abated. After much reluctance, they caused him to be transferred from the dungeon to a convent, a better sort of prison. But this indulgence soon came to an end; the decision of his cause being referred to Tapper, Inquisitor-General, who proceeded to finish what his deputy had begun. Tapper posted to the Hague, placed his prisoner in closer confinement, and, having constituted an inquisitorial court,

* Liturgical uniformity was then unknown, and variations were everywhere allowed. This must be understood, or the innovation of Merula might seem scarcely justifiable.

† Who held the doctrine of the Reformation.

brought him before it to answer to another set of articles, now reduced to the number of one hundred and eight, and permitted him to say of each no more than *I believe*, or *I believe not*, a process which only occupied one hour. Afterwards, during a whole month, either orally or in writing, he defended the articles acknowledged with an invincible steadiness and eloquence, to which his adversaries could bring no refutation. They did everything in their power to baffle him; and he sometimes appealed for protection from gross injustice to the civil Justiciaries present; but they merely replied that they were only there as witnesses, not Judges.

This done, they again threw him into the gaol, and, after many noisy arguments, which wrought no effect in him, commissioned one van Nieuland, titular Bishop of Hebron, an old man, to use his utmost efforts to bring him to recantation. On the other hand, the people became impatient, and crowds flocked into the Hague from all parts of the country, intending to attempt his rescue on the day of expected execution. Here was a grave occasion of alarm. To oppose an enraged multitude would be impossible. The Magistrates, however servile, would scarcely consent to employ force against the public for the sake of the Inquisitors. It was, therefore, determined that Bishop Nieuland should take full licence to solve the perplexity by any means that his ingenuity could compass. No time was to be lost. The Assembly of the States manifested compassion towards the aged Minister, venerable and beloved for learning, eloquence, piety, and charity. They remembered that he had bestowed his fortune in works of benevolence. A hospital at Briel had been erected and maintained by himself alone. The poor of his neighbourhood lamented that they were bereft of their father, patron, defender, and only trust in times of necessity. The lawyers joined in a cry of detestation, declaring that the Inquisitors were acting in violation of the laws. But the Inquisitors had set their hearts on that wealth which their victim had used as an instrument of so much good; and the Bishop of Hebron, trembling between hope and fear, undertook the execution of a stratagem.

The inquisitorial court assembled, and Merula, now seventy-five years of age, nearly deaf, and emaciated with disease and trouble, was led into their presence. Hebron, also aged, bared his head, threw himself at his feet, and, with folded hands and tears gushing from his eyes, besought him to hear his supplication. He told the Pastor how much they all appreciated his learning, so far superior to their own, and gave him credit for the best intentions: they would even now rejoice if he could overcome them by force of truth, for they would yield readily to conviction. The differences between them, he said, were but slight, many of them relating to ceremonies and discipline which the Church might alter or abrogate as her governors thought fit. But they ought all to avoid tumults and factions. The people were irritated, and they were at that moment in danger from the mob. Why, he asked, why should he involve them all in the guilt of his death? Die he must, if he persisted in opposing the Church; and so would they, most probably, die by the fury of the mob if they

put him to death. Why should they both die? Why could not they all live together? And, after all, when much blood had been shed, and the people had time to cool, they would say that he had caused tumult and loss of life merely to satisfy a thirst of martyrdom, and the whole calamity would be laid to his charge, as an obstinate and reckless man. But, if he would save himself and them, they would acknowledge their debt to him as long as they lived; for their life then hung on his determination. He could easily save them. Just by a small matter, setting aside the weightier articles of faith, which they would, on both sides, leave untouched: "only acknowledge," said the old Bishop, "that you have imprudently and unseasonably endeavoured to abolish a few indifferent points, customs, and ceremonies, and say you are sorry for it. Do this, and live, and we shall live with you." With these words he gave one hand to the prisoner, and laid the other on his breast, as if to confirm the proposal by an oath.

Merula, moved by the apparently sincere overture, and especially by the exclusion of every article of faith from the concession he was desired to make, asked the President of the Council, Heer van Assendelft, who was present, what he thought he should do, and received the proper answer: "Ask your conscience within, but nobody without." After a few moments he consented to make the slight acknowledgment proposed; and, considering the extreme caution with which he had ventured to make even the slightest change, we can easily suppose that, at such a moment, with the alternative of a mere concession as to ceremonies, or the horrors of civil war placed in view, he would think it his duty to prefer the former. From the Court of Inquisition he was taken out to the scaffold, around which the people were waiting, expecting to witness the ceremony of his degradation; and there a paper was read, containing an entire recantation of his doctrine, and declaration that he abjured and execrated all heresies, as well of Luther as of others, and all errors repugnant to the faith and doctrine of the Church of Rome, with many expressions of penitence and submission. This was pronounced hurriedly, in front of the scaffold, and amidst the murmuring of the multitude, who were amazed and dissatisfied, while he was kept in conversation by the Inquisitors; and thus, what with distracted attention and dulness of hearing, he knew not a sentence of the document when the reader had finished, and a pen was given him to affix his signature. He wished to read it; but they told him that they must make haste and quit the place, because of the clamour of the people, and because there was yet more to be done. He signed the recantation, not knowing to what his hand was set. The people saw, as they conceived, the fall of a Minister on whom they had placed reliance for every Christian virtue. From that moment he found himself deserted, and, to his amazement, condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

In the dungeon he received from a nephew full information of the deception that they had practised; and, although his conscience was good, the thought of having been made to appear as a denier

of Christ before the world, threw him into a state of profound dejection, and brought on a fit of sickness, which induced the Lords of the Council to remove him to the convent of St. Mary Magdalen. There he wrote a confutation of the inquisitorial sentence; and that new offence brought on him again the wrath of Tapper, who managed to have him taken to Louvain, under pretext of a conference with the Doctors. And many conferences were held with him in the University, alternated with cruel treatment and threatenings in the prison; but no sophistry, no torment nor threat, impaired his constancy, until the Doctors themselves began to relax their bigotry, and admire the magnanimity that no suffering could subdue. One of the Professors openly commended him; and Tapper, fearing that his doctrine, too, would find acceptance, sent for the Doctor, and bade him say as much evil of him as he had said good, under peril of being also treated as a heretic. Then they sent him from prison to prison, and, at last, threw him into a most filthy dungeon in the castle of Mons. His nephew, not knowing the place of his confinement, went to Brussels, and ascertained from Tapper himself that he was at Mons under sentence of death, and that it was scarcely probable that he would be able to reach the place in time to see him alive. Nor would he, if something had not occurred to delay the execution.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon (July 27th, 1557) young Merula rode into Mons, and perceived preparation for the burning of a heretic. Proceeding towards the castle, he saw a procession issue from the gate, and move towards the fatal spot. Scarcely could he recognise his venerable uncle. Covered with filth and vermin, scarcely able to totter onward, and too loathsome for any to support him, leaning on a staff, he slowly crept towards a heap of faggots. But the young man caught his eye, and, for a moment, the flame of life seemed to kindle up again as he threw himself into his arms, and, in the hearing of his pitiless guards, addressed him in such words as these:—"My son, the last hour which I have so long wished for is now come. In this hour that great God gives me opportunity to seal with my blood what I have so often testified to his enemies in public and in private out of his holy word, and openly to declare that none of the things produced against me in the Court of Holland are true. I have been forced out of my native land, dragged from place to place, and at last brought hither, where I am entirely prepared to be offered up a pure sacrifice to Christ my Saviour. My soul longs to be with God. My adversaries say that it belongs to Satan, and tell the people that my doctrines are heretical, although they are according to the word of God, and have not been refuted. They have cruelly handled me, as this disfigured body shows. Thieves and murderers are treated more mercifully than I. Go, tell our friends in our dear country what you have seen and heard. You have assisted me faithfully as long as they would suffer it, and all that I possess would have been yours; but let me entreat you to bear the loss of your property with the same fortitude as I endure the loss of my life." He then gave the young man some instructions and advice; but an allusion to the cruelty of the Inquisitors provoked them to

interrupt the conversation, and force him to go on. Still he gave utterance to the emotions that the unexpected interview had excited, and ended by predicting that his blood would not quench the fire thus kindled by the persecutors against themselves; but that it would soon break out into a greater flame, which neither they nor their posterity would be able to extinguish. The martyr was then separated from his nephew; but provoked the Monks, as he went forward between a Franciscan and a hangman, by exhorting the people in French—a language which they thought they did not understand—to meditate on the merits of the death of Christ, and not trust in their own works; and told them that a chief cause of his being put to death was that he had maintained that worship should be paid to God alone.

The train reached the outside of the town, and came to a place where lay a great heap of combustible materials, into which he was to be thrown, and there he begged permission first to offer prayer. Leave being given, he knelt down, and prayed earnestly; but in a few moments fell on the ground. They thought he had swooned from terror; but found that He who holds the keys of life and death had withdrawn his servant from their grasp. Exhausted by five years' imprisonment, with incessant aggravation of his sufferings, the toil of that day had been too severe for endurance, and the flash of life so brightly quickened for a moment was suddenly extinct. The executioner, astonished, refused to throw the body into the fire, thinking that by death the law was satisfied. But their vengeance was not sated, and the remains of Angel Merula were shortly afterwards burnt to ashes.

The Netherlands, we must observe, were but united with Germany under Charles V., because he was hereditary Sovereign of those States as well as elected Emperor of Germany; therefore, the liberty allowed to the German Protestants was not extended to the Reformed (as we prefer to call them) and the Anabaptists in Belgium and Holland. But they were to have it. The persecution under Philip exasperated the popular disaffection into revolt, and the governments of the States were eventually separated from the crown of Spain, adding a memorable instance of the impolicy of persecution to those with which the history of Christendom abounds. Indications of this event now became unquestionable. Two weavers had been burnt at Haarlem, one for selling prohibited books, and the other for buying them, and the officers were proceeding to burn their books also, when the people rose on them. They fled to save their lives, and left the books to be dispersed and read with impunity. Learned Dutchmen in Germany, following the example of their English brethren, published good books under fictitious names. The books were abundantly circulated, and prepared the people in secret for an almost simultaneous rejection of the old superstition. Magistrates began to differ on the bench while examining persons accused of heresy, dismissing cases as far as they could venture to do so without incurring suspicion, excusing themselves in other cases, and throwing the blame on the edicts which compelled them to burn their townsmen. The accused were often transferred from one court to another, when the reluctant Judges could make out

any ground of doubt as to jurisdiction, and evade the odium or guilt of a judicial murder.

"Master John," an evangelical Priest of Enkhuisen, denounced by the neighbouring Priests to the Bishop, was protected by the Magistrates, who deputed a Burgomaster to go to Utrecht and answer for him, and made so significant a remonstrance that the Bishop thought it most prudent to dismiss the charge. A hangman at Dort refused to kill an Anabaptist, saying that he would rather lay down his office than drown one by whom his wife and children had often been fed and clothed; and the condemned man was taken back to prison, and drowned privately at night by another hand. Benevolent Magistrates sent their servants to warn congregations whom the Inquisitors had required them to take by force; and even Tapper, Inquisitor-General, found it expedient to allow a Reformed Pastor of Alkmaar to go free, who had come before him and his assessors surrounded by a company of Burgomasters. One of the Magistrates of Antwerp, after fighting hard against his conscience, by affecting great zeal in the condemnation of some Christian people, was smitten with remorse while yet in court, carried home sick, and died, crying that he had been guilty of shedding innocent blood. Yet the surviving colleagues, feeling no such compunction, redoubled their diligence for the suppression of the Gospel, offered eight hundred guilders for the head of each Minister, and fifty for that of each Deacon or other official member of a "conventicle," who should be brought to them. Executions were consequently numerous; but, at last, public sympathy rose so high, that when the martyrs sang psalms, hundreds of the spectators joined with their voices: the companies of psalm-singers became so formidable that the officers were afraid to proceed to public executions, and at last strong companies of citizens avowed themselves, and threatened to rescue the victims. For example:—Adrian, a painter, given up to the Inquisitors by his own father, and Bokhalt, a tailor, members of a secret congregation, when led to the stake at Antwerp (January 19th, 1559), exclaimed that they were not going to suffer for any crime, but only for the confession of the true doctrine of the Gospel. The officers endeavoured to put them to silence; but the mob shouted, the hangman fled, the Schout, or Sheriff, hid himself in a church, the shops were shut, the Governor of Antwerp was alarmed, and knew not what to do; but the good men had been hurried back to prison in the tumult, and were afterwards put to death.

Dutch wits had been accustomed to entertain the people in both towns and villages by recitation of poems or verses, and by the exhibition of plays in which they exposed prevailing vices, sometimes merrily and sometimes with gravity, exercising a sort of popular censorship; leading public opinion, as we say, and yet with so much good taste and moderation that the Magistrates encouraged those diversions as an ancient and salutary practice. But now the vices of the Priests and the absurdities of Popery fell under this dramatic discipline. The vulgar laughed aloud, those of higher degree laughed in their sleeve; but King Philip issued a proclamation, forbidding all

shows or interludes, all acting, singing, or rehearsing, either in public or in private, wherein mention was made of any religious or ecclesiastical matters. Plays acted for the honour of God and the saints* were to be previously licensed by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Transgressors of this edict were to be punished *arbitrarily, exemplarily, and severely.*

The idea of a crusade now possessed the mind of Philip, who concluded a treaty of peace with the King of France (April 3d), with a secret article, or, at least, a verbal understanding,† that both Kings would unite for the suppression of heresy in France, the Netherlands, and throughout all Christendom ; not by the Inquisition and secular tribunals, whose acts irritated rather than subdued, but by force of arms, after the precedents of the Albigensian and Waldensian crusades. Indeed, Philip began to think the services of Tapper—the Bonner of the Netherlands—to be almost superfluous, and roughly refused him another edict, although he had come to Brussels to ask for it. The refusal thus made extremely mortified the Inquisitor, who now found his work too hard for him : he went from the King's presence to the house of a friend, was there seized with apoplexy, and died (March 11th, 1559). Committing the government of the States to his illegitimate sister, Margaret, Duchess of Parma, Philip went into Spain, there to put down the Reformation, which was rapidly spreading, and instructed her to spare no effort in the prosecution of the same object. But when she met the States General at Ghent, to be recognised as Regent, and exhorted them to defend the Church of Rome and extirpate the new doctrine as "a monster of impiety and sedition," they answered her by expressing dislike and dread of the Spanish Inquisition, and an opinion that heretics might be overcome by persuasion more easily than by force. The Prince of Orange, too, afterwards eminent for promoting the Reformation, when attending Philip on board the fleet, on his embarkation for Spain, received orders to put to death some honourable persons who were suspected of participation in that cause, but gave them private notice that they might escape. A Bull of Pius IV. (January 8th, 1560) confirmed the creation of three archbishoprics and fifteen bishoprics, and empowered each Bishop to bestow prebends on nine Canons of his church, each of whom should assist him in the business of inquisition, providing, also, that of the nine Canons thus to be promoted two should always be Inquisitors. On the new Archbishop of Mechlin the Pope bestowed a Cardinal's hat, to give greater dignity to the new establishment. And to confer on these Bishops a title to seats in the Assembly of the States, the lands of several convents were attached to the sees for their support. These and other similar arrangements made it evident that the design was to destroy the independence of the provinces, and bring them into utter subjection to the Church of Rome, like Naples and Milan ; and opposition to

* Those exhibitions were universal in Spain, and are not yet discontinued. The author has seen one church, at least, fitted up with scenery, as a theatre, the Priests being, most appropriately, the performers.

† Thuani Histor., lib. xxii., sec. 9.

Bishops, as well as to Inquisitors, became national. The inhabitants of Antwerp prepared to emigrate on the first appearance of the new Prelates; the Magistrates sent a deputation into Spain to implore the King to spare them from the dreaded visitation; and Philip condescended to promise that, until after his return, a Bishop should not be set over them.

The martyrdoms continued, although in diminished number; and it is worthy of observation, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishop of London and some others, remonstrated on behalf of three members of the Dutch congregation in London, who, venturing over to their native country, were condemned to die. The remonstrance was treated with contempt. They were strangled, scorched, and their bodies hung in chains; but their brethren gave them Christian burial.

Congregations multiplied. Five or six thousand persons assembled in a forest near Antwerp, were surprised by the Drossart, or criminal Judge, but one only was beheaded. Then began another kind of public psalm-singing, the echo of those martyr-songs which people could no longer hear in silence, and which gave a peculiar character to the worship and proceedings both of the Reformed and others. Two preachers, Philip Maillard and Simon Taveau, had preached openly in Valenciennes, and were apprehended; but the Marquis of Mons, within whose jurisdiction the alleged offence took place, did not proceed to execution, but left the town. The Duchess of Parma, hearing of his delay, commanded him to go and perform his duty; but he boldly answered that the putting heretics to death was neither consistent with his duty nor his inclination. Thus passed away seven months, the preachers being kept in prison, and the number of their followers increasing daily. Letters were received by the Magistrates, warning them not to commit any violence on the prisoners; and the prisoners heard the voices of their friends calling to them from the street at night, advising them to behave like men, and assuring them that no help should be wanting if their death were attempted. But the Governess insisted; they were condemned to the fire; and, as the wool-combers and weavers were used to retire to the villages on Saturdays, and return on Mondays, partly for diversion, and partly to avoid going to mass, it was determined to execute the sentence early on a Monday morning. Before sunrise, therefore, they were taken to the market-place; but the people were too watchful to be deceived, and no sooner were the prisoners on the ground than they crowded around them and filled the place. Taveau, on arriving at the stake, began to pray; and no sooner did the bystanders hear his voice, than they rushed to the stake, tore it up, scattered the wood, and pelted the officers with stones, who ran away as fast as they could, dragging both the preachers back again to the prison, under a heavy shower of stones. The people, headed by a singer, then walked about the city, singing psalms, until their number increased to about two thousand, when they returned to the market-place; the precentor mounted a stage raised for the purpose, and two thousand voices, responding in chorus, sounded like a war-cry in the ears of the

Magistrates, who hid themselves at home. The first impulse of the multitude was to attack the Dominican monastery; but they were diverted by some who represented the folly of spending strength in riot, while their brethren were left in prison, perhaps to suffer the death there, from which they had been delivered in the market-place. This raised another cry, "To the prison! to the prison!" whither the mass moved, and, in a few moments, the two Ministers were at liberty; but, leaving the other prisoners in custody, the leaders of this novel demonstration informed the Magistrates that, having released Maillard and Taveau, they were satisfied, and would thenceforth refrain from further tumult if suffered to enjoy the exercise of their religion in peace (A.D. 1561).

While the people of Valenciennes gave the signal for insurrection, some of the Magistrates of Amsterdam continued to manifest reluctance to do the work imposed on them. When informations of heresy were brought, or a search was to be made, they would contrive to let it be known to persons in their confidence, and some one of the Reformed brethren would hear and pass on this sentence: "He took the young child and his mother, and departed into Egypt." Many used to quit the city while search went forward; and, as soon as it was finished, another by-word, whispered from the same source, would recall them to their homes: "They are dead who sought the young child's life." Yet, even in Amsterdam, other Magistrates zealously enforced the placards; and many were beheaded, drowned, or strangled. The people of West Friesland began to follow the example of the Flemings, but more quietly. A Pastor who had preached evangelically, having been summoned by the Dean to appear before him at Horn, and made prisoner in the deanery, a party of burghers placed themselves under the window of the chamber where he was known to be confined, and the lighter being mounted on the shoulders of the stronger, they framed a living ladder, down which the captive returned to his bodily freedom; and the utmost satisfaction that could be obtained by the Dean was the imposition of an easy fine on the persons who had broken prison.

The Reformed, while martyrdoms both of their brethren and of Anabaptists incessantly placed death before their eyes in all the states, corresponded with each other for the purposes of confession and mutual defence. Guido de Bres, assisted by Adrian Saravia, and a few others, published "a confession of the faith, generally and unanimously maintained by the believers dispersed throughout the Low Countries, who desire to live according to the purity of the holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ." The persecutors, on the other hand, frequently tied their victims neck and heels together, and drowned them in tubs of water, privately, to avoid the tumults which they feared would attend public executions. And both Romanists and Reformed so generally desired that power might be taken from the Clergy, who were, in fact, a body of Inquisitors, that they demanded an Assembly of the States to put an end to the differences now prevailing. To this the Duchess of Parma would not consent, the King having commanded that the states should not assemble in his ab-

sence; but fearing that the religious war rising in France might extend into those territories, she assembled the Knights of the Golden Fleece, and the Stadtholders of some provinces, who deputed the Lord of Montigny to go to Madrid (A.D. 1562) and represent the state of affairs to Philip. He went, told the King of the universal discontent caused by the appointment of the new Bishops, and the projected establishment of a complete and formal Inquisition, and returned with the vague answer, that by multiplying Bishops Philip did not mean to establish an Inquisition. But a real Inquisition was organized effectually, and the stream of persecution flowed unchecked, with greater art and not less cruelty than ever.

It became evident to the Inquisitors, whose knowledge of the state of public feeling was exquisitely correct, that the spirit of religious reformation had attained greatest strength in Holland; and the geographical position of that country, bordering on Germany, where the Confession of Augsburg was legally admitted, indicated the necessity of bold strategy in the warfare against the Gospel which Philip and his Church were resolved to wage with renewed earnestness. Their will was communicated in a placard sent from Brussels (March 29th, 1563), but sixteen days after the appointment of a sub-Inquisitor, specially for the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland, Friesland, Groningen, &c., commanding, under pain of death, that none of the inhabitants of the southern states—the present Belgium—should be allowed to settle anywhere in Holland, unless certified by Priest and Magistrate as "good Catholics," free from taint and suspicion of heresy. All who had come thither within four years past were to be examined, especially as to the baptism of their children. Midwives to be sworn to cause new-born children to receive Romish baptism, or inform against refractory parents. Gossips, happening to assist in bringing infants into the world, to be placed under the same obligation. Women delivered away from home to bring home baptismal certificates. All Pastors and Curates to keep registers of baptism, for inspection by authorities, whenever desired, in order to ascertain whose names were *not* there. People were to go to church on feast-days, and send their children to church and school, under pain of arbitrary punishment. Here began the separation of Holland from Belgium; and an element of national exclusiveness came into action from which the commercial policy of Europe has not yet perfectly recovered. Queen Elizabeth presided over the affairs of Reformation in England, and—ostensibly *for fear of plague*—English cloths were excluded from the Netherlands until after Candlemas. And efforts were made to create a dislike of England by circulating exaggerated complaints of both privateers and merchants.* Thus King Philip and his Priests would place the Gospel under quarantine.

The Cardinal de Granville, favourite Counsellor of Philip, as he and his father had been of Charles V., was deputed by the King to assist, or rather to direct, the Duchess of Parma in her government, and had fully represented his master in urging forward persecution. Him the

* Strype, Annals of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, chap. 38.

Stadtholders, in common with the inhabitants of the states, regarded with extreme dislike. Unable to submit to his control, William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and the Counts of Egmont and Horn, absented themselves from the Council of State, and wrote to Philip, telling him that if he did not recall the Cardinal he would lose the Netherlands. They professed faithful submission to the Church of Rome; but assured him that the nobility alone preserved the Netherlands in connexion with that see, the common people being "entirely corrupted with the contagion of heresy." And not content with epistolary remonstrance, the nobles most zealously opposed to the Cardinal put a badge on their sleeves, and entered into a formal confederacy. Philip therefore found employment elsewhere for his representative; but the confederacy continued, ready to defend their country against the Inquisition. The Prince of Orange and his friends then resumed their places in the Council.

To supply the void which he conceived the withdrawal of the Cardinal must have left in the counsels of the Governess, and mindful of ancestral glories won in the service of the Church, Philip himself assumed the functions of Inquisitor; and the Spanish couriers carried letters without end to Brussels, written with his own hand, instructing the Duchess how she might best discover, worry, and consume the heretics. Lists of names were furnished; descriptions, that might shame the inaccuracy of a modern passport, marked every peculiarity of personal appearance, stature, and apparel, with notice of their places of abode, and, which was of all the most important to his servants, the extent and value of their estates.

Yet neither the caution nor the authority of the royal Inquisitor could prevent resistance. The civil authorities of Antwerp found the people ready to rescue a Christian Minister from the stake. They sang psalms until he was bound, when they drove Marquis, Sheriff, and soldiers off the ground, and would have saved their Pastor, had not the hangman already buried a hatchet in his skull. The Magistrates of Bruges discharged a heretic, so called, whom the Inquisitors' officers had arrested, and imprisoned the officers themselves. Inflictions of death for religion continued, but rescues multiplied. The Sheriff (Scout) and Magistrates of Horn, in spite of the mandates of government and the solicitation of their Bishop and his Dean, would not be guilty of destroying life; and were rewarded by such a degree of prosperity as never had been known even in the Netherlands, the chief seat of European commerce. Merchants, who apprehended persecution, came to Horn from all the other states, followed by thousands of humbler persons; the harbour became too small to receive the shipping, and they were proceeding to enlarge it. But, "Send away all the heretical skippers," said a monkish preacher, "and I warrant you your harbour will hold all the rest." The skippers laughed; and from that day the men of Horn called the Monk "Haven-widener."

But the affairs of the Netherlands rapidly approached their crisis. In a meeting of the Council of State (latter part of 1564) called to consider grievances complained of, the Prince of Orange spoke with

still greater freedom than he had ventured on before. They had agreed to send the Count of Egmont into Spain, to submit their judgment to the King; and Viglius, President of the Council, had read the draught of a report to be presented to His Majesty; but the Prince pronounced it insufficient, and said, that, if they would save the country, they must demand deliverance from the sanguinary placards, the Inquisition, the new Bishops, and the decrees of the Council of Trent; and that, although he adhered to the Roman Catholic religion, he could not approve that Princes should attempt to exercise dominion over the souls of men, or deprive them of liberty in matters of religion and faith. He spoke long, earnestly, and with a torrent of eloquence that overpowered opposition, until seven o'clock in the evening, when the Duchess of Parma declared that she must get her dinner; the Council separated, and Viglius went home terror-smitten, ruminating over the threatening aspect of affairs. All night he lay awake, and next morning suffered a fit of apoplexy, which incapacitated him from again throwing much energy into his work. The Duchess allowed his substitute to soften the report a little, and the Count of Egmont set out for Spain.

His reception at court was magnificent, and no pains were spared to detach him from the confederated nobles; but he made good use of private audiences, and honestly counselled the King to enter on a new line of government. Philip summoned a company of divines to confer with the Dutch envoy, and desired their advice,—asked the wolves how to ensure the safety of the fold. Yet, like Spaniards of good sense, although Priests, perceiving that liberty of conscience alone could satisfy the just demands represented by Egmont, they most of them maintained that, without sinning against God, he might grant them some degree of religious freedom. "I *may*," said he, "but *must* I?" Well did he know that they durst not say that he *must* give a licence to heresy. They could not venture so far. Then, falling on his knees in their presence, he addressed the following prayer to a crucifix erected in the apartment:—"I beseech thee, O God and Lord of all things, that I may ever continue in this mind, never to be King, nor to be called King, of any country where thou art not acknowledged to be Lord."

Persecution still raged, and that more hotly. But resistance also grew more bold. Already the Governors and the governed were in a posture of hostility. Philip had spoken a few soft words to Count Egmont, but atoned for the momentary irresolution by sending orders for the execution of several Anabaptists, and other dissidents. As for the Council of Trent, the Clergy of those states were by no means agreed that its acts ought to be received; but he caused them to be promulgated, notwithstanding the opposition and disgust of his subjects, especially in Holland;* and answered their complaints of his

* The Court of Holland strenuously objected to the following sentence: (Conc. Trid., Sessio xxv., De Reformat., cap. 3:)—"Nefas autem sit sæculari cuilibet Magistratui prohibere Ecclesiastico judici, ne quem excommunicet, aut mandare ut latam excommunicationem revocet," &c. This gives uncontrolled power to the ecclesiastical Judge over all persons, leaving none to "any secular Magistrate."

continued cruelty by coldly saying that he had indeed thought it might be desirable to execute heretics in private, since the condemned persons gloried in dying for their religion; but that, whoever might advise the contrary, there should be no abatement of severity: for as often as there had been any relaxation in the punishment of heretics they had grown insolent, and all wise men had ever thought it absurd to lessen penalties when crimes increased. Viglius feared to publish such an answer, but the Duchess insisted; and the power of the King of Spain over the Netherlands received its death-blow.

The Prince of Orange and confederates reclaimed; the chief towns of Brabant refused to publish the King's letters, and so did some others; the King, the Duchess, the Inquisitors, and Clergy insisted, and urged on the murderous executions. Prisoners were now again drowned privately. The Reformed protested that they did not desire to raise, nor to encourage, sedition; but the press, which could no longer be bound, teemed with anti-Romish publications. The public mind was ready for resistance. Then it was that about twenty gentlemen first met privately in the house of one named Kulenburgh, in the horse-market in Brussels (November 2d, 1565), and concerted a plan for seizing on the city of Antwerp, and soliciting the alliance of the German Protestant states. But the Prince of Orange, to whom they communicated the project, dissuaded them with a promise of endeavouring to effect their object, the suppression of the Inquisition, without force. This he endeavoured to do, by pleading in the Council of State, where he and his associates were furnished with materials for their addresses by a Frenchman, who was as yet unknown to most of them, even by name. Their learned correspondent was Francis Junius, who also wrote to the King in favour of liberty of conscience; but he was discovered by a spy who had pretended to be converted, found a place in private religious meetings in Antwerp, traced him to his lodgings, and, being an artist, sent his portrait and his address to the Governess at Brussels. Her Highness confided the picture to the Marquis of Antwerp, with instructions to make sure of the original. Junius escaped; but with unremitting diligence and zeal laboured in the cause of Christ, and in one instance even preached at Antwerp while they were burning some of his brethren, and the glare of the flames flashed into the room where the congregation was assembled.

But the Prince of Orange could not prevail in Council. The Duchess wished to employ the army to repress heresy, and asked the Count of Egmont to undertake the command; but he told her that he would not fight against any man living in defence of the placards and the Inquisition. Their deliberations were quickened by the appearance in Brussels of the Lord Brederode, chief of the confederated noblemen, with two hundred horse. Then came Count Lewis, brother of the Prince of Orange, with a numerous train, and the Counts of Berg and Kuilenberg. These were all assembled by Brederode, who represented to them the terror of the Inquisition, and their duty to resist it, by standing to the league into which they were compelled to enter. They exclaimed with one voice, "Let him be accounted a traitor who for-

sakes it;" and agreed to a memorial to the Duchess, pointing out that insurrection would certainly follow if the King persisted in tyranny and persecution, and praying that a deputation might again be sent to bear him the remonstrance of the states. At the head of three hundred * armed noblemen and gentlemen, all dressed in brown, and carrying the memorial in his hand, Lord Brederode presented himself to the Duchess, who could not conceal her alarm at the approach of so formidable a company, as, in profound silence, they filled the hall. A zealous royalist who happened to be present, concealed his trepidation under a jeer: "*Ce n'est qu'un tas de gueux*," "This is only a pack of beggars." However, their appearance extorted a mild, although evasive, reply, with a promise that their memorial should be forwarded by a deputation to the King; and they withdrew to watch its progress, taking for a distinctive title the appellation given them in contempt. Their cry was, "Beggars for ever," † and their badge a medal, having the King's head on one side, and on the reverse a beggar's wallet between two right hands, with the motto, "Faithful to the King, even to beggary." ‡ The Duke of Arschot and his servants, on the other side, made a procession to a shrine of the Virgin Mary, with her image on their hats, which image received the Pope's blessing; and thenceforth there were two factions, the one under Papal benediction, and the other strengthened by abhorrence of Papal wrongs. The deputation were the Marquis of Mons and the Baron of Montigny, whom Philip did not receive as before, with endeavour to overcome by kindness, but had one of them poisoned, and his colleague put to death in prison.

Reformed congregations now appeared simultaneously in several of the provinces, especially in Brabant and Flanders, so numerous, and often so well armed, that their enemies could not venture to disturb them. In vain did the Duchess of Parma command the Magistrates to disperse all such meetings, and hang the preachers; and the Council of Antwerp strengthened the general resistance of this mandate by roundly refusing to obey. To pacify Antwerp, where adverse parties threw the city into great confusion, the Prince of Orange was made Governor; and under his prudent administration the Reformation advanced more peacefully. But open violence, intrigues, and inquisitorial severities, compelled the confederates to consult for their own safety, as well as for the liberties of the Netherlands; and from fifteen hundred to two thousand horsemen assembled in council at St. Truy (July, 1566), and determined to demand liberty of worship, as well as deliverance from the Inquisition. Philip heard with amazement of great congregations, remonstrant Magistrates, confederates in arms, and the perseverance of all, both Romanists and Reformed, in rejecting half concessions. Instead of yielding, he disapproved the trifling show of leniency made, for a moment, by the Duchess, and, supported by his courtiers, resolved to allow no other worship than the Romish, either public or private; no relaxation of penalties on heresy, nothing

* Thuanus says *four* hundred. † "Vive les Gueux."
‡ "Fidelles au Roi, jusques á la besace."

but death to every recusant. He ordained processions and litanies throughout his dominions, to implore of God and the saints victory over heresy; and mocked his subjects by offering an indemnity, from which all offenders on account of religion were excepted.

This aroused a tempest of popular fury which the leaders of the Reformation could not restrain. The lowest of the people, headed by a few desperate men, first in West Flanders (August 14th, 1566), broke into convents and churches, and demolished images, pictures, pyxes, altars, and ornaments. Not unfrequently persons of rank joined in the devastation. Magistrates accepted the requisitions of mobs, and sent carpenters and smiths to remove the idols from their shrines. None could stem the torrent. Protestant preachers argued and besought in vain. Papists shut themselves up in their houses, while the multitudes spent their vengeance, not on Magistrates nor Inquisitors, but on shivered statues, showing, amidst much real profanity and much unjustifiable violence, that their hatred of Popery was cordial, and that the mawmets of the mass-house had never been regarded with veneration by the thousands who almost instinctively annihilated what they had so long despised and worshipped. "Look," cried a man in the midst of a large congregation in the old church of Amsterdam, "there hang those blasphemous verses." Near the pyx,* which was enclosed in a glass case, hung a board with these words: "Jesus Christ is locked up in this box: He is truly God and man, being born of the Virgin Mary: whosoever does not believe this is damned." Taking up the heavy case with both hands, he dashed it on the pavement, the roof rang with the crash; the Priests decamped; and volleys of stones and strokes of staves brought down all the gods of the place. Such scenes were repeated almost wherever the Papists ventured to leave the churches open *to their own people*, who seemed to be carried away by the spirit of iconoclasm.

Two hundred thousand people were under arms, and declared that they would not lay down their arms until they had liberty of worship. The militia was called out; but the militia refused to fight for the Inquisition. A royal placard, equally foolish and wicked, circulated from Brussels, declaring that every one was authorized to kill the breakers of images; and that to murder them would be laudable and pious. But the Inquisition could not now engage a Netherlandish mob to murder; murder being eminently reserved for execution by the Holy Office. The Prince of Orange, hoping to prevail with the Government by a display of impartiality, signified his sincere disapprobation of the tumults in Antwerp, by hanging three image-breakers, and banishing a few others; but he allowed churches to be built for Reformed worship, and in most of the towns churches were given for its celebration, or new ones were permitted to be built.

The Duchess, in alarm, had made some such concession to the Reformed in Utrecht and Antwerp, but she recalled it by a placard a few days afterwards. In this way provocations were incessantly repeated, and followed by fresh outbreaks; but, worst of all, a plot

* Containing the host, or wafer.

was laid in the Spanish court to turn these disturbances to a political account. Philip, it was designed, should endeavour to restore peace by fair means first, so as to appear in the character of a pacifier of civil war, and then change the government of the Low Countries into an *absolute monarchy*, which he had long desired. This being done, he would fulfil an oath he had made so to punish the Netherlanders for their disobedience to him and to God, that the ears of all Christendom should tingle, though it were at the hazard of losing all his dominions. The Prince of Orange had found means to discover this nefarious project, and assembled the confederate nobles, who determined to stand peaceably on the defensive, give every possible proof of constitutional submission to the King, and endeavour to repress tumults. They kept to this engagement, punished some of the most turbulent, and loyally remonstrated with their Sovereign, who knew not that his plans had been discovered. They even offered him, in return for liberty of worship, a present of thirty tons of gold, besides ordinary contributions, and began to collect the money; but the Spaniards treated their proposal as insolent, as a bravado of wealth, made for the sake of inducing foreign Princes to join their confederacy, and the Duchess levied new troops. War began. The Reformed towns were threatened. Valenciennes was besieged, and fell. About two hundred persons were hanged for religion after the capitulation (A.D. 1565). Several other towns followed, and persecution unto death raged again.

By the artfulness of the common enemy dissensions rose between the Lutherans and the Reformed; many became weary of the contest, and by their defection discouraged others; and the Prince of Orange desired to resign his stadtholdership, and retire to Germany, where personal affairs required his attention. But his services in preserving order at Antwerp were too valuable to the Duchess for her to accept his resignation. Just then it was heard that she was raising a great army, and that Philip had appointed a Spaniard, the Duke of Alva, for General. The forces already collected were employed to hunt down Reformed congregations; and the Inquisitors wreaked vengeance on an innumerable multitude of martyrs, who endured extreme torments and death with a constancy as signal as the horrors of the time were appalling.

The Duke of Alva crossed the frontiers with twelve hundred horse, and between eight and nine thousand foot, resolved on a war of extirpation; but the confederates had not force enough to meet him. He marched into Brussels with part of his troops (August 28th, 1567), and cantoned the remainder in the neighbouring towns. The country was mute with terror, and it was computed that not fewer than one hundred and twenty thousand fled. Germany, Sweden, and Denmark were open to them, and many came over to England, and settled all over the country; but especially in Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Canterbury, Maidstone, Southampton, London, and Southwark,* to contribute by their industry to the prosperity of our nation. The

* Strype, Elizabeth, chap. 52.

Duchess issued a placard, exhorting the people not to emigrate; but this only accelerated the flight. A "Council of Tumults" was formed in Brussels by the Duke of Alva, and directed by Juan de Vargas, another Spaniard, reputed to be the most bloodthirsty man living, although that distinction might have been disputed by the Duke himself. Their fury fell on all without distinction of religion, according to a barbarous sentence * of Vargas: "The heretics have broken temples; the good have done nothing against it: therefore they must all be hanged." The moans of the tortured and the dying ceased not by day nor night. Gallows, wheels, stakes, trees in the highways, were laden with dead bodies, or mangled and dissevered limbs, of persons hanged, beheaded, or roasted to death. The air was polluted with the stench; and the knell of death sounded heavily from every belfry. Alva gloated over the carnage; and the Duchess, although base of birth, heartless, and cruel, shuddered with disgust, dropped the reins of government into the hands of the Spaniard, and departed for Italy. She sent a last warning to the King that he would, by those proceedings, lose the Netherlands. The Prince of Orange, and such confederates as Alva had not ensnared and imprisoned on his arrival, also fled. His first act had been to send for Egmont and Horn, smile, and throw them into prison.

Philip imagined his glory to be nearly consummated, and convened the Council of the Inquisition to give him their advice (February 16th, 1568). They counselled him to take the shortest method by declaring all Netherlanders, excepting those whom he should spare by name, to have been guilty of treason, and to deal with them accordingly; that is to say, that he should depopulate that country by the sword. They, and others, assured him that the Pope would release him from his oath to maintain the rights of those states, and allow him to treat the Netherlands as a conquered country, left to his discretion.† How shall we designate this counsel? Came it not by an inspiration from beneath? Ten days afterwards Philip commanded it to be put into execution without respect of persons; and our forefathers thanked God that Philip had not succeeded Mary on the throne of England!

The forests of West Flanders became the retreat of thousands who, houseless and starving, grew savage with misery. But even to these did God, in his mercy, eventually give a commission for the good of their desolated country. These "wild beggars," (*gueux*,) as they were called, after infesting the neighbouring villages by nocturnal depredations, seizing and cutting off the ears and noses of as many Priests and Friars as they could lay hands on, and carrying on a predatory warfare with the parties of Spaniards that were sent to subdue them, largely contributed to man ships of war sent off the coast by the Prince of Orange, aided by his confederates and allies in Germany. These were the "water-beggars," who, after rendering

* "Hæretici fraxerunt templa, boni nihil faxerunt contra; ergo debent omnes patibulare." The Latin, if that be the language, is quite good enough for the sentiment.

† So says Thuanus, a careful observer of those events, who speaks of having watched them with anxious attention. Histor., lib. xl., cap. 3.

good service in this war, impressed a character of bravery and enterprise on the Dutch fleet, so famous in the history of commerce and colonization. The noble Prince sold his jewels, plate, and furniture, and, with their price, began a levy of troops, for which he issued a commission at Dillenburg, in Germany (April 16th, 1567); and, notwithstanding many failures of success, his brother Lewis raised force enough to march into Guelderland for "liberty of nation and conscience," and defeated the Spaniards at Heiligerlee. Alva, mortified at the loss, vented his rage in a renewed slaughter of the Dutch; and new methods of torment were invented for the entertainment of the soldiers and the Priests.*

The Prince of Orange himself then entered the country with a considerable army, who had now to expel an enemy hated and loathed by all except the Church; for the fury that wasted the Netherlands was even felt in Spain. Don Carlos, Prince of Spain, had displeased his father, by disapproving, as is generally supposed, of his treatment of the Netherlands; and Philip, not deigning to disclose the cause of his displeasure, threw him into prison (January 18th, 1568), and either wore him to death by excessive cruelty, or had him despatched at once.† Pius V. extolled the piety of Philip in not sparing even his own son, and sent Alva a Christmas present of hat and sword as a mark of peculiar admiration. To maintain and satisfy his troops, the Spanish General found it necessary to levy exorbitant taxes on the half-deserted country; but it was difficult to recover the money, or even to find persons willing to undertake the employment of collectors. The Court of Holland, *now* touched more sensibly than ever before, appointed prayer to be made that God would vouchsafe to soften the hard and cruel heart of the Duke of Alva, that he might hearken to reason and equity. Even the Franciscans of Amsterdam exclaimed against him as a tyrant; the most rigid Romanists desired a revolution, and turned for help towards those whom they had lately persecuted. The Duke enforced his demand for money with the utmost rigour of military law, combined with the bitterness of fanaticism; and so utterly wearied were the people of Utrecht, that some of them offered, if the Prince of Orange would attack their city, to set fire to their own houses, to hinder the garrison from opposing him. The Anabaptists in Germany, now recovering from their earlier follies,

* One of these was to screw irons on the tongue of the person to be put to death, and then burn the tip with a red-hot iron. This caused the tongue to swell, the anguish being increased by the compression of the irons. It would then roll in the mouth, and the cries of the sufferer becoming shrill, and unlike those of a human being, the Spaniards would make themselves merry at his *singing*.

† Even Mariana (Año 1568) and Miñana (lib. vi., cap. 8) confirm the fact, which they gently relate as a thing suspected. Llorente tries to vindicate Philip, but has not succeeded. The death of Philip's son was soon followed by that of his young and lovely wife, Elisabeth, daughter of the savage Catherine of France. She had been at the French court, at the same time that the Duke of Alva and Catherine, Queen-mother, were holding secret conferences for the extirpation of the Huguenots, but showed no sympathy with persecutors. Her mother always treated her harshly. Philip was brutish towards her from their first interview. She was really pregnant—not like his former wife, Mary; and the physicians, who had drugged Carlos, treated her as dropsical. She died under their hands; and, in the opinion of many historians, is also held to have been a victim of rage against heretics and their abettors.

generously contributed money towards the assistance of the Prince of Orange, the Reformed generally did the same, and affairs began to assume a different aspect.

The head-quarters of Alva were in Brussels, where, as in many other places, he failed to collect the taxes he had required. The shopkeepers shut their shops, declaring that they had no goods to sell, nor any money to give. To obtain money, which was then what he wanted above all things, he determined to turn the soldiers on the inhabitants, hang some of the citizens before their own doors, and, amidst the terror so produced, extort as much cash as possible. While he was making a list of persons to be hung, news came that the Briel, a town on the coast of Holland, was taken by the "water-beggars" (April 1st, 1569) under the command of Admiral Vander Mark, whose fleet of six-and-twenty ships had been driven to that shore by contrary winds. Great part of the Spanish garrison had vacated the place, to do execution at Utrecht, and, in their absence, the wind of heaven brought deliverers. It is remarkable that Vander Mark, at the instance of Alva, was obliged to quit England, where he had taken refuge, and where, after all, Alva would rather he had stayed. The town was soon stormed, the burghers welcomed Vander Mark, whose men turned their violence on the Clergy, and joined the inhabitants in clearing the churches of their images. Alva could not stay to hang the shopkeepers at Brussels, but marched away in haste to encounter the "beggars;" but the beggars beat him on his arrival at the Briel, and he could only march back again covered with shame. On his return-march Dort shut her gates on him, lest, if he got in, he should force money from the inhabitants. At Rotterdam his army were refused transit, except in small numbers, and he made his case the worse by massacring many of the inhabitants, and chastising the people in some other places; but the men of Flushing, animated by the exhortations of a Romish Priest, having driven out the garrison, also repulsed him. And now the tide was turned. Town after town declared for the Prince of Orange, and the petty tyrants who had served Alva were in profound dismay. In Gouda, for example, which was taken by sixty men, a Burgomaster ran for refuge to the house of a widow, who kindly put him into a cupboard. "Am I safe here?" whispered he through the key-hole; "am I safe here?" "O yes," said the good woman: "my husband has been often hidden there when you were seeking for him, and the keeper of the prison stood there before him." So did the cupidity of Alva, and his getting Vander Mark sent out of England, turn the tide of war against himself. He was caught in the net that he had spread.

The States of Holland met at Dort (July 15th, 1569), and declared the Prince of Orange lawful Stadtholder, or Viceroy, and Alva an enemy of the country. One of the members, representing the Prince, expressed his desire that both Romanists and Reformed should enjoy the public exercise of their religion, under such regulations as might be duly made; and Vander Mark, as his Lieutenant for Holland, was instructed accordingly. Meanwhile Alva had besieged Mons; but, unable to reduce that town, withdrew his men from Rotterdam and

some other places to join him before Mons, leaving Rotterdam to be occupied by the Admiral. About that time the Prince of Orange came with his newly-recruited army from Germany, and for more than three years the whole country was exposed to the horrors of war, in which some of the Dutch leaders, especially Vander Mark, were not guiltless; but the Spaniards added butchery to war; until Philip himself saw that main force, being insufficient to conquer, might provoke his subjects to cast off his authority as well as that of his General, and transferred the command to Don Luis de Requesens. Alva, Don Federico, his son, and Vargas, left Brussels (December 2d, 1572); the ex-Governor boasting that he had passed eighteen thousand heretics under the hand of the executioner, besides the uncounted thousands whom he had destroyed in war. Vargas complained that the Low Countries were lost by foolish compassion! Not by compassion nor by leniency, but (on the relief of Leyden from a dreadful siege, which it endured amidst the horrors of famine) by the "water-beggars," whose fleet floated down the dykes,—the country being flooded, and thousands of Spaniards drowned,—Holland was delivered from "the Spanish fury," but still acknowledged Philip as King (A.D. 1575). The war continued in the southern provinces without abatement, yet with gradual advantages in favour of the States, until they united (November 8th, 1576) at Ghent in a league for the expulsion of the Spaniards. As some of them had been royalist, and others had acknowledged the Prince of Orange, their union was called the *pacification* of Ghent. Still Don Juan fought under consecrated banners, hoping, by virtue of the Cross, to conquer heretics, as, by the same sign, he had vanquished Turks; and Gregory XIII. encouraged his army by a Bull of crusade, granting the soldiers plenary indulgence, and remission of all sins, in reward for killing heretics.

At last, patriotism and religious reformation being associated in the conception of the people, and absolute government having fallen by its own severity, the States of most of the provinces of the Netherlands declared, by proclamation (June 26th, 1581), that the King of Spain had forfeited all right and title to the government. Their proclamation affirmed that the people were not created by God for the sake of the Prince, to submit to his commands, whether pious or impious, right or wrong, and be his slaves; but that the Prince was created for the people, to feed, preserve, and govern them in justice and equity, as a father his children, or a shepherd his flock; that whoever pretended to enslave his subjects, should be deemed a tyrant, rejected, and deposed, especially by virtue of a resolution of the States of the nation, if the subjects could not obtain redress by supplication and other means. The Sovereign of those provinces, they said, had sworn to govern according to their rights and privileges, and, by breaking his oath, forfeited the sovereignty. They then recapitulated the unlawful acts of Philip, and for them rejected him, and ordained an oath of abjuration. War lingered, much blood continued to be spilt, but Philip had lost the Netherlands; leaving the annals of that war, with its conclusion, as a monition to all such

persecutors of the vanity and mischief of attempting to establish, or to destroy, any religion by fire and sword.

But Philip could not submit to the decision of war, although he had pretended to confide his cause to God and the saints. Now that Alva and his successors had failed, he endeavoured openly to do what he had often secretly attempted, and offered a reward of twenty-five thousand ducats for the head of the Prince of Orange, with a patent of nobility for the assassin. One of his servants shot him, but the wound was not mortal: another shot him with deadly effect, and, only able to ejaculate a prayer, "My God, have mercy on me, and on the poor people," he expired. The tale is briefly told by Mariana,* in a style which well expresses the spirit of the deed. "In Antwerp a Biscayan youth, called Juan de Xáuregui, resolved to kill the Prince of Orange."—But the Jesuit says not a word of the rewards offered for that service.—"With this resolution, one day, after clearing the table after dinner, he gave him a pistol-shot. This did not kill him, but passed through his cheek, leaving a bad wound. The youth was then cut to pieces, and all who had any knowledge of the conspiracy were put to death. *More happy was another youth*, a Burgundian, who, having engaged himself as servant of the said Prince, soon found a favourable occasion, and killed him in Holland." He had revealed his design to a Jesuit at Trier, who consulted three of his brethren on the subject, and then assured him that, if he lost his life in consequence of the murder, he should be ranked among the martyrs. A Franciscan also encouraged him, and gave him his blessing, which he first proceeded to merit by pretending to be the son of a martyr, and very religious; in token of which he always carried a Bible, Psalm-book, or some pious treatise, in his pocket. Thus he made his way into the service of the Prince.

War still continued, until, twenty-seven years after this murder, the Spaniards, weakened by the loss of their great Armada, fitted out for the invasion of England (A.D. 1588), and by the declension of their affairs in general, concluded a truce of twelve years.† Holland then became independent and prosperous; but the Spanish Netherlands, as they were called by way of distinction, had neither independence nor prosperity.‡ A successor to the Duke of Alva could not be found in the service of the Church; and for many years we do not find that any more of the Reformed were put to death, until A.D. 1596, when two ladies and their servant-woman were accused of heresy, and imprisoned in Brussels. Yielding to fear of death, the ladies pleaded ignorance, asked for pardon, returned to the Romish communion, and were allowed to live; but their servant maintained her constancy. Being a woman of mean condition, she told the Judges, she could not be suspected of stirring up sedition, and, as she thought, had right views of religion; but if not, her error was

* Mariana, Año 1582.

† It does not come within the purpose of this work to relate the unsatisfactory history of the Dutch churches while quarreling over points of discipline and confessions, and endeavouring to enforce conformity by laws.

‡ Brandt's History of the Reformation, &c., in and about the Low Countries, is the original authority for this sketch of the religious war.

her misfortune, and ought not to be imputed to her as a crime: but if she were to violate her conscience by saying, through fear, what she did not believe, even truth, so spoken, would be offensive in the sight of God, and men ought not to punish her for error, but leave that to God. Her case was referred to the Council of Government, where the Archduke Albert of Austria is reported to have recommended that she should be punished according to the placards. She was, accordingly, condemned to be buried alive. They took her to a place in the neighbourhood of Brussels, on the canal of Heijfelt, and laid her in a pit, or grave, surrounded by Jesuits, who seemed half afraid of the consequences of their own deed. Instead of being suffocated at once, the earth was thrown in by shovels-full, beginning at her feet, and so gradually covering the whole body. At each stage of the slow burial, the Jesuits asked if she had re-considered, and offered her mercy; but she cried, "They that seek to save their lives here shall lose them hereafter." The earth was now scattered over her body, up to the neck; her face was then covered, and the executioner leaped into the grave, and stamped on the half-buried woman, whose moans made the bystanders shudder. Thus did Anna vanden Hove join the glorious company who had gone before; and, although assassinations were sometimes attempted, and but too successfully, and imprisonments and banishments were frequent, few more were put to death judicially.

Our starting-point was the edict of Augsburg (A.D. 1530). We there saw Charles V. resolved to enforce conformity to the Roman Church throughout the empire, if possible; and, by the example of the Netherlands, have seen that he also resolved to make an end of all religious diversity in that part of his hereditary dominions. We shall also have to trace the same attempt in regard to the Utraquists and "the Brethren" in Bohemia and Moravia; but our attention must now be directed towards Spain, a kingdom which the Sovereign could govern absolutely, without the hinderance of any constitutional restriction.

Charles conceived, or, if he did not conceive, admitted, the idea of following up that edict by a grand effort of religious persecution. Not only Protestants, Reformed, Hussites, Brethren, but Jews and Moors, or rather *new Christians*, persons who had been compelled to submit to baptism and make a profession of such Christianity as was current,—a profession that was too reluctant and imperfect even to induce the outward appearance of proselytism,—these were to be made the subjects of a terrible coercion. Judaism was all but extinct; and the Inquisitors had nearly exhausted the property belonging to the Judeo-Christian families who remained after massacres, emigrations, banishments, and the great expulsion of 1492. The Moors, or Moriscoes, of Valencia, first compelled to submit to that spurious Christianity, were then goaded by innumerable vexations, until they laid their complaints at the foot of the imperial throne, and were at last quieted by fire and sword. But the humbler classes of the Granadan population were almost entirely Moorish; and measures having been already taken for the obliteration of every trace of their national

origin, by prohibiting the language, dress, and customs which they had cherished with an intense enthusiasm, the Inquisition was planted in Granada (A.D. 1530), and its operations began. As yet there were no Lutherans in Spain; but good books had found their way into the country, if we may believe those Inquisitors who took the civil power into their own hands, and published two orders from their Supreme Council, the one prohibiting utterly the printing of books, and the other commanding their servants to visit and examine all public libraries,—although those libraries, being ecclesiastical, should rather have been expurgated by the Bishops than by the Inquisition, —and requiring all persons to give information of those whom they believed to have possessed or read such books. Thus began at once the suppression of the Reformation, and the expulsion of the Moriscoes. For the latter purpose proceedings were vigorous, for the former but preliminary; and Charles, busied with the affairs of Germany, left both to be executed by his son. The neighbouring kingdom of Portugal was not impervious to rays of truth; the King, John III., represented to the Court of Rome that several converted Jews had become Protestants, and Clement VII. favoured him with the appointment of an Inquisitor-General, Diego de Silva, who entered Lisbon amidst the execrations of the people; but King John had already overcome "grave difficulties," their murmurings were awed into silence, and an abundant harvest the year following (A.D. 1535) was declared to be a boon of heaven to reward Portugal for the admission of the Holy Office. All this notwithstanding, Don Diego could not venture to exercise his functions until two years' perseverance had brought him another Bull, Lutheran doctrine gaining ground meanwhile, both in Portugal and Spain.

Even in the court of Charles V., and subsequently in the viceroyal palace of Naples, Juan Valdes, a learned, devout, and evangelical Spaniard, laboured in the preparation of treatises * calculated to open the eyes of his countrymen to some fundamental articles of Christian faith. While a young man he had imbibed many scriptural ideas from the writings of Tauler, a German mystic, which were confirmed by conversing with enlightened men, and by studying the word of God with prayer. He taught that the holy Scriptures, not the Fathers, are the rule of faith; that men are justified by a lively faith in the passion and death of Christ; that it is possible for the justified to attain to certainty as to their acceptance with God. Other writers partook of a similar elevation of theological sentiment; but the living voice was not yet heard, until one who appears to have owed little or nothing to human writings, without an earthly master, and taught by God alone, broke silence.

Rodrigo de Valero, a native of Lebrija, figured at Seville in the most brilliant scenes of gaiety and fashion. While yet his health was unbroken, and his fortune unimpaired, he suddenly withdrew into

* Some of his works were, "Divine Considerations," some lesser essays, commentaries on the Psalms, Romans, and Corinthians, and "Advice on Interpreters of sacred Scripture." Valdes is marked in the Spanish Expurgatory Index as a heretic *of the first class.*

solitude, laid aside his equipage, relinquished all care of personal appearance, and, shutting himself up in his chamber, devoted himself entirely to reading and meditation. His book was a Latin Bible; and over its pages he bent, night and day, familiarizing himself with the language, committing sentences to memory, and comparing spiritual things with spiritual. He had turned his back on the formalities of the Church as well as on the follies of the world; and while learning the first elements of Christianity, these elements grew up within his soul into a body of lively truth that he could no longer hide in secrecy. Emerging from retirement as unexpectedly as he had gone into it, he appeared suddenly in society again, courting the company of Priests and Friars, and conversing only on religious topics. They heard his arguments with the embarrassment of novices, and his reproofs with impatience, when he pointed out their impurities and dishonesty of conduct no less freely than the errors of their doctrine. To their rote authorities he opposed the veritable authority of the word of God. They withdrew from his society; but he pursued them. In public companies, and on public walks, he joined in their conversations, and confronted them with the unanswerable text of the neglected Bible. Disdainfully they asked whence he had derived his knowledge, how he could dare to teach them, and what were the proofs of his new mission. His Bible, he affirmed, was the source of all knowledge, and the Divine Author of that book the authority on whom alone he relied while endeavouring to dispel their ignorance. They presented him to the Inquisitors; but he felt no fear, and argued against the triers with the same earnestness and self-possession as if he had been pacing the Alameda with familiar friends. The Inquisitors fancied him to be mad; some whom he had already brought over to his views designedly encouraged them in the fancy, and the fathers contented themselves with depriving the insane babbler of his property. This he took joyfully; and, although death awaited him, could only be persuaded to cease from public conversation for a time, and employed the interval in expounding the Epistle to the Romans to a secret congregation. But secret ministrations became wearisome. He believed that he ought to confess Christ openly, at whatever cost, and was seen and heard again in public as before. Again the Inquisitors had him brought into their presence (A.D. 1541), and condemned him to wear the *sambenito,—saco bendito*, "blessed sack!"—and to be imprisoned for life. He was thus made one of a company of "penitents," and marched with the shameful vesture on him, with shorn head and bare feet, to hear sermons in the church of S. Salvador,* in Seville; but he manifested neither

* If the traveller in Seville will go to the church of S. Salvador, he will see an inscription, on marble, on the outside of that building. It is an old law, which, *mutatis mutandis*, the ecclesiastical authority would wish to have enforced at this day:—"The King, Don Juan, Law 11. The King, and every person who shall meet the most holy sacrament, shall come down from his horse, although it be in the mire, under penalty of six hundred *maravedis* of that time, according to the laudable custom of this city, or he shall lose his equipage. And if it be a Moor, fourteen years of age, or upwards, he must kneel down, or lose all the clothes that are on him, to be given to the accuser. This stone was erected by the arch-fraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament of this collegiate church, in the year 1714."—Copied on the spot by the author.

shame nor sorrow; and once, unwilling to lose the opportunity of again publishing the truth, addressed a numerous congregation, after the preacher had left the pulpit, warning them not to give heed to anything that could not be proved by the word of God. This act sealed his earthly doom. From that time he was hidden from every eye, save that of God, and the inmates of a monastery in the little town of S. Lucar de Barrameda, on the edge of the Guadalquivir, where he died at about fifty years of age. His *sambenito*, according to custom, was hung up as a trophy in the cathedral church of Seville, surmounted by these words:—"Rodrigo de Valero, citizen of Lebrija and Seville, apostate, a false Apostle, who pretended to be sent of God." We shall find a nobler memorial of this confessor.

By channels, of which there is no trace remaining, the truth found entrance into the city of Valladolid. In the confidence of friendship, among persons who found themselves alike influenced by a hungering and thirsting after righteousness, the verities of Christianity found frequent utterance; and a lively desire to discover the doctrine that freer nations had welcomed, and that martyrs again died for, pervaded the public mind, but lay covered in silence. At length it was noised that an *auto de fé* was to be celebrated; and, at the appointed time, the usual procession walked towards the hearth,—*quemadero*,—as the Spaniards correctly call the ordinary place of execution. A sad train of penitents were made to stand in order around the spot, and one, wearing a *sambenito* and cap, with red flames and devils painted from head to foot, was led out of the train, and chained to the stake. A crowd of Friars beset him with offers of life if he would accept reconciliation with the Church, but could not extort a sentence. He stood erect and placid, waiting for deliverance; but when they presented him an image of the Saviour, fixed on a lofty rood, he averted his eye with sorrow from the idol. The people saw, for the first time, a Lutheran taken in the clutches of the Inquisition, and waited, with breathless attention and fixed gaze, to catch every syllable and watch every gesture. But, still and peaceful, he answered not a word. When the fire was applied, as the flame first laid hold on his body, he shrank involuntarily; and the Friars, mistaking the movement for a signal of surrender, shouted that he was penitent, and bade him be taken from the stake. *Then he spoke*, loud and clear, "Do you envy me my happiness?" The Friars revoked their order, the martyr finished his course with joy, the penitents were taken back to endure the remainder of their penalties, and the inhabitants went home, repeating the single sentence, "Do you envy me my happiness?" The same day a proclamation rang through the city, forbidding any to pray for his soul, or to speak a word in his praise. But there were thousands who would not be silenced: they loudly praised the man who could find happiness in martyrdom; several soldiers of the imperial guard came openly to the place, and gathered up the ashes; and even the English Ambassador, being in the city at the time (A.D. 1544), obtained a relic from his half-burnt bones. The guards were imprisoned, and the representative of Henry VIII.—

who knew that his master was weary of barbarity like that now renewed in Spain—was prohibited from appearing at court.

Then the citizens of Valladolid repeated the history of the martyr. His name was Francisco San Roman, son of the old Alcalde of Bribiesca. He had gone young into Flanders, on commercial business; and, having been sent by his employers from Antwerp to Bremen, where the Gospel was known, had heard Spreng, of whom we have already spoken, a good Prior of the Augustinian monastery of Antwerp who had to flee to save his life. Awakened by that sermon, he called on the preacher, and obtained an introduction to a circle of pious and learned Christians. Exulting in the treasure newly found, he made allusions in letters to his employers which betrayed the change he had undergone, and, on his return, was seized by some Friars, who searched his luggage, found Lutheran books, and threw him into prison. On powerful intercession, the clerical authorities allowed him to be released after eight months' confinement; but his love to Christ was not extinguished. For a time he submitted to restraint, at the earnest entreaty of his friends and brethren; but being at Ratisbon at the time of the inconclusive Diet that was held there, and encouraged by hearing of the growing power of the Reformed, he obtained an audience of Charles V., to whom he deplored the state of religion in Spain, and begged His Majesty to restrain the cruelties of the Inquisitors. Emboldened by a mild reply, he ventured to ask for a second hearing, and then spoke so freely that the attendants would have flung him into the Danube at once, but Charles commanded them to reserve him for trial. They threw him into irons, and thus he was carried in the retinue of the Emperor from Germany to Italy, from Italy to Africa, from Africa back to Spain, and delivered over to the Inquisitors at Valladolid. His last audience were the Inquisitors, who heard him confess faith in the only meritorious death of the Lord Jesus Christ, and pronounce the mass, auricular confession, image-worship, saint-worship, and purgatory, to be all blasphemy against the living God. Neither witnesses nor torture were necessary to prove that he was none of theirs; and they sated their own anger and the displeasure of Charles by throwing him into the fire.

Witnesses now multiplied, in spite of Emperor and Inquisition. He had imprisoned Encinas at Brussels; but a friendly guard, or perhaps a more friendly Providence, without any intentional human intervention, left open the prison-door, the prisoner escaped, and became eminent as a translator of the Bible into Spanish.

Seville, also, became a seat of evangelical communion and prayer; but the Christians there were compelled to hold their conversations and meetings in profound secrecy, probably acquiring a habit of concealment that afterwards exerted an injurious influence on the character of those churches. An *auto de fé* in that city * admonished them of danger (A.D. 1552); and in the neighbouring kingdom the irrepressible zeal of an Englishman gave the Inquisition a momentary advantage, and served as an occasion for terror to all who shared in evangelical opinions.

* Probably of persons burnt for Judaism or witchcraft.

William Gardiner, a pious young man, native of Bristol, well educated, went out to Lisbon as a supercargo, and eventually settled there as correspondent of a house in Bristol, learnt Portuguese, became well known, and held private intercourse with many persons —whether English or Portuguese, or both, the narrator * does not say—who experienced the reality of religion. On occasion of a marriage between the son of the King of Portugal and a daughter of the King of Spain, Gardiner, in common with a great multitude, went to witness the ceremony. "The hour being come, they flocked into the church with great solemnity and pomp; the King first, and then every estate in order; the greater the persons, the more ceremonies were about them. After all things were set in order, they went forward to the celebrating of their mass; for that alone serveth for all purposes. The Cardinal did execute, with much singing and organ-playing. The people stood with great devotion and silence, praying, looking, kneeling, and knocking; their minds being fully bent and set, as it is the matter, upon the external sacrament." The young Englishman shuddered at the idolatry that marred the spectacle; he pitied the King and chief nobility of the kingdom, who rendered the homage of a nation to the wafer; and fain would he have borne some testimony against their deed. From that scene he returned to his lodgings, fell on his knees, wept, prayed God to have mercy on the guilty, and besought guidance that he might clear his conscience. Scarcely could he take food or sleep for some days, until the Sunday following, when he dressed himself with exceeding care, so as to be admitted into the body of the church where the King, with the royal bridegroom and bride, and the same train of Cardinals, Bishops, Princes, and Lords, were to close the nuptial festivities with a solemn mass. Gardiner made way to the high altar, took his station, and stood reading a New Testament during the ceremonial, until mass. But then he stirred not. The Cardinal "consecrated, sacrificed, lifted up on high." The people knelt down and beat their breasts; but the Englishman stood still, fixing his eyes only on his book. At last, at that part of the ceremony where they used to take the host and toss it to and fro round the chalice, Gardiner sprang on the Cardinal, with one hand snatched away the wafer and trod it under foot, and with the other dashed the chalice to the ground. For a moment, the glittering assemblage was struck silent with amazement, but only for a moment. The aggressor stood still, and was seized by those nearest. One wounded him with a dagger, but the King prevented further violence; and after he, and one Pendigrace, his fellow-lodger, had suffered torture, in order to discover whether he had been employed to commit the act,—Edward VI., a reputed heretic, being then King of England,—he was first mutilated by the amputation of both hands, and then swung over a fire, to be slowly burnt to death. The Clergy afterwards appointed a solemn fast to placate the divinity which they said Gardiner had profaned. It is not necessary to spend time in considering whether the doer of such an act should be blamed or com-

* Foxe, (Acts and Monuments, book ix.,) who received his information from Pendigrace, the companion of Gardiner.

mended. Those who reverence Romish idolatry will, of course, censure his excessive zeal, deeming that complaisance is to be rendered to every sort of religious form; but some there are who will honour the spirit of the man who, in a strange country, and with certainty of most cruel death, could dare to use that awful moment to bear witness against the abominable sin of changing the glory of the incorruptible God into so insignificant an object of adoration. Others have attacked Priests with weapons of death, and committed needless violence; but, at least, it must be said of William Gardiner, that every known circumstance of his life until that time defends him from the suspicion of wanton fanaticism.

To return to Spain. A remarkable oneness of purpose actuated the leading evangelists of that country. They were not at first so much indebted to Germany as might be supposed. The religious wars and persecutions of their own country had provoked reflection. Not only the Koran, but the Old Testament, had been a household book through long ages of trial. Prevalent idolatry and fiend-like persecution had closed the heart of the afflicted Jew against the evidences of Christianity. How could he compare the superstition and malign violence of Romanism with any prophetic description, and take it to be the religion of Christ? Yet the pure morality of that blessed volume was learned by the afflicted sons of Jacob in Spain perhaps better than in any other country; for there they were more learned, as well as more oppressed; and their integrity sustained them in the estimation of the laity, even while the Clergy wreaked the utmost fury of bigotry and cupidity upon their heads. Here was a peculiar moral element in the Spanish character, as long as Jewish blood, with the domestic traditions and customs of that people, retained their influence. Following in the track of the expatriated Hebrews, the more learned disciples of Valero and his first companions left Spain; but they went in order to prepare materials for its conversion. Not only the Bibles and Catechisms of Encinas and Perez, but many other books, were proceeding from German, and Swiss, and Venetian presses, and diffusing sacred knowledge throughout Spain, in spite of prohibitions. Pope Julius III. (A.D. 1550) told the Inquisitors that he had been informed of great quantities of heretical books in the hands of booksellers and private persons; and officers were stationed at all the sea-ports and along the frontiers, to search the luggage and person of every one entering the kingdom. But the barrier could not be kept unbroken. Prohibited books were sought after with avidity; and among the most daring importers was Julian Hernandez, amanuensis of one of the translators (Juan Perez) at Geneva, who managed to convey two large casks full of books from the city of Calvin to the house of one of the Reformed in Seville, who quickly dispersed their contents over the kingdom. Muleteers carried parcels of books within skins of wine from one place to another.

The Christians of Valladolid were refreshed (A.D. 1556) by the visit of a brother who had endured severe trial. Dr. Juan Gil, or Egidio, had been for three years imprisoned at Seville, where he once did open penance at an *auto de fé*. The period of imprisonment being

expired, he travelled to visit this congregation; but the effort was more than his attenuated frame could bear, and he died of fever immediately after his return.* When Valero began his labours in Seville, Dr. Egidio was Canon Magistral, or preacher of the cathedral; but, although deeply imbued with scholastic science, and of high repute for learning, exceedingly unpopular, and scarcely less unhappy. While mortified and perplexed, he met with Valero, who told him plainly whence a preacher may draw life, and set him to read the word of God. Egidio applied himself to the new study, and soon began to put forth pungent sentences, stirring appeals, and, at length, such torrents of novel, heart-awakening oratory, as drew popular attention, and brought crowds into the half-deserted edifice. With admirable prudence he tempered his discourses to the state of the people, rather instructing them than attacking the abominations of the Church, and at once taught them to trust in the atonement, and to bear the cross of Christ. When he was already the centre of a numerous company of persons, whose great care was for their personal salvation, two of his former fellow-students joined him in the work of preaching Christ. One was Dr. Vargas, who read lectures to the learned, expounding in order the Epistle to the Romans and the Book of Psalms. The other was Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, an eloquent preacher, who assisted in the pulpit. These three were for a time the supporters of the cause of God in Seville; and, after their public labours during the day, were used to join parties of brethren in private houses, and familiarly teach inquirers the way of life. This society peacefully multiplied in the city, and ramified into other places; but they were soon to feel the weight of persecution, as well as their brethren in Valladolid, and elsewhere. Vargas died. De la Fuente removed into the Netherlands, as Chaplain to the Emperor, who, in admiration of his lesser excellencies, overlooked his greater, as did he the real doctrine of Dr. Egidio, whom he nominated to the vacant bishopric of Tortosa. This appointment aroused the envy of several aspirants to the same dignity, who charged the Bishop elect with heresy, and had him thrown into a secret prison of the Inquisition. The Emperor wrote in his favour to the Inquisitor-General; the Chapter of Seville interceded for him; so did many other persons; and for a moment the Inquisitors relaxed their grasp. Yet he was not quite free. The stain of heresy remained on him, and by a pretence of extraordinary consideration, he was excused from examination by the ordinary *calificadores*, or triers of the tribunal, and permitted to nominate an arbiter, of whom the Judges approved, and Domingo de Soto, a Dominican from Salamanca, sat down with him to review the doctrine he had been accused of preaching. After many conferences the two divines seemed to have come to an agreement; and as public expectation ran very high, it was arranged that both Egidio and Soto should appear in the cathedral, and each read a paper, previously agreed to by the other, explanatory of their judgment on the points in

* That visit was known after his death, and regarded as evidence that he was still a "Lutheran." The case was tried over again, his body was exhumed, he was burnt in effigy, and his property confiscated.

question, especially as to justification, wherein the Dominican had professed to coincide. At the hour appointed they went to the cathedral, where two pulpits were placed, but so far apart, that one could not distinctly hear the other. Each, however, was heard by a considerable part of the intervening congregation, who found that, notwithstanding the pretended coincidence of Soto, they pronounced contrary doctrine. This difference was made the ground of a second process, and Egidio was imprisoned, with penance, for three years; and here was the first blow that fell on the infant church in Spain. That church now extended to Seville, Valladolid, and their neighbourhoods; many villages in the kingdom of Leon, in Toro, Zamora and its neighbourhood, Palencia, Soria, Logroño, the provinces of Granada, Murcia, Valencia; and with great strength in Aragon, at Zaragoza, Huesca, and many other towns. Priests, nobles, officers, and entire communities of Monks and Nuns, had become Reformed.

Egidio was removed from the field of labour; but the Inquisitors found that the work spread, notwithstanding. Julian Hernandez, informed against by a man to whom he had given a New Testament, was thrown into prison (A.D. 1557), and put to the question, to discover his brethren. During three years' durance his courage never drooped; and after baffling his tormentors by silence in the torture-chamber, when dragged back again to his cell, he would beguile the anguish of his racked limbs by chanting, in one of those airs that inimitably express the spirit of Iberian romance,—

> "Vencidos van los Frayles, vencidos van;
> Corridos van los lobos, corridos van."
>
> "There go the Friars, there they run;
> There go the wolves, the wolves are done."

The secret that all the apparatus of torment could not extort from brave Julian Hernandez was brought to the Inquisition at Seville by a familiar in disguise,—as all familiars are,*—who had pretended to be a convert, and took part in the private meetings; and in Valladolid by the wife of one of the members, who traced her husband, and then went straightway to the Inquisition with the desired intelligence, for which those scorners and corrupters of nuptial fidelity rewarded her with an annuity for life. These two informations gave the clue for further discoveries. The Council of the Supreme instructed the inferior tribunals, who undertook a general search, observing profound secrecy, and registering every suspicion. Then, at one stroke, the brethren at Seville and at Valladolid were seized; and as informations multiplied, hundreds more were added to the captives. Eight hundred persons were in custody at Seville, crowding the castle of Triana, the common prisons, the convent prisons, and even private houses. Many fled; yet few of them could escape out of the country, being pursued and overtaken. Some, desperate, ran to the Inquisition and informed against themselves, asking for mitigated punishment; some, even in foreign countries, were ensnared, and brought back again.

* —— *are* where the Inquisition still exists, but no longer in Spain.

An entire community in Seville was threatened. The Monks of San Isidro had long possessed a stock of Bibles, and, in the privacy of that house, had thrown aside all Popish observances, and given themselves to the word of God and prayer. How to flee, or whether to remain, they were not able to decide. For a whole society to escape at once would be impracticable: so each member of the community was left free to follow his reason and conscience. Twelve of them left the monastery, and, taking different routes, got safely out of Spain, and at the end of twelve months were united to the Church of Geneva. The monastery of San Isidro fell under suspicion, and the remaining community was involved in the common persecution. Charles V., who had now retreated to a monastery, sent messages and letters to his daughter Juana, Regent of Spain, to the President of the Council of Castile, and to the Inquisitor-General, exhorting them to burn all the Lutherans; to make them Christians first, if possible, but to forgive none; bemoaning his former sin in not burning Luther, but keeping faith with a heretic whom he should not have suffered to live when he had caught him at Worms, notwithstanding the safe-conduct.

Finding themselves in possession of so great a number of victims, many of them persons of rank and eminence, Philip II. and Valdés, the Inquisitor-General, represented the affair to the Pope, and solicited instructions equal to the grandeur of the occasion. Paul IV. gratified them with a Bull (January 4th, 1559), authorizing the Inquisitor-General to deliver to the secular arm, to be burnt, all dogmatizing Lutheran heretics, even if they were not relapsed, and those of the sincerity of whose repentance there might be any doubt. This was a shameless excess, beyond the Inquisition itself; contrary to a maxim of Canon Law,* that "the Church closes her bosom to none that return," and has excited the indignation of Romanists themselves. A second Bull (January 6th) commanded, in addition to the exertions of the Inquisitors, all Confessors to interrogate all persons confessing as to their knowledge of Lutheran books; and to bring all such information to the Inquisition, breaking, at once, the seal of confession, in open contempt of another law of the Church. And a third Bull (January 7th) provided further, that as the Lutheran heresy, propagated in Spain by many illustrious, noble, and mighty persons, had been checked by the Inquisitor-General, who had taken many delinquents, multiplied Inquisitors, dispersed them over the provinces, and instructed them how to prevent the flight of many; and seeing that he had been obliged to incur much expense by keeping relays of post-horses, maintaining the poorer prisoners, and so on, beyond the existing resources of the Holy Office, and fearing that, for the future, similar expenses would have to be incurred, the Pope gave the Inquisition a canonry from each metropolitan, cathedral, and collegiate church, and (by an additional brief) an extraordinary subsidy of 100,000 ducats of gold out of the ecclesiastical revenues. All this was resisted by some of the Chapters, who could not comprehend how the immense confiscations of estates of heretics should be insuf-

* "Ecclesia nulli claudit gremium redeunti,"—Sexti Decretalium lib. v.; De Hæret., Tit. 2.

ficient to pay the expenses of their capture; but the majority yielded in a fervour of delight at the expected extermination of the Lutherans, which began dreadfully in earnest.

Early in the morning of Trinity Sunday, 1559, the sound of bells was indistinctly heard in the cells of the Inquisition of Valladolid, and the officials brought out the prisoners to meet their doom. The penitents, as they are called, had heard their sentence the evening before. Of those there were sixteen. At midnight, Confessors had entered the cells of fourteen others, awoke them to announce that the next day they were to burn, and offered them the indulgence of being strangled first, if they would be reconciled to the Church. The prisoners had been shaven, and their hair cut off, in consideration of the uniformity required, or to signify that they were reduced to a state resembling bald and naked infancy, as children of wrath, and were now made to put on the last livery of the Church. Each victim took a loose yellow dress, or cowl, and pasteboard cap, the *zamarra* and *coroza*, prepared according to his fate. For those who were to be burnt alive the emblems on both were small black devils, and ascending flames, with the figure of a human head burning in flames, painted low on the front. Inverted flames, without the devils or the head, symbolized the gentler chastisement and lesser ignominy of the *reconciled* persons, who were to be hung, and their bodies burnt after extinction of life. These persons were also permitted to carry a taper and a rosary. So were the penitents, each receiving a *sambenito* marked with a St. Andrew's cross. Thus attired, they met each other in a common room, but in sepulchral silence, as if the power of articulation were lost; for none of them durst speak, nor sob, nor groan. Fixed like statues, not a limb moved, but their eyes only. They were subdued, spirit-crushed, and stupified with fear and grief, or, if not so, silent because even a breath would have provoked some new aggravation of torment. There was a sumptuous breakfast prepared, but little of it eaten; for every one revolted from the mockery of a feast in such an hour. A few who had confessed Christ most boldly were now gagged, lest they should disturb the ceremonial of the day, or enlighten the bystanders with confession of their Lord; the whole company was drawn up in order in the prison-yard, and, those condemned to die being placed on asses, and their hands bound, they moved towards the gate, where a band of soldiers on the outside waited to lead the way. A body of Priests in robes had fallen into the order of procession, which was already formed, and after them a numerous band of singing-boys in surplices, who joined in the chorus of a litany as soon as the prisoners appeared, intonating the response, "*Ora pro illis*," "Pray for them." The sixteen penitents, wearing *sambenitos*, walked first, each with an armed familiar at his side. The remaining fourteen were mounted. The corpse of one who had died in faith was also carried; and her effigy, imitating life, that, with her dead body, it might burn. Two familiars and as many Monks led each beast, with a heretic wearing the *zamarra*, the *coroza* covered with flames and devils, and a rope trailing from his neck. To the sound of litany they advanced,

followed by the chief Magistrates of the city, officers of justice, officers of state, and noblemen. Next in order came the Clergy of the diocese, each in his proper place, the dignitaries of the chapter, and the Prelates, regular and secular, bringing up the rear. After these the red silken banner of the Holy Office, bearing a cross, with sword and olive-branch, and the legend, "*Exsurge, Domine, et judica causam tuam :*" "Arise, O Lord, and judge thy cause;" and, on the other side, the Papal arms. Over the banner glittered a silver crucifix, overlaid with gold, and filled, as the populace were taught to think, with an indwelling Divinity. The Fathers of the faith, Lords of the Holy Office, elate with the glories of that day, followed in step ecclesiastic with fixed gravity, and robed in black. A train of horsed familiars, men who had often scoured the surrounding plains in chase of heretics, bestrode impatient steeds, thus to separate their masters from the promiscuous rabble that followed at their heels.

The vanguard soon entered the great square by the church of St. Francis, where a temporary amphitheatre had been erected for the accommodation of the personages concerned in the celebration of this act of faith. A splendid platform, on one side of the area, received the Inquisitors, who sat under a stately canopy. On another were Doña Juana, sister of the King, Governess of Spain during his absence, and Don Carlos, Prince of the Asturias, his son, whose miserable death has been already related, and their suite. A magnificent altar was prepared for mass, and a pulpit for the sermon. The convicts of the Church were seated together, under guards, on one side in a separate gallery, not far from the Inquisitors, whose first act, after mass, was to go to the royal persons and adjure them to support the Holy Office, and give notice of everything that had come, or ever should come, to their knowledge, spoken or done against it. Don Francisco Baca, Inquisitor of Valladolid, administered the oath to the Queen-Governess and her nephew, as if they were merely presiding Magistrates, whom the law required so to swear on such occasions. Young Carlos, although but fourteen years of age, felt the humiliation while he took the oath : already he disliked the man who exacted it, from that moment hated the Inquisition, and eventually became a victim to its malice, without, however, passing through its forms. The same oath was taken by all the civil officers present, and the sentences of the prisoners were then read. Melchor Cano, Bishop of the Canaries, a Dominican, severe and vehement, delivered the sermon, exhorting all present to render faithful obedience to God, the Church, and the Inquisition ; and, this ended, the condemned were delivered over to the secular magistracy with the usual form. Having the holy Gospels open before him, Francisco Baca condemned the Christians to the flames. "With God," said he, "before our eyes, with the holy Gospels placed before us, that our judgment may proceed from the face of God, and that our eyes may look upon equity." The Magistrates of the city then took the condemned without the walls, and burnt them to ashes.* The penitents remained in the hands of the Inquisition, first to be scourged with rods, then to undergo protracted

* Twelve were strangled first, the other two were burnt alive.

penance, and ever to be branded with infamy, and their children after them.

M'Crie has compendiated the history of these sufferers with so great fidelity and clearness, that we will borrow from his pages.* "The greater part of the first class,"—the penitents, classed first by the Inquisition,—" were persons distinguished by their rank and connexions. Don Pedro Sarmiento de Rojas, son of the first Marquis de Poza, and of a daughter of the Conde de Salinas y Ribadeo, was stripped of his ornaments as Chevalier of St. James, deprived of his office as Commander of Quintana, and condemned to wear a perpetual sambenito, to be imprisoned for life, and to have his memory declared infamous. His wife, Doña Mencía de Figueroa, dame of honour to the Queen, was sentenced to wear the coat of infamy, and to be confined during the remainder of her life. His nephew, Don Luis de Rojas, eldest son of the second Marquis de Poza, and grandson to the Marquis de Alcañizas, was exiled from the cities of Madrid, Valladolid, and Palencia, forbidden to leave the kingdom, and declared incapable of succeeding to the honours or estates of his father. Doña Ana Enriquez de Rojas, daughter of the Marquis de Alcañizas, and wife of Don Juan Alfonso de Fonseca Megía, was a lady of great accomplishments, understood the Latin language perfectly, and, although only twenty-four years of age, was familiar with the writings of the Reformers, particularly those of Calvin. She appeared in the sambenito, and was condemned to be separated from her husband, and spend her days in a monastery. Her aunt, Doña María de Rojas, a Nun of St. Catherine in Valladolid, and forty years of age, received sentence of perpetual penance and imprisonment, from which, however, she was released by an influence which the Inquisitors did not choose to resist,"—by the intercession of the Queen of Portugal. " Don Juan de Ulloa Pereira, brother to the Marquis de la Mota, was subjected to the same punishment as the first-mentioned nobleman. This brave chevalier had distinguished himself in many engagements against the Turks, both by sea and land, and performed so great feats of valour in the expeditions to Algiers, Bugía, and other parts of Africa, that Charles V. had advanced him to the rank of first Captain, and afterwards of General. Having appealed to Rome against the sentence of the Inquisitors, and represented the services which he had done to Christendom, Don Juan was eventually restored to his rank as Commander of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Juan de Víbero Cazalla, his wife Doña Juana Silva de Ribera, his sister Doña Constanza, Doña Francisca Zuñiga de Baeza, Marina de Saavedra, the widow of an hidalgo named Juan Cisneros de Soto, and Leonor de Cisneros, (whose husband, Antonio Cisneros, was doomed to a severer punishment,) with four others of inferior condition, were condemned to wear the sambenito, and be imprisoned for life. The imprisonment of Anthony Wasor, an Englishman, and servant to Don Luis de Rojas, was restricted to one year's confinement in a convent. Confiscation of property was an article in the sentence of all these persons.

* Making, however, some verbal corrections.

"Among those who were delivered over to the secular arm, one of the most celebrated was Dr. Agustin Cazalla. His reputation, and the office he had held as Chaplain to the late Emperor, made him an object of particular attention to the Inquisitors. During his confinement he underwent frequent examinations, with the view of establishing the charges against himself and his fellow-prisoners. Cazalla was deficient in the courage requisite for the situation into which he was brought. On the 4th of March, 1559, he was conducted into the place of torture, when he shrank from the trial; and, promising to submit to his Judges, made a declaration, in which he confessed that he had embraced the Lutheran doctrine, but denied that he had ever taught it, except to those who were of the same sentiments with himself. This answered all the wishes of the Inquisitors, who were determined that he should expiate his offence by death; at the same time that they kept him in suspense as to his fate, with the view of procuring from him additional information. On the evening before the *auto de fé*, Antonio de Carrera, a Monk of St. Jerome, being sent to acquaint him with his sentence, Cazalla begged earnestly to know, if he might entertain hopes of escaping capital punishment; to which Carrera replied, that the Inquisitors could not rely on his declarations, but that if he would confess all that the witnesses had deposed against him, mercy might perhaps be extended to him. This convinced Cazalla that his doom was fixed. 'Well then,' said he, 'I must prepare to die in the grace of God; for it is impossible for me to add to what I have said, without falsehood.' He confessed himself to Carrera that night and next morning. On the scaffold, seeing his sister Constanza passing among those who were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, he pointed to her, and said to the Princess Juana, 'I beseech your Highness, have compassion on this unfortunate woman, who has thirteen orphan children.' At the place of execution he addressed a few words to his fellow-prisoners in the character of a penitent, in virtue of which he obtained the poor favour of being strangled before his body was committed to the fire. His Confessor was so pleased with his behaviour, as to say he had no doubt Cazalla was in heaven. His sister Doña Beatriz de Vibero, Dr. Alonso Perez, a Priest of Palencia, Don Cristóbal de Ocampo, Chevalier of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and Almoner to the Grand Prior of Castile, Don Cristóbal de Padilla, and seven others, shared the same fate as Cazalla. Among these were the husband of the woman who had informed against the meeting in Valladolid, and four females, one of whom, Dona Catalina de Ortega, was daughter-in-law to the Fiscal of the royal Council of Castile.

"The two who had the honour to endure the flames were Francisco de Vibero Cazalla, parish Priest of Hormigos, brother of Agustin, and Antonio Herrezuelo. They gave no sign of weakness on the fatal day, and bore the fire without shrinking. Herrezuelo, an Advocate of Toro, conducted himself with surpassing intrepidity. His courage remained unshaken amidst the horrors of the torture, the ignominy of the public spectacle, and the terrors of the stake. The only thing that moved him was the sight of his wife in the garb of a penitent; and the look

which he gave—for he could not speak—as he passed her to go to the place of execution, seemed to say, '*This* is more than I can bear.' Enraged to see such courage in a heretic, one of the guards plunged his lance into the body of Herrezuelo, whose blood was licked up by the flames with which he was already enveloped."

Never before had martyrdom been attended by such a pageant. The ceremonial, so to speak, had varied, according to the circumstances of the persecution, and the state and customs of the country. As an army, a mob, the magistracy, or the Inquisition, executed the pleasure of the Church, the rigour of justice or the fury of passion predominated on the scene of death; but the more firmly the Church held the reins, so much the more pompously was her sentence executed. In Toulouse, for example, a country bordering on Spain, after the crusades against the Albigenses had seemed to suppress external manifestations of their faith, and the remnants of that persecuted people could only hold secret communion, Popery being absolute, the sentences of the Inquisition were pronounced with greater public solemnity; Magistrates were sworn to defend the Inquisition, and the prisoners were brought out into open view. There was no apprehension of rescue, the Inquisitors ventured to parade their victims, and secret executions, being unnecessary, were never resorted to, as in the Netherlands, before the coming of Alva. There were processions of penitents, led out of prison with crosses,* and the ceremonial stripe, laid at first on penitents at the time of their absolution, was changed into a cruel scourging, to be inflicted on them on the pavement of the holy cathedral church of St. Stephen, in presence of the royal court, the Consuls of Toulouse, a multitude of Clergy, and a throng of people.† At length the idea of a solemn spectacle was fully realized in Spain. During the imprisonment of the persons detected in religious meetings, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Spain held consultation with the court of Rome, obtained sanction for the alienation of certain ecclesiastical revenues to the Inquisition in order to the maintenance of a pompous and expensive establishment, invented a new set of robes to be worn by the victims to be exhibited, and, continuing the ceremonies observed by the elder Inquisition, added to them the procession with *zamarra*, covered with flames, rising or inverted, an advance on the red tongues, faggots, and other badges of ignominy already in use, the *sambenito*, tapers, &c.; the amphitheatre, for receiving a multitude too large to be assembled in any church with equal convenience, and a circus for the *act of faith*, (a forensic term newly employed,) just as they had a circus for bull-fights. By giving the people the entertainment of a spectacle, they bribed them to acquiesce in the deadly sentence; and, not to have the show spoiled by any interruption, the martyrs were generally, perhaps uniformly, gagged. Here the power and artifice of the Inquisition unite and culminate. They can rise no higher.

* "Educti è muro cum crucibus."

† "—— Penitentias susceperunt in ecclesiâ cathedrali Sancti Stephani Tholose, presente curiâ regali, et consulibus Tholosanis, et multitudine cleri et populi copiosâ." —Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tholosanæ. Sermo factus, A.D. MCCCIX.

And by these contrivances, be it observed, the pleasures of an entertainment were made to predominate over emotions of pity, until, in a few years, the very mob that had surrounded a felon with expressions of sorrow, would beset a martyr with the same sanguinary delight as if they were looking on a baited bull. Tauromachy and heretic-burning were now both conducted with so much art as to fascinate the multitude, and create a demand for human as well as for brute objects of attack. The circus had its costume and order, and so had the hearth.

The first *auto de fé* took place while Philip was at Brussels, making peace with France, and preparing for a more vigorous persecution of the Reformed. The reader will remember that he embarked at Flushing, and that on dismissing the Prince of Orange who had attended him on board, he gave him a list of gentlemen who were to be put to death for heresy, an order which William of Nassau was careful to evade. After a voyage of fourteen days the fleet gained sight of Laredo, in the Bay of Biscay, where a storm suddenly arose, and wrecked most of the ships; and the King, having landed with difficulty, vowed to show his gratitude to God by a signal act of vengeance upon heretics. This vow was to be fulfilled in Valladolid; but in the royal city of Seville, Lutheranism, as it was called, had made greater progress than at Valladolid, where was the residence of the Inquisitor-General; and a Sub-Inquisitor was therefore occupied in Seville in preparing for the consummation of Romish vengeance on the prisoners, —a vengeance which did not linger. An *auto* was celebrated in the square of San Francisco, in the presence of four Bishops, the members of the royal court of justice, the chapter of the cathedral, some grandees of Spain, many titled persons, and among them the Duchess of Bejar, and other ladies. Twenty-one persons were condemned to die, one to be burnt in effigy, and eighty to do penance (September 24th, 1559).

The effigy represented the licentiate Francisco Zafra, beneficed Presbyter of the church of San Vicente, a man deeply learned in the holy Scriptures, and so highly esteemed by the Inquisitors themselves as to have been often consulted by them in doubtful cases. While acting thus as Trier of the Holy Office, he had saved many of his brethren from trouble, no one suspecting him to be a member of their society. A servant of his, also one of their number, having become insane, had been confined to her room, and in a paroxysm of madness made her escape, went to the Inquisitors, and gave them three hundred names of persons whom she affirmed to be heretics, including her master. But Don Francisco hastened after her, and persuaded the Fathers to reject the delation of the maniac, and, if it were but for their own credit's sake, not to be set in motion by a mad woman. But now they perceived that some credit was to be given to her list; and when discoveries began, they apprehended Zafra, but he managed to escape amidst the confusion of preparing temporary prisons without sufficient notice, and found his way to Germany.

Don Juan Ponce de Leon, son of the Count of Baylen, and related to the Duchess of Bejar, and several others of the nobility then pre-

sent, overcome by terror, submitted to confess to a Priest, in reward for which he was humanely strangled, instead of being burnt alive. His body was consumed, and his family declared infamous. The last part of the sentence was afterwards cancelled, by dint of great interest, in favour of his son, whom the Sovereign permitted to inherit the estates and title of the family. Dr. Juan Gonzalez, descended from Moorish ancestors, but a true Christian, and one of the most famous preachers of his day, with two sisters, made an unequivocal confession of their faith, and were burnt; their mother and two brothers remaining behind in prison. Four Monks of the convent of St. Isidro mocked the threatenings of their persecutors, as did Fernando de S. Juan, Master of the College of Doctrine, and Dr. Cristóbal Losada, a Physician, and, after having studied under Egidio, also Pastor of the Reformed Church at Seville. Some Friars were so imprudent as to enter into a theological dispute with him at the place of burning; and the people listened with so much interest to his arguments that they changed their language, and bade him speak in Latin, which he did, and in good style too, although standing at the stake. Ladies displayed equal fortitude, because sustained by that grace which made life not dear to them. Doña Isabel de Baena, a rich matron of Seville, who had opened her house for religious meetings, was one. Doña Maria de Virues, Doña Maria Cornel, and Doña Maria Bohorques, endured the flames. The last of these had not completed twenty-one years of age when she was thrown into a dungeon of the Inquisition. Her instructer in religion had been Dr. Egidio; but she had also received an excellent education, could speak Latin admirably, and had some knowledge of Greek. She could recite a great part of the New Testament from memory, and possessed a well-read library of the works of the Reformers. She argued calmly with the theologians who visited her in prison, maintained against them the truths of justification by faith and holiness of life, and contended that they should rather follow her example than punish her for heresy. They put her on the rack, and extorted some words which served as a clue to discover her sister, Juana; but her faith did not waver for an instant. A practice of delivering addresses to prisoners in order to their "conversion" was just then introduced; and two Dominicans and two Jesuits delivered her their harangues, but left the dungeon amazed at the wisdom, as well as the constancy, of the young Christian lady. On the night before her death, a company of Ecclesiastics made their final effort: she received them with cheerfulness, but assured them that argument was useless; that they could not desire her salvation so heartily as she—the person directly concerned—desired it; that she would have yielded to them if she had entertained the slightest doubt; but, being fully assured of the truth she had received, submission to their doctrine was impossible. At the *quemadero* (hearth) itself, one who had recanted came to advise her to be persuaded by the preachers; but she called him ignorant, foolish, babbler, and told him that there was no time then to be spent in words, but in meditating on the passion and death of the Redeemer, thereby to revive more and more her trust in Him by whom alone we

can be justified and saved. The iron was then placed on her neck, and some Priests and Friars, struggling with a manhood that should have bidden them pluck her from the stake, begged her to recite the Creed, that they might, by strangulation, spare her from the severer pain of burning. She consented to recite the Creed; but that this might not be misunderstood, began to explain the articles of "the Holy Catholic Church" and "the resurrection of the body" evangelically. Notwithstanding this boldness, they showed her pity by strangling; and death ended her confession among men, made in the certain hope that the Lord Jesus Christ would confess her before the angels of heaven.

But Philip's vow was not fulfilled in the *auto* of Seville, inasmuch as he had not taken part in it. The honour was reserved for Valladolid (October 8th, 1559), where the Inquisitors had thirteen persons to be burnt alive, a dead body and its effigy to feed the flames, and sixteen to be reconciled by penance. "Some causes," says Llorente, "had been concluded since the month of May; so that there can be no doubt that the execution was deferred in order to gratify *the most pious* King with a spectacle that horrifies me while I read and write of it." Philip himself was there, his son Carlos, his sister, his cousin the Prince of Parma, three French Ambassadors, the Archbishop of Seville, the Bishops of Palencia and Zamora, with several Bishops elect, the Constable, the Admiral, the Dukes of Nagera and Arcos, and others, too many to be enumerated. High ladies, Prelates, and Councillors of all sorts filled up the stage. The Bishop of Cuenca preached, his brethren of Palencia and Zamora performed the degradations that will be mentioned, and the Inquisitor-General, Valdes, Archbishop of Seville, called upon the King to swear. His Majesty rose, drew his sword to signify, what was already too well known, his readiness to shed blood for the Church, gave his royal rubric to the oath, and a Reporter of the Council of the Inquisition read it aloud. Among the victims were,—

Don Carlo di Sesso, an Italian, native of Verona, *son* of a Bishop of Piacenza, forty-three years of age, who had been much in the service of the Emperor, and become related by marriage to some of the highest nobility of Spain. At Toro, where he was *Corregidor*, or Mayor, at Zamora and at Palencia, he had promoted the Reformation by oral instruction and the circulation of books; and in Logroño and the surrounding country had laboured in the same cause with eminent success. For nearly a year and a half he had been confined in a secret prison in Valladolid; and, on the evening before this *auto*, was bidden to prepare for death. The Friars, as usual, exhorted him to avert the extreme penalty by a full confession and exposure of all he knew or could remember, relating either to himself or others. Not allowing himself to be drawn into controversy, he asked for pen and paper, and recorded his confession of faith. That, he added, was the true doctrine of the Gospel, not such as the Church of Rome taught, which, he affirmed, had been for many ages perverted from the truth; in that belief he would die, offering himself up to God through living faith in the death of Jesus Christ. With inimitable energy and self-possession he filled two sheets of paper, and then placed the docu-

ment in the hands of his visiters. Through all the night, and until day dawned, they persisted in preaching to him, when the shameful scapulary was placed over his shoulders, and the cap upon his head, and he was carried, with a gag in his mouth, to the scene of the former *auto*, endured the mass, the sermon, and the publication of sentence, and was taken thence to the stake, and chained. Then they removed the gag, and exhorted him to confess; but he only answered their importunity by crying aloud: "If I had time, you should see how I would demonstrate that you who believe not as I do, condemn yourselves. Kindle the fire at once, that I may die." The executioners applied the brands, and he expired.

Pedro de Cazalla, a parish Priest, and Domingo de Rojas, son of the Marquis de Poza, were also distinguished in the first class. In passing the royal platform, De Rojas appealed to the King: "Canst thou, Sire, thus witness the death of thy innocent subjects? Save us from so cruel a death! We die for the faith of the Gospel." "No," said Philip, "I would rather carry wood to burn my own son, if he were such a wretch as thou." * Juan Sanchez had escaped to Brussels, but was brought back a prisoner to Valladolid. The ropes that bound him to the stake snapped in the flame, and unconsciously in his agony he broke away from the fire, and leaped on a platform prepared for those who would consent to signify conformity by confessing to a Priest; the Priests ran to receive his confession, half burnt as he was; but, recovering himself, he ran back into the fire, crying, "I will die like Di Sesso." The archers, indignant at his impiety in refusing to confess, pierced him with arrows. A Nun was burnt, only because she would not make a confession after the taste of the Inquisitors, although she was not even thought to be a Lutheran; and so were others, on trifling evidence.

At Toledo, on occasion of the marriage of Philip II. with the French Princess, Elisabeth de Valois, thirteen years of age, *for her entertainment*, and in presence of the Cortes, then assembled there, all the grandees of Spain, many Prelates, and representatives of cities, was celebrated an *auto*, wherein several Lutherans were burnt (February 25th, 1560). The inhabitants of Murcia were edified with another (September 8th), when five Lutherans shared the discipline of penance with Jews, Mohammedans, and polygamists.

The Inquisitors of Seville, hoping for the presence of Philip, had prepared another exhibition. Their patron, indeed, did not gratify them, but the ceremonial was performed (December 22d, 1560). Fourteen were burnt in person, three in effigy, and thirty-four sentenced to penance, which was but living death. Julian Hernandez, the indefatigable circulator of good books, could not speak his confession, being gagged; but he thrust his bare head into the faggots, to signify his readiness to burn, and then knelt down to pray. Fancying that that gesture was intended to denote submission, a Priest removed the gag; but he disappointed them by confessing

* The idea of destroying his own son seems to have been familiar to him. His unhappy son was then at his side, and could not have forgotten the saying, which was verified in a few years afterwards.

Christ aloud, and rebuking the Priest himself for denying the truth after having once professed to believe it. Rodriguez, galled at the reproach, called out, "Executioner, do your office." He lit the fire, and the guards plunged their lances into his body. Eight females suffered death at this time by fire, and one had been murdered in prison. This was Doña Juana de Bohorques, sister of Maria, already mentioned, and wife of Don Francisco de Vargas, Baron of Higuera. Her only offence was that she had heard her sister converse about religion without expressing disapprobation. Being six months gone in pregnancy, Doña Juana was permitted to remain in a public gaol until after her confinement, when she was taken to the chamber of torture, put into an engine called *del burro*, with cords passed round her limbs, and stretched with such violence that they cut through to the bones, and blood gushed in streams from her mouth and nostrils. She was carried away to a cell insensible, and died in a few days. The Inquisitors endeavoured to atone for the murder by declaring her innocent; and the nobility of Spain were so despicably enthralled that they suffered the monsters to continue those atrocities without presuming to resist, or scarcely even to complain.

The laws of the Church of Rome being held paramount over the right of nations, three foreigners were burnt at this time. Nicholas Burton, a citizen of London, had traded with Spain in a vessel of his own, and, about two years before, being at Cadiz, was arrested by a familiar of the Inquisition. His alleged offence was having spoken something contrary to the religion of the country to some persons in Cadiz, and at S. Lucar de Barrameda. What this something was does not appear; but the real cause of his arrest was his being the owner of a fine ship, and, as the Inquisitors believed, of all the cargo, and other valuable property. Surprised at finding himself arrested by an *Alguacil* (Sergeant) without a word of accusation, he demanded the reason; but, answered only with threatenings, was dragged to the common prison, kept in irons fourteen days, and, not imagining himself to be there as a heretic, but on some false accusation of another kind, unconsciously supplied his persecutors with material for their purpose, by exhorting the prisoners to repentance, and explaining to them the word of God. Witnesses to his heresy being thus made, the way of the Inquisitors was clear. They conveyed him to Seville, laden with irons, and threw him into a secret prison in the Triana.* There he must have lain for two years, at least; and now he appeared in the attire of an obstinate heretic, "his tongue forced out of his mouth with a cloven stick fastened upon it, that he should not utter his conscience and faith to the people;" and whatever were the torments he suffered, or the confession he made before his tormentors, we know them not. The ex-Secretary of the extinct Spanish Inquisition found records to the effect that he was a "contumacious Lutheran heretic," and that "he remained constant in his sect, and was burnt alive; the Holy Office of Seville taking possession of ship

* Across the Guadalquivir is the Triana a town or quarter so called,—the Southwark of Seville.

and cargo."* To recover that ship and cargo, a Bristol merchant, in part owner, sent his attorney, John Frampton, to demand restoration. Frampton spent four months at Seville in useless legal formalities; and finding, at last, that his powers were pronounced insufficient, he came back to England for a more ample commission. Thus furnished, he landed a second time at Cadiz, where the servants of the Inquisition seized him, set him on a mule, "tied him with a chain that came under the belly of the mule three times about, and, at the end of the chain, a great iron lock made fast to the saddle-bow." Two familiars, well armed, rode beside him; and thus he was taken to Seville, crossed by the bridge of boats to the Triana, alighted within the walls of the old prison, and was thrown into a dungeon, where he found some Spaniards under treatment for heresy. Next day he was interrogated as to his name, calling, travels, and relations, and, lastly, required to say the "Hail, Mary." His recitation did not include the Romish addition, "Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us sinners;" and this sufficed to prove that he might be kept in prison as an English heretic, that the course of law might be interrupted, and ship and cargo remain, by consequence, in possession of the Inquisitors. After this he was subjected to torture; and, at the end of fourteen months' confinement, brought out in a *sambenito*, under sentence of loss of goods, and ordered never to quit Spain, under pain of death. Burton saw his baffled advocate among the "penitents," but without any knowledge of the fact that it was he; and Frampton, having seen Burton burnt, was taken back to prison for another fourteen months, and then released under the usual humiliating injunctions, with the additional obligation to abide in Spain; but a favouring Providence restored him to his country, where he divulged the whole. He lost £760 cash, and understood that the gains of the Inquisition on that single *auto* were above £50,000. It is to be noted that in this year, 1560, the Spanish refugees in London obtained the occupation of a church for Reformed worship. William Brook, a mariner of Southampton, and Barthélemi Fabianne, a Frenchman, were burnt on the same hearth. The effigies were those of Dr. Egidio, Constantino de la Ponce, once a Chaplain of the Emperor, and Juan Perez. Mark Burges, an Englishman, master of the "Minion" merchantman, was burnt at Lisbon, some time in the same year.

* Llorente also says, that "such cruel proceedings were so prejudicial to the commerce and prosperity of Spain, that these would have been annihilated, if the iniquity practised on Burton, and other similar examples, complained of by foreign courts, had not so pressed the court of Madrid that Philip IV. had to prohibit the Inquisitors from troubling merchants and travellers on account of religion, *provided that they so conducted themselves as not to propagate heresy:* and even this prohibition was insufficient; for the Inquisitors often cloked their conduct under the pretence that heretical books had been introduced, or that conversations had taken place, calculated to propagate error; and so it has been necessary for the Government to be careful in this matter, on to the times of Charles IV., by renewing, on every complaint of persons concerned, or of the Ambassadors of their courts, opportune provisions for repressing acts of injustice, covered with the veil of religious zeal." (Llorente, Hist. Crit., cap. xxi., art. 2.) The Inquisition is abolished, and with it those prohibitions are become null; but the law of Spain for burning heretics continues, tribunals are established with power to punish, —the penalty might be commuted, that is all,—and in Spain, at this hour, a Protestant has no guarantee of human protection: nor yet at Rome, nor in any other state where Popery is dominant.

The strength of the Spanish Reformation was thus broken, and no other name of great eminence remains on our records. A few more surrendered their lives, for Christ's sake, at Toledo (A.D. 1561 and 1565), Seville (A.D. 1563), and at several times in Logroño, Valladolid, Barcelona, and Zaragoza. The rebellion, as they were pleased to call it, of the Moriscoes was subdued in Granada by force of arms, simultaneously with the suppression of the Reformation; and Spain, having rejected Christ, seems to have been left almost without a witness. The Inquisition thenceforth reigned absolute throughout the Spanish dominions in both hemispheres; and (A.D. 1574) the first spark of evangelical religion in Mexico was quenched, to human appearance, in the martyrdom of an Englishman and a Frenchman, while others, suspected of Lutheranism or Calvinism, were silenced under penances. Half a century later (A.D. 1620), William Lithgow, a well-known traveller, was imprisoned and tortured in Malaga; as was Isaac Martin in Granada nearly a century later again (A.D. 1714). William Lambert, an Irishman, was burnt in Mexico (A.D. 1659), as one infected with the errors of Luther, Calvin, Pelagius, Wycliffe, and Huss; as guilty of all imaginable heresies. Even in the present century there have been victims in Spain. Don Miguel Juan Antonio Solano, Vicar of Esco, in the diocese of Jaca, a man eminently learned and benevolent, but disabled by disease from pursuing his usual active occupations, applied himself closely to theological study. Wisely taking the Bible as chief authority, he formed for himself a system of doctrine such as that in which the churches of the Reformation generally agree, and, being unwilling to teach it covertly, drew up a statement of his belief, and laid it before his diocesan; but, receiving no answer, submitted it to the theological faculty of Zaragoza. The Divines of that University answered him by an arrest, and he found himself in a cell of the Inquisition in that city. Some friends enabled him to make his escape, and he actually passed over the frontier into France; but, on reflection, thought it wrong so to seek his life, resolved to confess the truth at any cost, and voluntarily returned to the inquisitorial prison. The tribunal heard his doctrine and his arguments, and decided that he should be given over to the secular arm. The Inquisitor-General, being his friend, endeavoured to save him by interposing objections and delay; but, the hardship of imprisonment being more than he could bear, he died before they could take him to the stake (A.D. 1805).* Three years after the death of Don Miguel, Napoleon Buonaparte invaded Spain. His first act was to abolish the Inquisition and the Council of Castile; and as soon as the constitutional Cortes saw the French driven from their territory, they confirmed the abolition by a legislative enactment; and it was only revived for a short time, and unsuccessfully, by Ferdinand VII. (A.D. 1813.) Still, tribunals protective of the faith were permitted to do what the Inquisition had done, although with-

* Llorente, Historia Critica de la Inquisicion de España; Limborch, Historia Inquisitionis; M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Spain; Marmol, Historia del Rebelion y Castigo de los Moriscos, &c.; Foxe, Acts and Monuments; Strype's Annals during the Reign of Elizabeth.

out being intrusted with its instruments, or permitted to adjudicate in secret; and the Bishops, no doubt, trod in the track of their predecessors. The last martyr known to have suffered in Spain was hanged in Valencia, July 31st, 1826. The author has stood on the spot where he was executed, and heard frequent confirmation of the following statement, written for him by an eye-witness, now living, (as he believes,) and discharging the priestly functions in Madrid:—

"On the outskirts of the city of Valencia there is a village named Busafa. In this village was a schoolmaster, who, although born a Spaniard, professed in private life the religion of the Quakers. He was accused at the Tribunal of the Faith, and imprisoned in the city, in the prisons (so called) of St. Narcissus. The patience and meekness of this poor Quaker excited the admiration of the Alcaide and jailers. Some fellow-prisoners of the worst description, who were used to put his patience to the test, one day threw a cricket-ball with violence at his face, which inflicted a wound on his cheek; but this Spanish Quaker calmly picked up the ball, and, with the most perfect mildness, put it into the hand of the person who had thrown it. When clothing or food was distributed among the prisoners, he invariably sought out some other prisoner who appeared more necessitous than himself, to whom he might impart a portion of what had fallen to him. The Señores of the Tribunal of the Faith endeavoured to induce him to make a solemn recantation of his belief as a Quaker; but he said that he could not do anything against his conscience, nor could he lie to God. They condemned him to be hanged; and he was transferred to the condemned cell, and resigned himself fully to the will of God. On July 31st he was taken from the prison to the scaffold, displaying the most perfect serenity. The crosses were removed from the scaffold. He was not clothed in the black dress usually put on culprits when brought out to execution, but appeared in a brown jacket and pantaloons. With a serious countenance and firm step he ascended the scaffold, conducted by Father Felix, a barefooted Carmelite Friar, exhorting him to change his views; but the victim replied in these words, which were almost all he uttered from the time of his entering the condemned cell,—'Shall one who has endeavoured to observe God's commandments be condemned?' When the rope was adjusted, he desired the hangman to wait for a moment, and, raising his eyes toward heaven, he prayed. In three minutes he ceased to live. This fact occurred but a few years ago, and was witnessed by all the inhabitants of Valencia. The hangman who executed the sentence, the Friar who attended him, and his fellow-prisoners, are yet alive (in 1837); and there is no one but knows that he was an honest man, and speaks of him as the Quaker schoolmaster who gave good instruction to the children, and who was condemned to be hanged because he was a Quaker." * And with him closes our brief sketch of the Spanish martyrology.

* A writer to the *Courrier Français*, quoted in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for December, 1826, gives his name as Rissole; and says that a Jew was burnt at Valencia shortly afterwards at an *auto de fé*.

CHAPTER VI.

FRANCE, *from* 1530, *the date of the Confession of Augsburg, to the Death of Charles IX, including the earlier Persecutions, the civil War, and the Massacres in Paris and the Provinces.*

EVERY earthly power contributed in Spain to blight and consume the nascent Reformation. Before the Reformed could unite for mutual protection or defence, the two great Councils of the kingdom overwhelmed them by main force; and while as yet the young converts had not risen to any settled standard of practical confession, they were betrayed into a habit of concealment bordering, to say the least, on dissimulation. There were many true martyrs; but the masses had not been sufficiently imbued with just conceptions as to the spirit of Christianity for many to confess their Master openly; and thus the Spanish Reformation, sincere and earnest as it was, failed to obtain the victory of faith. It could not overcome the world.

In France the diffusion of truth was more gradual, more broadly extended, older than the Inquisition, revered in the memory of myriads, and interwoven with national traditions. One might say that it sprang up again on soil irrigated by the martyrdoms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of which much lay within the boundaries of modern Aquitaine. There the Sovereigns of Navarre protected evangelical preachers, encouraged changes in the forms of worship, suffered inmates of monasteries to cast off the fetters of their orders, and afforded refuge to the persecuted. In France reputed heretics were put to death with frequency, not a year passing without the martyrdom of some; but this was almost a matter of routine, and drew little observation amidst the barbarism of Europe, when laws were sanguinary, and human life held cheap, until the executions multiplied beyond endurance. On the other hand, a concurrence of circumstances tended to favour the Reformation. The example of Navarre was sustained by the more complete examples of Switzerland and Germany. In the eastern states men saw their neighbours boldly and hopefully contending for religious liberty; and even at Paris the Reformation had a royal advocate. Marguerite de Valois, Queen of Navarre, the much-loved sister of Francis I.,—she who had presented herself in the Imperial Court to entreat Charles V. to deliver the captive Sovereign, and whose intercession was crowned with success,—promoted the Reformation; and both Francis and his subjects being bound to her by ties of real gratitude, he could scarcely make her friends the subject of persecution. Still, he feared the consequences of attachment to opinions reputedly subversive, and invited her to visit him in Paris, hoping, as it is said, to disengage her from the snare.

She came, and, although branded with the stigma of heresy, received every mark of brotherly affection. She answered his expostulations by such powerful arguments, that he almost extended his patronage to those whom Margaret commended to his favour. She

even induced him to hear a sermon from Cocq, Curate at St. Eustachius, who preached from the words of St. Paul: "Seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God," not on the altar, but in heaven, adored and trusted in by Christians whose faith contemplates a Redeemer glorified, not one transubstantiated in the host. While the preacher cried, "*Sursum corda*," "Lift up your hearts," and expatiated on the majesty of Jesus Christ, Francis received new views of sacramental mystery, and afterwards admitted him, with Margaret, to hold free conference on a doctrine that became almost his own. Even his Confessor, either bowing to conviction or to royalty, translated "the Hours" into French, omitting many objectionable passages. Margaret herself wrote and published a work in French rhyme, entitled, "Mirror of a sinful Soul," free from the errors of saint-worship, merits of good works, and purgatory, describing only the effectual purgatory of the blood of Christ, and applying the *Salve Regina*, a prayer hitherto addressed to the Virgin Mary, to her divine Son alone. The Rector of the University, already instructed in secret by John Calvin, then a young man at Paris, actually pronounced a discourse in the church of the Mathurins, written by that learned, and afterwards so eminent, Reformer. The Sorbonne rose in alarm to contradict the truthful innovations, and condemned the Queen's performance as heretical. Cop, the Rector, disavowed the censure, and the field seemed open for fair controversy. But at the cry of heresy the University deserted their Rector; his friend fell under accusation, and would have been arrested had he not escaped by letting himself down by sheets from his chamber-window. Cop fled to Basle, and Calvin to Saintonge; but, encouraged by Margaret, three excellent preachers supplied the place of the two who had absconded. These were Girard Ruffi, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, and two Augustin Monks, Bertault and Courault. Calvin, also, returned the year after (A.D. 1534); and, although their superiors closed the pulpits against them, they communicated in the form of lectures the doctrine that might not be delivered in sermons, until subsequent proceedings put them all to silence.

The personal influence of Margaret, and, not improbably, the example and friendship of Henry VIII. of England, might have disposed Francis not only to listen to Reformed preachers and allow the circulation of good books, but to encourage any movement calculated to humble the Clergy, and lead to a transfer of wealth from their hands to the coffers of the state. Another class of motives, however, gained strength with him at this time. Clement VII. had spared no effort to conciliate the King of France, hoping by his means to counteract the power of the Emperor; and, succeeding far beyond his expectation, negotiated a marriage. His niece, Catherine de' Medici, was wedded to Henry, heir-apparent to the throne; he had condescended to visit Francis at Marseilles in the autumn of 1533, where he enjoyed the festivities of nuptials that were to strengthen the Roman See in a time of religious revolution, and conferred with his royal relative as to measures for extinguishing the Reformation in that kingdom. From that time the King withdrew his patronage

from the cause that Margaret of Navarre so earnestly promoted, showing himself, at least, indifferent, if not utterly alienated from it. While thus giving way under the weight of a pontifical alliance, an incident occurred that suddenly changed him into as determined a persecutor as the Spaniard himself, and plunged the infant churches into a flood of sorrows. Some of those who fled from Paris when the Sorbonne and the Clergy demanded vengeance on the innovators, had taken refuge in Switzerland, and, at Neufchâtel, one of them wrote a paper containing "true Articles on the horrible, great, and insupportable Abuses of the Papal Mass;" but abstained from every expression of disrespect towards the King, although Romish writers are pleased to affirm the contrary.* Yet even in those days of rugged controversy it must have seemed intemperate to the hierarchy of the Romish Church, whom it censured, and most contemptuous towards their doctrine of the eucharist. Copies of the articles, printed on a broad-sheet, were brought to Paris for circulation: the more prudent objected strongly to such a proceeding; but the counsel of some who deemed an impulse of zeal too sacred to be resisted prevailed, and, on one fatal night, those placards were affixed to the church-doors of Paris, posted up at the street-corners, and even placed on the gates of the King's palace at Blois. Next morning the city was in an uproar, the people read and repeated sentences which passed for blasphemy, and Francis, not unwillingly, caught at the occasion for disentangling himself from the abettors of "new doctrine." He was, or seemed to be, enraged at the presumption of zealots who had defiled his palace-gate with a Lutheran defiance: the courtiers made the most of the occasion to inflame his anger. Jean Morin, Lieutenant-Criminal, a man noted for boldness in the apprehension of delinquents, and ingenuity in convicting them, and not less notorious for the grossest immorality, received a royal command to search out and imprison heretics and their accomplices. Calvin had eluded his pursuit, and he now determined to be compensated for that disappointment. A heartless renegade, who knew the Reformed well, and could point out places wherein he had often assembled with them, betrayed multitudes of his former brethren, and the prisons of Paris were crowded in a few days. This took place in November, 1534; and the year following is distinguished in the ecclesiastical history of France as "the year of placards."

Rejoicing in the successful diligence of Jean Morin, the King awaited the termination of the usual formalities, and then came to Paris to assist in a general procession and litany in honour of the Holy Sacrament, blasphemed, as they said, by the exhibition of those placards. After an early breakfast (January 21st, 1535) His Majesty went to the church of St. Geneviève, patron of Paris, whose image, only brought forth in times of public distress or peril, was most

* The continuator of Fleury says that it was "full of injurious language against the person of the King;" (cxxxiv., 170;) but not a sentence of the kind is found in the articles themselves. It is, indeed, said of the Priests, that "ils ont desherité Princes et Rois, seigneurs, marchans, et tout ce qu'on peut dire, soit mort ou vif," (Gerdes, Evang. Renov., tom. iv., Monumenta, num. xi.,) which is rather loyal than otherwise.

appropriately surrounded by a company of butchers, its bearers by a prescriptive right, being washed clean for the occasion, and prepared for it by fasting. Panting under their burden, the hungry devotees carried the idol on their shoulders; others bore aloft relics of the same saint, as well as of Saints Germain, Merry, Marceau, Opportune, Landré, Honoré, and perhaps of others also, that had reposed in their places unmoved since the funeral of St. Louis. Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots, and other hierarchs, followed in full dress. "The Holy Sacrament," whose divinity had been denied, was carried under a gorgeous canopy, that, in order to the placation of his displeasure, he might witness the *amende* of worship. The uncrowned King, bare-headed, as if to own the presence of a superior Majesty, and carrying a large waxen taper, walked behind the host, and the Queen, the Princes of the blood, two hundred gentlemen, the royal guard, the Court of Parliament, and officers of law and justice, followed him. The body of Ambassadors added their splendour to the train which pressed through a kneeling crowd along the chief streets of Paris, attended by bands of martial music, with singers from the churches. Six times the procession halted near a temporary altar, and, having blessed themselves, the great men witnessed an act of vengeance, in honour of the sacrament. At each station there was a hot fire burning, and near it a huge machine, or crane, having a projecting beam, and from the beam swung a "Sacramentarian," whom they lowered over the flame so as to be scorched, then raised, and then again lowered into the fire. This was repeated until life became nearly extinct, when he was dropped into the hearth amidst the shouts of the spectators of every degree.* The mob had already signified their zeal by endeavouring to seize the Lutherans, that they might tear them to pieces; but the soldiers kept them to be immolated for the gratification of their royal master. The martyrs of the day were Barthélemi Milon, a paralytic, Nicolas Valeton, receiver of Nantes, Jean de Bourg, merchant-draper of Paris, Etienne de Laforge, a rich and charitable gentleman, resident in Paris, a schoolmistress, named La Catelle, and Antoine Poille, a native of Meaux. But the total number of martyrs at that time was eighteen. When the royalty, nobility, and high clergy of France had finished their sanguinary devotions, the Priests restored St. Geneviève and the relics to their niches and sanctuaries, the court assembled at a banquet, and, after dinner, at the moment when men are apt to be most prodigal of words, Francis I. arose, told the company that he had commanded the severest punishments to be inflicted upon heretics, and required all his subjects to denounce them and their accomplices, without respect of kin, friendship, or alliance. For himself he protested, that if one of his limbs were infected with the Sacramentarian heresy, he would pluck it from his body; and made the fashionable boast, that if one of his own children were found guilty, he would yield him up as a sacrifice to God. A week afterwards he issued a

* There must have been some *etiquette* in the use of this *balançoire*, or swinging-machine; for it seems to have been first erected in honour of crowned heads. It was made use of also in Lisbon, when Gardiner suffered (A.D. 1552) by order of the King.

decree for the extermination of "Lutheran and other heresies," framed after the accustomed fashion, offering the fourth part of confiscations and fines to the informers.

Many of the best men in France were driven away by that tempest, and, amongst others, Calvin and Olivetan, who devoted themselves, at Neufchâtel, to the best of all works, a new translation of the holy Scriptures into French. The fires continued to burn, both in the metropolis and the provinces; but the number of sufferers cannot be calculated. Foreign Protestants remonstrated, and respect for the League of Smalcald gave their expostulations some weight with the temporizing Monarch, who told them that, contrary to his inclination, he had been compelled so to deal with a few who troubled the state under pretext of religion; * while Calvin's Institutes, published at the same time, served as a book of reference for ascertaining the doctrines entertained by the Swiss and French section of the Reformation. The utmost, however, that Francis did, was to publish an edict (July, 1535), exempting from death such as would abjure; and successive events show that even that mockery of mercy was not observed. A custom characteristic of this persecution, borrowed from the Vandals, was that of rooting or cutting out the tongues of persons condemned to death, that they might not be able to spread their doctrine by oral confession; and the violence of mobs towards those who publicly surrendered their lives as witnesses of the Lord Jesus Christ, is another evidence of the ferocity and fury of the French population in those days, which the Clergy were careful to inflame and make use of against the "new religion," as they were wont to designate revived Christianity.

As yet, indeed, the persecution was not general; but here and there a martyrdom tested the constancy of Christians, and sustained the terror of the Church. Among others, Alexandre Canus, otherwise called Laurent de la Croix, who, from being a Jacobin,† as Beza says, had become a Christian, was arrested at Lyons, where he had been preaching for some days to a few goldsmiths, and others of the city. They took him thence to Paris, tortured him so violently that one of his legs was broken, and he was then burnt, after making a full confession of his faith. A woman of Rochelle, named Marie Becaudelle, having been instructed in the truth, offended a preaching Friar by some freedom of rebuke, and was burnt at Poitou, displaying admirable constancy. Jean Cornon, a labouring man, quite unlettered, but so conversant with the word of God that he put all his troublers to silence, died in like manner at Mascon.

In the years following, even during hot war with Charles V., persecution was continued until the death of Francis I., by all the Parlia-

* The German Princes were not able to deny this. They reminded the representative of Francis, however, that accusations of political misconduct were frequently made in order to get rid of good men. In reply to this it was easy to put them off their guard by descanting on the republican principle of Calvinism in France, and contrasting it with the conservative policy of Lutheranism in Germany. And this was done. Gerdes, after Sleidan and Freherus, discloses the tact of this King.—Evang. Renov., iv., 109, *seq.*

† Monk of the order of St. Dominic, so called in France.

ments,* notwithstanding their endeavours to conceal it from the Germans. Persons whose names never were recorded, nor confessions heard, because their tongues had been cut out in prison, were thrown into the fires. We can only mark a few of the more notable examples. In the year 1536, the Waldenses of Piedmont sent two of their brethren, Jean Girard and Martin Gonin, to confer with Farel in Geneva. The latter of these, in returning through France, had narrowly escaped death by poison at Grenoble; and after having openly resisted the adversaries of the truth in such a manner that the people of the city began to show him favour, the Inquisitor, not daring to have him executed by day, contrived to have him drowned secretly in the night (April 26th). Philbert Sarrasin, a learned, virtuous, and God-fearing man, who had enjoyed the friendship of persons of noble rank, came to Agen in Guienne, to establish a school, but soon fell under suspicion of *Luthérerie*, as they called it; and with him the whole town seems to have been suspected, for the King sent thither one Rochez, a Dominican Inquisitor, to investigate the disposition of the inhabitants, accompanied by a Councillor of the Parliament of Bordeaux. Sarrasin saved himself by timely flight; but the inquisition went forward, and a large number of persons were thrown into prison, and condemned to do penance in the principal church, standing in their shirts, with tapers in their hands. They endured the penance, which was not a little aggravated by a pompous sermon from the lips of the Inquisitor, while they stood half naked in the congregation; and it deserves to be noticed that two Priests were among them. It would have been more consistent with Romish wisdom to have killed those persons, for they could never forget that day, nor their children either; and in the next generation an evangelical church flourished in Agen. A learned nobleman, Jules César de l'Escalle, who had favoured the martyr Caturce, and placed one of his sons under the care of Sarrasin, was also accused; but, by means of the Councillor himself, and other persons of influence, found indulgence. The truth, as we have seen, obtained a lodgment in Agen, and shortly afterwards the Bishop's prisons received a converted Dominican, Jerome Vindocin, who boldly answered every question of the official that examined him, underwent degradation at the hands of the same official, contrary to the Canons, and although he had appealed to the Parliament for protection. Delivered to the secular arm, he heard, forthwith, the accustomed sentence; and one day after dinner, a very usual time for such doings, when the magisterial persons to be employed were warm with wine, they took him into a meadow on the bank of the Garonne, and burnt him (February 4th, 1539). As it was the first spectacle of the kind ever exhibited in that place, a great multitude had come to see; but Agen was too far south for the effect to be produced on which the Priests had calculated. Some of the Reformed at Beume, in the duchy of Bourgogne, were compelled to save themselves by flight about this time; and at Nonnay, where the martyr Renier had

* The French Parliaments were not legislative, but judicial, courts. It was their business to accept, and then to administer, the laws. The metropolis and provinces had their respective courts. That of Paris claimed to be supreme.

laboured, a man named André Berthelin was burnt alive, only because he had not bent his knee before an image set up on the highway.

A poor labourer of the village of Recortier in Dauphiny, named Stephen Brun, was barbarously put to death; and in Paris, Claude le Peintre, a goldsmith, passed through the fire without a groan (A.D. 1540). A little church in Agenais derived honour from the intrepidity of its Pastor, Aymon de la Voye, who presented himself willingly to the apparitor who came to apprehend him, refusing to play the mercenary and false prophet by forsaking his flock, as some had advised him to do, and declared himself ready, not only to be bound at Bordeaux, but to seal his doctrine with his blood. While expecting to be apprehended, he had made a confession of faith in three sermons, exhorting his flock to abide therein; and it was during the delivery of the last that they made him prisoner. After nine months' imprisonment, beset incessantly by disputatious Monks, again and again interrogated concerning the eucharist and other articles of doctrine, and as often repeating a clear confession of Christ, he was numbered with those who resist even unto death (August 21st, 1541). He walked out of prison, for the last time, cheerfully singing the 114th Psalm: "When Israel went out of Egypt," &c. At Rouen, a good man named Constantine, with three of his brethren, was condemned to the fire, and carried thither in a scavenger's cart,—a mark of contempt usually shown to persons taken to execution on account of religion. But to him this was an occasion of joy, and drew forth these remarkable words: "Truly, as the Apostle says, we are the offscouring of the earth, offensive now to the nostrils of men of this world. But let us rejoice. The odour of our dying will be sweet to God, and he will preserve our brethren." (A.D. 1542.) Pierre Bonpain, a wealthy manufacturer of Meaux, having removed to Aubigny, devoted himself there to the extension of the kingdom of God, and was soon surrounded by a congregation consisting of the richest merchants of the place, who used to read the Scriptures together and pray. The Lord of Aubigny, a native of Scotland, coveting the fruits of confiscation, caused him to be seized and carried to Paris, where he was burnt alive (A.D. 1544). The inhabitants of Metz, then a German town, had a foretaste of the bitter persecution which their future masters, the French, would shortly exercise on multitudes together. The Protestants of that town having been permitted to hear sermons, but not to partake of the eucharist, about two hundred of them, men and women, went to the castle of the Count of Furstenberg, at Gorze, to communicate at the hands of Farel, invited thither for that purpose; and on their return were attacked by a body of French cavalry, who killed one old man, drove many into the river Moselle, where they were drowned, and the women were seized and subjected to brutish violence. The leader of this iniquitous assault was Claude de Lorraine, Duke of Guise; and the King made himself an accomplice by refusing even to express disapprobation. This took place in Easter, 1543. About the same time, by order of the Parliament of Rouen, an apothecary of Blois, Guillaume Husson, suffered for having distributed some tracts during the assemblage of that court.

His offence having come under the cognisance of that high authority, it behoved him to die by the *balançoire*, swung in the air, and dipped into the fire. But as they alternately lowered and raised him, he directed his eyes towards heaven, and resisted the torment by the energy of prayer. The multitude gazed on him first with wonder, then with awe, while his prayerful silence preached the power of his faith: God heard him, and an answer to his intercession appeared in the conversion of many who, without having listened to any preacher, now believed the truth, and hastened to unite themselves to the afflicted church in Blois, the place of his abode, and scene of his martyrdom.

Notwithstanding the brutality of mobs, often prepared by their superiors for adding insolence and tumult to judicial executions, the ashes of those victims were as a living seed, scattered over France no less than over other lands, rendering hopeless the labour of attempting to subdue the cause of Christ by now and then murdering one of his servants. The project of a crusade seemed far more feasible; and although no crusade, nor succession of crusades, had utterly destroyed either the Moslems or Christians of any country, it was remembered that they had suppressed, for a time, powers adverse to the Church. It was either too late or too soon to attempt a crusade on the Christians in France; but there was a little tract near the frontier of Italy where such an experiment, it was thought, might be tried with impunity. A small colony of Alpine Waldenses, towards the end of the thirteenth century, had been introduced by the Lords of Cental and Rocca Sparvière into their waste lands in Provence, in hope that by their industry, so successful in the High Alps, those lands might be brought into cultivation. Their expectation was fully answered; the villages of Merindol, Cabrières, Lourmarin, and some others, gradually rose where the presence of man had scarcely disturbed the solitude, and the entire region flourished under their culture. Corn, wine, oil, honey, and almonds were the produce; and the grazing-lands were covered with herds. The neighbouring markets were indebted to them for supplies; the people of Provence did not eye the Waldenses with suspicion or dislike on account of the religion which they had exercised peacefully among themselves; and if the zeal and orthodoxy of their Barbs had declined after ages of ignorance, if they had been more intent on agriculture than on worship, they were on that account the less to be dreaded by the Church of Rome, with which they prosecuted no controversy.

But when they heard that, by the grace of God, a religion similar to that of their fathers had been received by multitudes in Germany, and in Switzerland, they sent Georges Morel of Freissinière, in Dauphiny, a Minister who had been educated at the public expense, and Pierre Masson of Bourgogne, to confer with Œcolampadius at Basel, with Capito and Martin Bucer at Strasburg, and with Berthold Haller at Berne. Aroused by this communion to endeavour a restoration of true religion among themselves, they sent messengers to Calabria to invite their brethren there to unite in the holy purpose; and afterwards, when Calvin and Olivetan had translated the Bible into French, defrayed the cost of an impression, that the sacred volume, hitherto

almost sealed to France,* might be distributed. These movements irritated the Romish Clergy, who began to trouble them again; but they appealed to the King, who was induced to inhibit their Parliament from persecution by letters dated July 16th, 1535. But the persecutors appealed in turn; and by other letters, issued May 31st, 1536, they were required to abjure within six months. The result of this was, that several of them were summoned to appear before the Parliament of Aix, and some put to death, others branded, and others deprived of their property. The body of the people, however, were not assailed until 1540, when, at the solicitation of the Bishop of Aix, and other Ecclesiastics, the Parliament summoned fifteen or sixteen of the principal persons; and they failing to appear, an edict, equalling in barbarity any that ever saw the light, consigned them to the flames as contumacious, declared their children, servants, and relatives to be proscribed and infamous, and announced that Merindol should be rased to the ground, and its surrounding plantations laid waste. Even the caves and vaults where their fathers had been wont to hide in times of persecution were to be filled up, that the ejected population might have no place of shelter. But the President of the Parliament, Barthélémi Chassanée, and several of the members, objected to the execution of the order, which was confided to the ordinary Judges of Aix, Tournon, St. Maximin, and Apt. Others would have precipitated the execution; and the Bishops of Aix and Arles urged him to lose no time, but proceed at once against the rebels with an armed force, promising for themselves and other Prelates a large sum of money towards the expenses of the work. While they were disputing with great warmth, a gentleman of Arles, Nicholas, Lord of Allenc, a friend of the President, reminded him, that when, in the earlier days of his professional life, a sentence for the excommunication of a swarm of mice had been applied for by the country people near Autun, and the Bishop would have the crier of the civil court to publish three citations of the mice, which might then have been proceeded against for contumacy if disobedient to the summons, he had undertaken to plead for them, and obtained that the Curates of the parishes should set them a more distant day for trial. He appealed to a book the President had published, containing pleasant arguments that proved his ingenuity in pleading for those insignificant clients; arguments drawn from Scripture, too, which ought now in earnest to be repeated on behalf of a threatened human population.† Glad to

* Because either not to be had printed in French, or badly translated. As to versions previously existing, Beza says that, "quant à la traduction des Bibles Françaises, auparavant imprimées durant les ténèbres de l'ignorance, ce n'etait que fausseté et barbarie."

† Thuanus (lib. vi.) formally, and at length, relates this circumstance, which has appeared to some too ridiculous to be credible. They therefore suppose that the proceeding in the court of Autun was nothing more than a piece of pleasantry played off at the expense of the Priests. But there is nothing improbable in it; and the author believes that, if he could submit to waste time in such researches, he could produce examples of the like folly from many sources. He will content himself, however, with translating an authorized form of conjuration for the expulsion of mice without the aid of cats. After six versicles and two prayers, follows the exorcism, thus:—"I exorcise you, O ye mice, that stand and vex this place, (or this house,) by the living + God, by the true + God, by + God who created all things out of nothing; and I command you in

be entreated, Chassanée dismissed the troops which were already assembling, and referred the matter to the King, with a request that he would cause further inquiry to be made as to the conduct of those Waldenses. Meanwhile, the people of Merindol, unable to defend themselves by any material weapons, committed their case to God in prayer, and awaited the issue of events, expecting to be led as sheep to the slaughter.

Francis, aware of the diversity of opinion respecting the justice of the edict, instructed his Lieutenant for the territory of Piedmont, the Baron of Langey, to inform himself of the whole case, and send him a report. Perquisition being made, the Lieutenant reported that those Waldenses had hired, about three centuries before, a rocky and uncultivated part of the country, which, by dint of constant tillage, they had made very fruitful. He described them as patient of labour and of want, abhorrent of contention, kind to the poor, punctual in payment of rent and taxes, exact in the exercise of their own worship, and unblamable in conduct. But he also reported that they seldom entered the churches of the saints, except incidentally, when in any of the towns: that when in them they paid no adoration to the images of God and the saints, brought no tapers, no gifts, nor purchased masses for the dead, nor crossed themselves, nor used holy water; but, looking towards heaven, addressed their prayers to God alone. Moreover, he related that they never went on pilgrimages, nor uncovered the head before crucifixes erected by the way-side; that they strangely prayed in their vulgar tongue, paid no honour to Pope nor Bishop, but had Priests and Doctors of their own. On receiving this report, Francis sent a letter to the Parliament (February 8th, 1541), requiring them to suspend the execution of the edict, pardoning the persons condemned for contumacy, and desiring the court not to proceed in future with so extreme rigour; yet commanded the Waldenses to make a solemn abjuration of their errors within three months. The Parliament, however, presumed to suppress this document, until publication was extorted from them by repeated solicitations; and even then they added a requisition of their own, that all of them, men, women, and children, who were suspected of Lutheranism, should appear to undergo examination at Aix. The inhabitants of Merindol represented the impossibility of all appearing

the name of the Lord, that ye quit this place, (or this house,) and remove to those places where ye will not be able to injure any person. Which may He deign to grant who shall come to judge the living and the dead, and the world by fire. Amen. Christ + conquers, Christ + reigns, Christ + commands you hurtful animals, that ye flee from this house, and do no more mischief in it. Pray for us, blessed Gregory, that we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ." Then follows another prayer:—"We beseech thee, O Lord, trusting in the prayers of St. Gregory, thy confessor, that this house may be cleansed from the stains of sinners, and delivered from the plague of mice; through Christ our Lord. Amen." Then the rubric directs:—"He shall sprinkle holy water." (Manual para Sacerdotes, &c. Escrito por el P. Fr. Nicholas de Jesus Belando, &c., &c., en Valencia, por Salvador Pauli, Año 1773. With licences, approbations, and censorship of all the authorities.) St. Gregory, the confessor, being the accredited mouse-expeller of the Apostolic See, it was not beneath the gravity of the Justices of Autun to cite mice to answer for themselves. And the living mice were quite as likely to obey the citation as any deceased heretic that was ever summoned in like manner.

at Aix in person, and at last obtained permission to send two representatives, Francois Chay and Guillaume Armant. They came, but could not obtain so much as a copy of any document that had appeared against them, and therefore appealed to the King, who required them to be furnished with copies and duplicates of all such acts; revoking an order of the Parliament to all clerks, notaries, and other officers, not to give them any sort of written information. Having obtained this documentary assistance, they employed a notary to put into due form a confession of their faith, and defence of their conduct (April 6th, 1541).

The only answer to this was, that ten of them might come, to declare whether or not they would accept pardon of the King. The people of Cabrières and its neighbourhood, being of the old county of Venaissin, under the sovereignty of the Pope, sent the same articles, with a more ample declaration, to the Bishop of Cavaillon, and Cardinal Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras. Sadolet received them kindly; and, yielding to an impulse of benevolence, and, perhaps, also to the force of conscience, promised to interest himself in their behalf at Rome, and endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between them and his Church. Such a reconciliation he might have known to be impossible. The Archbishop of Arles, and the Bishops of Aix and Cavaillon, on the other hand, clamoured for the execution of the edict, unless the Waldenses would make a solemn abjuration; and the Parliament, not being unanimous for the severer measure, sent a Councillor and Secretary, the Bishop of Cavaillon and a Doctor of Theology, to attempt in person the suppression of heresy in Merindol. The Bishop and his Doctor hastened to work without waiting for the others; but his Lordship was mortified to hear the Doctor acknowledge, after examining the articles of their confession, and without attempting to dispute, that he had not learnt so much of the holy Scriptures in all his life, as during the week then spent in comparing those doctrines with the sacred text. The Bishop then brought four Monks from the University of Paris; but one of these frankly acknowledged, that in all the disputes he had carried on, or witnessed, in the Sorbonne, he had not heard so much that was good as in the answers of the little children of Merindol when catechised. When the entire deputation came, they proceeded to hold a formal disputation, or pretended so to do; but the Bishop would only speak into the ear of the Commissary; and the Doctor, who came last, would not condescend to speak at all, except in Latin, so that a conference could not be effected; the deputation returned without having dared to confront the people, whose children displayed greater wisdom than all the wise ones of the University; and, through the favour of the humane President, it pleased God to preserve those Christians in peace for that time.

But those who presumed to thwart the purposes of the Church seldom attained to long life. Chassanée died suddenly. To him, as President over the Parliament of Aix, succeeded Menyer, Baron D'Opède, a notoriously bad man, oppressor of his tenantry, and troubler of his neighbours. Against his tyranny the inhabitants of Merindol soon had to appeal again to the King, who, knowing their

innocence, quashed the proceedings of the Parliament, and evoked to himself (October, 1543) the execution of his edict. The Ecclesiastics had then no other instrument than falsehood left for compassing their design; and this they did not hesitate to use. The Cardinal de Tournon employed one Courtain, an apparitor of the Parliament, to report that the Waldenses of that district had levied a force of fifteen thousand men, who were already assembling at head-quarters with unfurled banners, and intended to march on Marseilles, take possession of that city, and set up a republican canton like those of Switzerland. The King chose to credit the report, sent letters to the Privy Council (January 1st, 1545), empowering them to execute the long-suspended edict, and commanding them to employ the *ban* and *arrière-ban* of the country,* with the veteran bands of Piedmont, who were then said to be preparing for a voyage to England. On receiving these letters, D'Opède laid them aside until the Baron de Grignan, Governor of Provence, a better man than he, should have gone abroad, and left the entire management in his hands, so that they were not published until three months afterwards, when the execution was committed to chosen officers, and war proclaimed with sound of trumpet at Aix and Marseilles.

On the 13th of April, 1545, those officers and their men met at the little town of Pertuis, where they found one Captain Volegine, who had been plundering the cattle of the Merindolese for about a month before, without resistance from the peasantry, who, far from having a host of fifteen thousand, had not one man in arms to withstand his depredations. Next morning they advanced to Cadenet, where the veterans collected forage, and on this day D'Opède, with his staff and a strong contingent, joined them and entered on command. On the morning of the 16th, one Poulain began the dreadful work by destroying the villages of Cabrierette, Papin, La Mothe, and St. Martin, the property of the Baron of Cental, then a child, and therefore unable to help his tenantry, who were utterly defenceless, and slaughtered without resistance. The soldiers not only killed men, but violated women, murdered pregnant women and children, and cut off the breasts of living mothers, leaving them and their infants to perish together. D'Opède exulted in this beginning of glory; and, amidst the shrieks of the peasantry, caused a crier to proclaim that no one should give food or shelter to any fugitive under pain of death. The villages were pillaged and then burnt down, covering with ashes the bodies of the slain; Poulain having first of all selected the most able-bodied youth for service in his galleys. After a night's repose, D'Opède himself would have led the veterans to a similar achievement; but the villages of Lourmarin, Villelaure, and Treizemines were deserted, and he could only burn cottages without the satisfaction of shedding blood. On the opposite bank of the Durance, the Baron de Rocque, with a few Catholic auxiliaries, burnt down Gensson and La Rocque, which were also utterly deserted. On the 18th, D'Opède entered Merindol, at

* "When those who held of the King were summoned to attend him in his wars, they were the *ban*, and tenants of the secondary rank the *arrière-ban*."—Bohn's Cyclopædia of Political, &c., Knowledge.

about nine o'clock in the morning, but found that place also empty of inhabitants. One person alone remained, and he an idiot. He had surrendered himself to a soldier, who demanded twelve francs for his ransom. The brave General disbursed the francs for the satisfaction of the captor, tied poor Morisi Blanc to a tree, and shot him. His troops emptied the two hundred houses of Merindol of all that they could carry away, then burnt them down, and destroyed the blossoming orchards around the town, according to the letter of the edict. On the 19th, the marauders environed Cabrières, a slightly-walled place in which some of the inhabitants unfortunately tried to stand a siege, and the next day opened a breach, and offered the defenders their property and life, with *justice*, if they would admit them without more resistance. There were but sixty men, and thirty intrepid women, who had resolved to fight for hearth and altar, but now saw that Cabrières was lost. Others had fled away to the caverns in the neighbouring mountains, and the church was filled with women and children. Their leader, Etienne le Marroul, capitulated honourably; and they were in the act of marching out, unarmed, when the President and his crew rushed on them, and made them prisoners. About thirty were taken into a meadow, and hacked to pieces, limb from limb; and the others were taken to Marseille, Aix, and Avignon for *justice*. D'Opède, however, had not ended his day's work. He caused the thirty women to be shut up in a barn, and then set fire to the building at the four corners. A soldier, in pity, opened a door, or window, that they might escape; but his comrades ran to the spot, and pitched them back again into the flames with their pikes and halberts. Meanwhile parties of ruffians had gone to the caverns, and dragged out fugitives, whom they brought into the castle-hall, where, driven together like a flock of sheep, they were surrounded by soldiers, while two Captains, Valleron and Gaye, entertained D'Opède, and acquired a stock of merit, by murdering them all. To the troop of Avignon was assigned another service. Their Captains led them to the church, where they found eight hundred women and children; but in a sanctuary of heretics there could be no refuge, and they were slaughtered as rapidly as the butchers could bury weapons in their bodies. Just as they were wading out of the church through the blood yet flowing, a relative of D'Opède, the Baron de Coste, came to offer him all the inhabitants of La Coste, to be taken alive to Aix, and to dismantle the place, if he would send him a sufficient force to take possession. His object was to diminish the amount of murder, by removing the people into a position where, for shame's sake, some pity might be shown; and his offer was instantly accepted, at least in words. Three companies of infantry marched over to La Coste, where the people were ready to depart; but they had no sooner entered the village than they began to kill the men, and treat the women with the usual brutality. To finish all, they burnt the place.

The campaign being ended, after other ravages of the same kind, the President and his men prepared to carry home their spoils; and as they were marching off, messengers from the multitudes that lay famishing in their mountain hiding-places ventured to appear before

the Chief, and ask permission for their companions to emigrate in a body into Germany, desiring only free passage so far as the frontier, the scanty clothing that was on their backs, (*leurs pauvres chemises,*) and their women and children. But the prayer was vain. The messengers returned only to tell their friends that no alternative was allowed by the persecutors but to deny Christ or die. Not one abandoned his profession, although many died of hunger, cold, and weariness; and at last the remnant re-occupied some part of the desolated country, resumed their simple worship, again made the ground fruitful under cultivation, and the Vaudois have been preserved by the blessing of God as a distinct people unto this day. Merindol, Cabrières, La Coste, and others of those villages, exist no more; but the names are an imperishable accusation of worse than Saracen barbarity against the Church of Rome. Signals of divine judgment followed the ruffians of Provence. Two of the Captains were drowned as the troops passed over the Durance. Europe heard of the massacre with horror; and the Parliament, covered with shame, endeavoured to justify themselves by sending some one to the King, to assure him that the people thus destroyed had been previously heard and condemned as heretics. At their request, His Majesty gave them letters (August 23d, 1545), approving of their zeal; but the thought of guilt rankled in his bosom, and forced him to make a profession of death-bed repentance. Four thousand persons, as it was estimated, were butchered, twenty-two villages laid waste, and seven hundred men sent to the galleys.

Wholesale slaughter now began to characterize the French persecutions. The Reformed of Meaux, where the Gospel had been preached many years before by Briçonnet the Bishop, and Le Clerc the martyr, had formed themselves into a church after the model of the Calvinist congregation of Strasburg, and assembled in a private house, under the pastoral direction of Pierre le Clerc, formerly a wool-carder, but chosen to be Minister in consideration of his piety and creditable knowledge of holy Scripture, although an illiterate man, knowing nothing of any language but his own. Under the blessing of God on his ministrations, the little church flourished. Persons frequented the congregation from places many leagues distant, three or four hundred were united in communion, and their assembling could no longer be concealed. This was the first church organized in France; and the authorities resolved that, as far as in them lay, it should cease to be. On the day when the Church of Rome celebrates the nativity of the Virgin Mary (September 8th, 1546), the Lieutenant and Provost of the city, with their Sergeants, surprised a congregation of sixty persons, whom they arrested in the King's name, without the slightest resistance. They gave their hands to be manacled, and went meekly to prison, chanting the 79th Psalm by the way:—

> "Les gens entré sont en ton heritage,
> Ils ont souillé, Seigneur, par leur outrage,
> Ton temple saint, Jerusalem detruite,
> Si qu'en monceaux de pierres l'ont reduite."

The very words that still are sung in the Geneva congregations, and

have not ceased to be applicable even at this day: "O God, the Heathen are come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled; they have laid Jerusalem on heaps. The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth," &c. Not a sentence of that psalm fell to the ground. Those forty-one men and nineteen women were leashed together, packed into carts, and carried to Paris. There, bruised with cords, fainting from the journey, without a moment's respite, they were thrown upon the wheel, and thence conveyed to dungeons. After nearly four weeks' imprisonment, sentence was pronounced thus: Fourteen to suffer extreme torture, and then be burnt alive at Meaux near the house of Etienne Mangin, formerly the place of their assemblage, and all their property to be confiscated. Five to do public and painful penances, and then be imprisoned or banished for life. The others to do penance in the usual way, except five women, who were released. The house where they were taken to be rased to the ground, a chapel built on the site, and mass sung therein daily, the Priest to be paid out of the confiscated property. After the fourteen had spent a few more hours in prison, and resisted the importunity of Priests, who would have persuaded them to recant, they were conveyed to Meaux again, accompanied by two Doctors of the Sorbonne, who laboured vainly to pervert them; and, on the contrary, arrived at Meaux with one more recusant than they had brought out of Paris: for a good man, seeing them thus in custody, ran after the waggon, crying, "My brethren, remember Him who is in heaven above!" The archers seized him, threw him bound into the vehicle; and he made the best of the occasion by exhorting them to constancy. At Meaux they were tortured according to the sentence; but not a word escaped their lips that could lead to the detection of any others; and one, superior to pain, even bade the tormentors pull harder, and not spare the body that had so long resisted the Holy Spirit, so long done contrary to the will of its Creator. Mangin, who had opened his house to receive the congregation, had his tongue cut out; but, when the operation was finished, audibly articulated, "Blessed be the name of the Lord!" Le Clerc and he were dragged on a hurdle, the others in a scavenger's cart: they were then swung in chains on fourteen gallowses placed in a circle, and in that position sang the praises of God as long as they had breath, while a band of Priests bellowed Latin hymns to drown their voices; and next morning (October 8th), while the embers were yet glowing, a Priest, richly robed, came on the ground and preached a high-flown sermon on the extinction of heresy in Meaux. Yet a few living stones from the ruins of the church thus overthrown, being removed by the good providence of God into other places, became the foundations of new churches there.

Some other honourable names complete the martyrology of this reign. François d'Augy, travelling through Toulouse on return from Geneva, was burnt by order of the Parliament, shouting the praise of God, and cheered aloud by the bystanders. Jean Chapot, a learned distributor of books, after having been admitted to a conference with

three Doctors, who found themselves unable to cope with his superior knowledge of holy Scripture, was almost killed by the extremity of torture; but, supported between two persons at the place of execution, bore his last oral testimony to the excellence of the Gospel, and then sealed it with a willing death. A gentleman named Séraphin, and four others, were brought from Langres to Paris, and there executed; Picard, the late orator at the executions of Meaux, strangely exhorting them to patience. "My master," said Séraphin, "God be praised that you have changed your language; but if you were burning here, would you have so much patience as you see that God has given me?" Jean l'Anglais, an Advocate of Sens, a learned and upright man, was the first offering of that church to Christ in martyrdom; and his own uncle, (or father,) Archdeacon in the cathedral, defrayed the expense of the execution, so much did he desire it (A.D. 1547). Jean Brugère, burnt in chains at Issoire, displayed so tranquil a courage, that when Ory, a furious Inquisitor, and the officers who conducted the execution, saw him bow his head and expire without a struggle, they fled precipitately, struck with terror; and the Priest of the parish, when asked what he thought of it, answered that he prayed God he might die in the faith of Brugère. Nor were these the only persons who overcame the fear and pains of death through faith in Christ: while evidences of a rapid spread of Christian knowledge multiplied; the fear of those who attained to this knowledge seemed to give place to boldness; new congregations were established all over France, and persons of rank openly avowed approbation of, if not adherence to, the cause of Christ. Even Francis had begun to speak favourably of Protestants,—although it must be owned that he seldom retained the same opinion longer than circumstances favoured it,—when he died (March 31st, 1547).

The day after the death of Francis I., his only son succeeded him, as Henry II. An easy, heartless man, he saw and heard with the eyes and ears of others, who therefore reigned over him and the kingdom. His favourites were Anne de Montmorency, Constable, superstitious, rather than zealous in opposition to "the new religion;" Charles de Lorraine, son of the Duke of Guise, Cardinal, and a thorough Cardinal; Diana de Poitiers, afterwards Duchess de Valentinois, and Jacques d'Ablon, afterwards Marshal of St. André, a man profoundly selfish, and lover of good cheer. They all agreed that the Reformation tended to subvert civil government, and ought to be suppressed at any cost; the Parliament of Paris so diligently ministered to the bigotry of the Court, that people called it, "the burning chamber" (*la chambre ardente*); Jean Morin exerted his utmost skill in apprehending victims, and Pierre Liset, the first President, was careful to let none of them escape. When these men passed off the scene, others of the same kind came on, and the course of events under such an administration may be easily conceived. Between the faith and perseverance of good men in the cause of God on one hand, and the cruelty of those in power on the other, there was an incessant conflict: even to specify the names, or calculate the numbers, of the martyrs would be impossible, and we shall only mark the principal events of the reign of Henry II.

They say that his father, stung with remorse on account of the butchery of the Waldenses, had, from his death-bed, charged him to do justice on those who had instigated him to the commission of that crime; and that, during a visit to Piedmont, about a year after his accession to the throne, he heard much of the horrible affair: and it is certain that an appeal from the mother of the young Baron of Cental, whose estate was the first ravaged by Poulain, determined him to order an investigation of her claims. But it was a feint of justice, whence no effect resulted; and so far was he from disapproving of spoliation and murder, when the sufferers lay beyond the Romish pale, that in a summary of the case which he caused to be drawn up as the basis of inquiry, and authenticated by his own signature, he represented the right of Madame de Cental as resting mainly on the plea that her tenants were not Waldenses, but good labourers and good Christians. The Judges, after long formalities, acquitted all the murderers but one, Guérin, King's Advocate at the Parliament of Aix, whom they gibbeted to save appearances. And no sooner was this done than, by way of reprisal, a literary man, a lawyer, and several others, were burnt immediately at Aix by D'Opède, leader of the butchery, whom the King not only acquitted, but received to favour.

Shortly after this mock inquiry Henry entered Paris with his Queen and Court to celebrate their coronation, and surrender themselves to the unrestrained licence usual on such occasions. Hearing that there were many persons in the prisons on account of religion, he expressed a wish to see one; and the Cardinal de Lorraine, fearing that conversation with a scholar might not excite the contempt of Lutherans which His Majesty should entertain, caused a poor tailor to be brought into his presence. Castellanus, Bishop of Macon, who had once favoured the Reformation, was there to perplex the man with such questions as a renegade might put; and Diana, the King's lady-favourite, undertook to shame him with her wit. However, the worthy tailor perplexed the Bishop; and, instead of being amused, the King was astonished, and the Prelates mortified. Diana then endeavoured to relieve them from embarrassment by a sally of raillery on the prisoner and his religion, but met with an unexpected and unanswerable rebuke: "Madam," he replied, "be contented with having corrupted France, and do not endeavour to pollute a thing so sacred as the truth of God." This roused the ire of the King, who loved her better than any other being in the world, and furiously commanded that he should be burnt alive in the street of St. Antoine. The courtiers, both laic and ecclesiastical, anticipated with impatience the religious entertainment; and on the first convenient day (July 4th, 1549) a general procession, resembling that of St. Geneviève, issued from the church of Nôtre Dame. The King himself walked in it, and stayed at the stations to witness the burning of the tailor and three others. One of them was a servant of his own household, whom he had given up in token of devotion to the Church; but so horrible were the cries of the poor man, that he lay awake all the next night thinking of them. The figure and voice of his dying servant haunted him for many days, and he would never again witness a

similar execution. The Clergy, however, not being so sensitive, they employed another day (July 9th) in burning many others, and distributed the fires over various parts of the city, in order to fill the entire population with terror of the Church. Disgust and pity mingled largely with the terror, and those emotions grew stronger as the Reformed congregations multiplied, and their most active members were added to the crowd of martyrs.

Assuredly Henry II. was among the last of Princes to whom the Lutherans of Germany might have been expected to look for help. But it is nevertheless true that Maurice, the bold and unprincipled Elector of Saxony, and his associate, Albert of Brandenburg, while contriving that revolt against Charles V. which, by its successful issue, gave Protestantism a legal establishment, entered into secret communication with Henry, addressed him with the title of Protector of the Empire, and used his feud-like hatred of the Emperor for the advancement of their project. Lest it should be inferred, from his aiding Protestant Princes in the prosecution of their plans, and with them resisting the Council of Trent, and forbidding the transmission of money to Rome, that he participated in their views of religion, he published, previously to appearing openly in that alliance, the edict of Chateau-Briant (June 27th, 1551), a compilation of the worst passages that ever made part of such documents. On the other hand, the Pope excommunicated him, and pronounced an interdict on France, on account of some proceedings of his in Italy; but amidst those political quarrels it was deemed expedient that every Popish Prince should keep above suspicion of heresy by oppressing and killing those of his subjects who ventured to dissent from Popery. This edict produced full effect; but true religion spread with new rapidity from the moment of its publication; and although the year 1553 is marked in the history of France as the year of martyrdoms, it is scarcely less distinguished by the rise of congregations; and a similar progress continued until 1557, when the rabble of Paris were incited to a murderous onslaught on a company of their fellow-citizens.

The Reformed Church of Paris dates its formation in the year 1555. When a congregation had for some time assembled in the house of the Baron la Ferrière, a gentleman of Maine, his wife gave birth to a child, which he could not consent to have baptized after the Romish manner; but neither could he take it to Geneva, nor allow it to remain without the sacrament, "by which the children of Christians," as he truly said, "ought to be consecrated to God." There was no Minister in Paris, perhaps not in France; for, although congregations were gathered, no churches had been organized, except one at Meaux, which was soon dispersed, and its Minister put to death. Thus isolated, they perceived no other alternative than to remain without a Minister, or to elect one themselves. At first the congregation refused to proceed to an appointment for which they could find no precedent in Scripture; but, yielding to an apparent necessity, agreed to seek for divine direction with fasting and prayer, and, this done, elected Jean le Maçon, a young man of respectable family, to be their Pastor. His first ministerial act was to baptize

the child. Elders, as they called them, and Deacons were then chosen; and a church was constituted, as nearly after their idea of the apostolic model as circumstances would allow. The fact, however, could not have been divulged, or the new Pastor, with his Elders and Deacons, would not have escaped the flames. God was pleased to shelter them from observation for a little; but, meanwhile, the Cardinal of Lorraine took the lead in persecution, and a catastrophe was in preparation. To exalt his house and gratify the Pope, Lorraine had associated with himself the Cardinals of Bourbon and Chatillon to prepare a plan for the establishment of an Inquisition in France like that of Spain, committing Chatillon to the affair, on account of his known benevolence towards the Reformed; for they calculated that either by objecting to the Inquisition he would put himself into their power as an abettor of heresy, or, by approving of it, would deprive the Reformation of the credit of his name. Henry prayed of the Pope—by this time reconciled—to allow France the benefit of a Holy Office: Paul IV. gladly gave a Bull (April 26th, 1557); and a royal edict, dated at Compeigne (July 24th), conveyed powers for its erection. But either custom or policy required that the edict should be submitted to the Parliament of Paris, who were tenacious of their prerogatives, and had often refused to confirm royal decrees by registration. This decree was obviously dangerous; and they therefore represented to the King that if they were to receive it his subjects would be abandoned to ecclesiastical Judges, the power of the Inquisitors would be amplified without limit, and the authority and sovereignty of the crown greatly diminished, by leaving those who were naturally subjects of the King to fall into the power of inquisitorial officials. The King's subjects, they further remonstrated, would be disheartened and alienated on finding themselves abandoned by their natural governor, and suffered to become subjects and administrators of ecclesiastical Judges; and would be yet more distressed when an official or Inquisitor undertook to judge them without appeal, exercising power over property, life, and honour, and leaving no recourse for the redress of wrong, nor any refuge for the innocent. The King, they insisted, ought to be the protector and preserver of the innocent, and only Sovereign Lord of his subjects, not surrendering his prerogatives to others, nor allowing a way to be opened for oppression, death, torment, and confiscation without remedy. They also reminded him that the existence of such a tribunal would be incompatible with the rights and duties of the Peers of France, Dukes, Counts, and, indeed, of all others. To coerce the Parliament into submission would have been impossible: the King was further embarrassed by a defeat of his army and loss of St. Quentin, and the affairs of France were thrown into confusion. Ever excellent in the use of opportunity, the Priests declaimed that the sudden calamities which befell the country were in punishment of the King's leniency towards heretics, and the multitude began to threaten violence. The Reformed Church of Paris perceived the danger, and prayed without ceasing that the wrath of God might not indeed be poured out upon the King and his kingdom. They met

more frequently than ever, and prayed more fervently. They usually assembled in the street St. Jacques, in a house opposite the College of Plessis, and behind the Sorbonne. The Priests in that neighbourhood had observed the frequent passing of an unusual number of persons, marked the times, and tracked them to the place of meeting. At night, on the 4th of September, between three and four hundred had assembled to partake of the Lord's supper, without any apprehension of danger; and while occupied in that solemnity, men employed by the Priests were piling up stones on the outside, to be ready for an assault. Towards midnight, just as the congregation was about to disperse, the mob began to batter the door, and raise a cry that thieves, murderers, and traitors were in that house. The neighbours sprang from their beds; alarm spread through the city; people fancied that an enemy had entered Paris, ran to arms, and crowded to the spot whence the noise proceeded. Fires were kindled in the streets, for lack of lamps, that the traitors might not escape unseen; and when they found that, instead of some formidable enemy, it was a congregation of Lutherans that had caused the uproar, instead of being content that Paris was yet safe, they became furious, demanded blood, formed themselves into armed parties, and kept up the watch-fires, while those outside the house attacked it with a battery of stones. The Elders of the congregation exhorted the others to trust in God; and, after a short prayer, several of them, at great hazards, escaped by back-ways, while some remained, afraid to face the mob: nor without reason, for the streets began to be choked with barricades, showers of stones and other missiles rained from the windows, and one of the brethren, being discovered, was beaten to death. A very few men, with women and children, were now in the house. Morning drew near, and it seemed every moment that the defences of the building would give way; a military guard came to the spot, and, just at the moment of their arrival, the women ventured to appear at the window, and implore pity. They came into the house, interrogated the remnant of the congregation, and might have shown mercy if they had been dealing with common offenders. But when, in describing the order of their worship, one of them mentioned the Lord's supper, he disclosed an unpardonable offence. They were instantly handcuffed, to be taken to prison, and exposed, in passing through the street, to the violence of the mob, who pelted them with mud and stones. Even the ladies—some of them of considerable rank—were beaten; and the soldiers, unable to protect their charge, with difficulty brought them, bruised and bleeding, to the gaol. After such a night, the Châtelet itself was welcome as a place of refuge: they were divided into companies, and soon made the prison resound with hymns of praise.

The Priests, having failed in the attempt to destroy them by a mob, now tried the old expedient of bringing false witnesses. They revived the tales of nocturnal and impure banquetings, which had been invented of the ancient Christians. One of the Judges of the Châtelet scrupled not to tell the King that he had found evidence in proof; and the King, deaf to every intercession on their behalf,

pretended to believe those allegations, and directed the trial to proceed. One Musnier, a person of doubtful reputation, but holding the office of Lieutenant Civil, was then in concealment to avoid a prosecution for perjury; but, being either pardoned, or discharged without a trial, was commissioned to manage the affair, which he despatched entirely to the satisfaction of his employers. His manner was to lavish promises or threatenings on the prisoners, as he found them firm or yielding, and even to quote Scripture, urging the timid ones to make their confession, and then, from their own words, to convict them of heresy. The enemies of Christ exulted; his people were afflicted, and offered prayer in every family and every congregation. Defences and apologies, notwithstanding the laws of prohibition, were printed and circulated throughout France to refute the calumnies of the Romanists, while familiar expositions of doctrine and practice enlightened the public as to the real character of the persecuted; and the King received an elaborate memorial imploring him to give their cause an impartial hearing. No one would venture to present such a document; but it was conveyed secretly into his chamber, and he deigned to hear it read. It contained an honest exposal of the motives of the persecutors, whose chief desire was to suppress the true religion, in order to retain the revenues which accrued to them from the prevailing superstition. "If it was enough to accuse," the memorialists pleaded, "who would be innocent?" If he would be pleased to inform himself of the truth, he would find that nothing had brought those poor people together, but the desire to pray to God for him, and for the preservation of his kingdom; and that their doctrine did not tend to sedition, nor to the ruin of states, as many pretended, although experience had clearly shown the contrary. Not for want of numbers, but because the word of God had taught them to obey established authorities, and not to meddle with affairs of state, but to acknowledge Jesus Christ as the only Saviour of the world, they had refrained from insurrection or sedition. They proposed that the prisoners should be confronted with the theologians of the University, in order that it might appear on which side lay the truth. The Doctors would not hazard a conference; but some of them wrote answers to the memorial: questions of doctrine were consequently brought into public discussion, and discussion tended to the eventual advancement of the truth. The Reformed also appealed to the Protestant Princes, asking their intercession with the King; but before intercession could be made, many of the sentences had been pronounced and executed. Within twelve days from the morning of their imprisonment the Lieutenant had finished his reports, and Henry had issued a commission (September 17th), empowering a Court to adjudicate thereon. Again the Parliament objected to acknowledge the commission, or to receive the report of the Lieutenant; because the commission tended to the derogation of their privilege, and the Lieutenant himself lay under an accusation of falsehood. He therefore found it necessary to set him aside, and allow the Parliament to exercise absolute jurisdiction.

Nicolas Clinet, Taurin Gravelle, and the widow of the Baron of

Graveron, were first brought before the Commissioners of Parliament. Clinet, a venerable Elder of the congregation, sixty years of age, was thought to be a Minister, and therefore solicited by several Sorbonnists to recant; but he stood firm. Gravelle, another lay Elder, and Advocate in the court of Parliament in Paris, had provided the church with the place of meeting in which they were surprised, and was the object of special enmity; but when assailed in open court by a Doctor whom he had familiarly known, he put him to silence by reminding him of the gross immorality of his life. The widow lady, Philippe de Luns, only twenty-three years of age, had come to Paris with her husband for the single purpose of joining the church, and, after his early death, persevered in that communion, with exemplary piety, during the few months that followed. Judges and theologians laboured hard to bring her to recantation; but she argued with them in the prison, and held fast her faith. Some friends at Court endeavoured to save her life, and might have succeeded at one time, had not Bertrandi, Keeper of the Seals, set his heart on the confiscation of her property. These three were soon sentenced to die; and, after being put to the rack, were taken to the condemned cells,* to await the happy hour of deliverance, and thence carried in the usual ignominious manner to the place of execution. Clinet told those who advised him to recant, that he had never said nor defended anything contrary to the truth of God; and when a Doctor asked if he would not believe St. Augustine on some point, replied that he not only would believe St. Augustine, but could prove everything he had said by his authority. The lady displayed equal constancy and self-possession. When desired to present her tongue that it might be cut out, she said, "I have not spared my body, and should I wish to withhold my tongue? No, no!" and the executioner tore it out. Gravelle came out of his cell with a smiling countenance, also submitted to the same barbarous operation, and, when it was finished, pronounced these words intelligibly, "I pray you, pray God for me." They were burnt in the place Maubert; the Elders alive, the lady after being strangled. A physician and a solicitor were put to death a few days afterwards (October 4th), the guards being scarcely able to restrain the mob from tearing them to pieces by the way; and many Bibles, New Testaments, and other good books, were consumed in the same fires. Some friends of the surviving prisoners then interposed, successively presenting reasons for objecting to the Judges as their causes came on; but the King ended the delay so gained, by issuing new letters patent (October 7th), commanding all exceptions to be set at nought, and instructing the Judges to proceed, deferring all other business until that had been completed, and overruling every other conceivable impediment. Then the Judges hoped to revenge themselves on the appellants by quickening their speed in the work of death; but scarcely had they condemned other two, when envoys arrived from the Protestant cantons of Switzerland to implore mercy for the prisoners. At the same instant ambassadors from the Count Palatine, first Elector, came on the same errand; and as the King

* —*à la chapelle*, "to the chapel."

stood in need of foreign help to support him in his quarrels, he suffered himself to be entreated, and ordered the Judges to slacken their severity. Imprisonment and penances were, therefore, substituted for capital punishment. Some escaped from prison, some few were discharged; but many died in miserable dungeons, refusing liberty at cost of conscience. Others, deficient in that grace which would have sustained them under any suffering, submitted to abjure, and be re-admitted into the Romish Church.

Yet new congregations arose in all directions. Those of Sens, the Isle d'Allevert, Saintes, Guyenne, Pons, Rochelle, and Troyes already flourished; and men of God, willing to lay down their lives in his cause, were sent from the few elder churches in France, or from Geneva, to be their Ministers. Familiar with the prospect of death, no other fear deterred those confessors from the exercise of their religion, and frequent martyrdoms produced courage rather than dismay. A compactly organized Inquisition might have retarded the work of God, or precipitated civil war; but, as we have seen, the Parliament of Paris had successfully resisted its establishment. That failure, the growth of evangelical religion, and the interference of Protestant Princes on behalf of their persecuted brethren, weakened the confidence of the priesthood; and the appearance of some powerful advocates in France itself gave matters a new turn. These were Anthony de Bourbon, King of Navarre, in whose little domain the Reformed enjoyed a good degree of liberty; his brother, Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, and Francis de Coligny, Baron of Andelot, brother of Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, then a prisoner of war in the Netherlands, and, during his captivity, brought to a knowledge of the truth. The King of Navarre, after having aided in the capture of Calais and expulsion of the English, visited the King at Fontainebleau, came to Paris, and hesitated not to frequent devotional meetings, join there in prayer with persons of humble condition, and render succour to imprisoned brethren. His subsequent irresolution, inasmuch as it could not be foreseen, did not then weaken his influence as a friend of the rising cause. The Prince of Condé, with Madame de Roye, his mother-in-law, and Eleanor, his wife, cordially devoted themselves to the study of divine things, and lived under their power. D'Andelot, the boldest of all, took into his train one of the Ministers of the Parisian church, and, going to his extensive estates in Britany, introduced the Gospel there as freely as if the edict of Chateau-Briant had never been heard of. His Chaplain, Fleury, preached with open doors wherever they went.

In Paris, too, a new method was found of gaining public attention, by singing psalms. The version, in metre, by Marot, set to new music, was sung in the public walks by the best voices; persons of all ranks sang those compositions in their houses, and the courtiers themselves, last of all people to sing psalms, could not refrain from joining in the melody. It became fashionable to sing favourite psalms. The King of France himself, when a hunting, sang, "As the hart panteth after the water-brooks." The King of Navarre chose, "Judge me, O God, and plead my cause." Even the courte-

san, De Valentinois, strangely pleased herself with, "Out of the depths have I cried unto thee." And Queen Catherine seemed almost devout while chanting, "In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust." When select bands of choristers joined in those performances on the promenade of the Pré-aux-Clercs in summer evenings, to the excessive displeasure of the Sorbonne, the Court came to listen, and the adjacent walls were covered with hundreds of citizens, who would take up the chorus, and afterwards walk the streets in companies, singing again, while the inhabitants, standing at their windows and doors, and crowding the balconies, caught up the novel strains, and all Paris became vocal with the words of David, and Asaph, and Moses. It is most remarkable that all this was done without rant or confusion, and the most unsteady people in the world were subdued into order by the melodies, and paid a decorous reverence to the sacredness of the words. As long as the charm lasted, every one wondered that so good a thing should have been prohibited. The charm, indeed, passed away, but a blessing remained after it in many hearts. Henry was at a distance from Paris when those extraordinary scenes were at their height; and some Priests, dreading the consequences, hurried away to the camp at Amiens, told him that the city was on the verge of insurrection, that large bodies of armed men walked the streets singing Lutheran psalms, that every hour symptoms of a revolution multiplied, and represented that throne and altar would both be overthrown unless that psalm-singing were suppressed. Others, however, assured him that the only arms were dress-swords, such as gentlemen usually carried; and that so little did the Parisians think of sedition, that they always opened their evening entertainments with psalms containing prayer for the King. But the Priests prevailed; and he sent Cardinal Bertrand with an order that public singing should thenceforth cease, and that whoever sang a psalm on the Pré should be punished for sedition, and published a decree forbidding Judges to mitigate the penalties on heresy. The Reformed Ministers exhorted their flocks to abstain from those popular bands, and so they did; but it was impossible to silence the population at a stroke, and Bertrand imprisoned several who had broken the King's commandment. This disobedience served to establish a sort of proof that the Lutheran singers were seditious, although the persons called Lutherans were the first to yield obedience, and some zealous preachers told their congregations that they had permission to kill every Lutheran they might meet; and but for the popularity of the prohibited amusement there would, no doubt, have been many murders. As it was, only one man was killed, and he a Romanist, mistaken for a Lutheran.

Of D'Andelot, returned from his visit to Britany (A.D. 1558), it was reported that he had both caused sermons to be preached from place to place on the banks of the Loire, and in his apartments at Paris, and appeared on the Pré-aux-Clercs, followed by five or six thousand persons, every evening. In order to answer the charge, D'Andelot hastened to present himself before the King, with whom he found but few persons, and among them the Cardinal de Lorraine.

Henry began by reminding the Baron of the many favours done him, after which he had not expected to find him in revolt against the religion of his Prince, and repeated the complaints that he had caused new doctrine to be preached, had been singing with the Lutherans on the Pré-aux-Clercs, had refused to go to mass, and had sent Genevan books to the Admiral, his brother. He answered in such terms as these:—"Sire, the obligation under which I am laid to your Majesty for your favours and honours has so far bound me that I have spared nothing in your service, but, times out of number, have hazarded my life, and spent my property; nor will I fail to do the same, as long as I have breath, in fulfilment of my natural duty. But your Majesty must not think it strange if, after having fulfilled this duty in your service, I study how to make sure of my own salvation, and for this employ the remainder of my time. The doctrine which I confess to have had preached is holy and good, taken from the Old and New Testament, approved by the ancient Councils and the early church, and is that which our fathers held and believed. It will not be found that I was on the Pré-aux-Clercs, as they accuse me; but even if I had been there, I should not think that an offence either against God or your Majesty; for I have carefully inquired, and find that nothing has been sung there but the Psalms of David, and that prayer has been offered to God to turn away his anger from us in these times of peril, give us peace, and maintain you, Sire, in prosperity. I confess that I have not been at mass for a long time past; and in this I have not proceeded lightly, but with the advice of the wisest men in your kingdom; and if your Majesty had carefully investigated the truth, you would not have been able to praise God enough for delivering me from the veil of ignorance, which, I assure you, I shall not put on again. I have also sent a book to the Admiral, my brother, full of consolation, and likely to comfort him amidst the weariness of an imprisonment suffered in your service. And now, Sire, I pray you to leave my conscience free, and I will serve you with my person and my property, which are always yours." The King could scarcely answer to this unexpected declaration; but the Cardinal interposed a few words of warning, to which D'Andelot rejoined by reminding him, on the witness of his conscience, that he had himself once favoured the same holy doctrine; but "honours and ambition," he added, "so far pervert you, that you have presumed to persecute the members of Jesus Christ." This irritated Henry, who exclaimed, pointing to the badge of an order hanging from his neck, "Never would I have given you that order, if it were to be abused thus, by one who swore that he would go to mass, and follow my religion." "Never," answered the Baron, "would I have accepted it, had I then known what it is to be a Christian, as God has taught me now." The King ordered him out of his presence, the archers on guard arrested him, and threw him into prison at Melun.

An inferior person would not have lived many days longer; but the Cardinal reflected on the consequences that might be feared from prosecuting the matter any further. The uncle of D'Andelot was Constable of the kingdom, and a favourite of the King. D'Andelot

himself had great influence over the army, and continued in prison to show as much courage as he had manifested in the presence of the King, justifying his familiar appellation, "the fearless Knight." The Cardinal therefore bethought him of a compromise. A Doctor of the Sorbonne, and King's Confessor, visited the illustrious prisoner, and suggested that by merely allowing a mass to be said in his presence the honour of the Church would be saved, his own honour would remain untarnished, and thus he might go free. His wife added her entreaties: he saw the mummery performed, but took no part in the matter, not even by a gesture, and, without pronouncing a word of abjuration, walked out of confinement. Yet his conscience smote him for even an apparent connivance at idolatry; he never ceased to labour that his conduct, in every other respect, might counteract the scandal; and his confession, added to the less constant adherence of Anthony of Navarre, gave importance to the cause of Christ in the estimation of its adversaries. From this time the Reformed appear as an important body; but the fires of persecution raged as fiercely as ever. The powers of light and darkness pursued the conflict, and, in spite of prison and stake, the churches of Senlis, Chartres, Gien, Beaune in Burgundy, several in the neighbourhood of Orleans, and about sixty in Provence, were constituted.

The constitution and discipline of those churches originated in the necessities of their birth. In Paris, for example, the first Minister was elected, and that without any probation, by the people themselves. They were by no means unanimous as to the propriety of their act; but having yielded to the importunity of the person in whose house they assembled, considered themselves justified by the exigency of the time, and then, according to their best judgment, ordered their affairs "as far as possible after the example of the primitive church in the time of the Apostles." * As the society constituted itself, so was it self-governed. The popular Consistory, although in its own judgment approximating, as far as might be, to the example of an apostolic church,—an example studied in the light of Geneva, (and the Genevan discipline took its character from the republican constitution of the Swiss cantons, where the civil magistracy exercised authority in the construction of the new ecclesiastical system,)—now exhibited a remarkable departure from that model, inasmuch as the Elders were laymen, and the Deacons, instead of merely distributing the charities of the church, watched over it spiritually, together with the Elders and Ministers. The churches both in Paris and the provinces were independent, some of them receiving Ministers from those formed first, and others being supplied from Geneva. But the inconveniences of isolation were soon discovered; and a communication between societies involved in a common persecution, as well as partaking of the same faith, led to a formal union. Towards the end of the year 1558, Antoine de Chandieu

* "—il fut aussi dressé quelque petit ordre selon que les petits commencements le pouvaient porter, par l'établissement d'un Consistoire composé de quelques anciens et diacres qui veillaient sur l'église, le tout au plus près de l'exemple de l'église primitive du temps des Apôtres."—Beze, Histoire Ecclesiastique, livre i.

went from the church of Paris to that of Poitiers on an affair of discipline in which both churches were concerned, met several neighbouring Ministers, addressed a very large congregation, assisted in the celebration of "the supper," and afterwards held a conference with the Ministers alone. The doctrine, order, and discipline of their several flocks passed under consideration: germs of dissension were detected on one hand, while strong inducements to union appeared on the other. To avoid, therefore, evils that were to be feared, "the churches not being bound together, and ranged under the same yoke of order and ecclesiastical direction," the company desired Chandieu to communicate their views to the church at Paris, and "see whether there could be any means of procuring such a benefit for the churches in future, so as to avert the confusion which seemed to threaten them." He did so; and, after much correspondence with all the churches of France, and after contending with many difficulties, objections to the scheme were overcome. As a large number of Ministers and Elders might meet in Paris without being discovered more easily than in any other place, but under an explicit declaration that that church should not assume any superiority over others, the first Synod of the Reformed Churches of France met there with all possible secrecy in the night of May 26th, 1559. A Confession of Faith, and some Canons of ecclesiastical discipline, received the signatures of those present two days afterwards. The former was retained until the dispersion of the churches on the revocation of the edict of Nantes; and the latter were modified and enlarged, from time to time, during twenty-nine National Synods, holden from the year 1559 to 1659.*

The concluding articles of this Confession relate to civil government, which they believed to be ordained of God, and allowed that the civil Magistrate had authority to punish sins committed against the first table of the Decalogue, as well as against the second. "It is therefore necessary," said they, "for His sake, not only to endure the rule of superiors, but also to render them all reverence and honour, regarding them as His representatives and officers, whom He has appointed to exercise legitimate and holy charge."—"We, therefore, hold that it is necessary to obey their laws and statutes, pay tribute, imposts, and other dues, and *bear the yoke of subjection* with a good and free will, even if they should be infidels, while the sovereign empire of God remains entire. Therefore we detest those who would reject superior authorities, set up community and confusion of goods, and reverse the order of justice." They did not know that this holy principle of obedience to the powers ordained of God would soon be tested by a flagrant contempt of established order from the highest power in the realm.

The Parliament of Paris consisted of two Courts,—the "Grand Chamber," or Court of Peers, and the "Tournelle," or Criminal Court of Parliament. The former condemned persons accused of

* As complete a record as could be made of the confession, discipline, and acts of the National Synods of the French Reformed Churches, is to be found in Quick's "Synodicon in Gallià Reformatâ," two volumes, folio, written in English.

heresy with the utmost rigour, while the latter used as much lenity as consisted with the letter of edicts, and the letter of evidence, liberally interpreted. The Presidents of the Tournelle, too, were thought to have some knowledge of evangelical religion. The Clergy, the upper Chamber, and the mob, incensed at their humane decisions, demanded that the door to heresy should be no longer open, but that both Courts should act uniformly. To amend, then, the alleged irregularity, it behoved another Court to deliberate. This was the "Mercuriale," so called because it met on Wednesdays, (*dies Mercurii*,) and consisted of the Attorney-General, the King's Advocate, the Presidents of the two Chambers and subordinate Courts, and a deputation from the Councillors. Sometimes the King presided. At one of the regular sessions of the Mercuriale, on the Wednesday after Easter, in the exercise of their office, they proceeded to examine the administration of justice, and provide a remedy for any defect that might be apparent. Such defect was alleged against the Tournelle; and this introduced the question of religion, on which the Parliament of Paris, as well as other judicatures throughout the kingdom, were more and more divided every day. Several of the members, following the Councils of Constance and Basel, rather than that of Trent, thought that a more honest Council should be assembled to extirpate the errors that had sprung up in the Church; that the King should endeavour to procure a General and free Council, according to an article of a treaty of peace lately made with the King of Spain, and that, meanwhile, capital punishments for Lutheranism ought to cease. This opinion pleased some others, who advised that the penalty of death should be commuted into banishment; and others again thought that before the execution of any sentence whatever, evidence should be had that the condemned persons were really guilty of heresy, since that point had never yet been sufficiently examined. Therefore they also advised that the King should procure the convocation of a Council, to settle wherein heresy consists. A few advanced further still, and argued for a good and thorough reformation according to the word of God alone, setting aside customs, antiquity, and the sentences of men, whose judgments were often selfish, to the condemnation of the innocent. The persons persecuted in those days, as they believed, were not unable to produce reasons in justification of themselves, they appealed to the word of God, and would submit thereto. From the word of God they had argued against purgatory, saying, that there is no other purgatory than the blood of Christ: against prayer to saints they had produced commandments to worship God alone, through one only Mediator, Jesus Christ, with promises that through him we shall be heard, and so on. As to their life, it was irreproachable. The Court had witnessed the fervour of their prayers, and their constancy in suffering, which proved that God had not abandoned them, as many thought. In short, most members of the Mercuriale would either mitigate the penalties, or acquit the alleged heretics; and few thought that the severity hitherto exercised should be continued. But two of the leading members of the Grand Chamber, mortified and alarmed at the

prevalence of these humane opinions, ran to some of the courtiers whom they knew to have greatest influence over the King, and told them that many members of the Mercuriale were Lutherans, and that, if their counsels were not frustrated, there would soon be an end of the Church. They related "horrible things" that had been spoken in that debate concerning the mass, the ordinances, and the defenders of the Church. The Cardinal de Lorraine and the Constable took up the matter, advised the King to summon the Mercuriale again, and preside in person, and the 10th day of June was fixed on for the purpose.

Attended by the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the Princes of Montpensier and De la Roche, the Duke of Guise, Constable, and Cardinal Bertrand, Chancellor, the King proceeded to the Augustine monastery, where a large hall was prepared for the occasion, and made an oration on religious uniformity, as that thing which above all others he desired to establish in his kingdom; and concluded by saying, that therefore he had come to hear them investigate the present state of affairs in relation to religion, and to give their acts greater authority by his presence. Then Cardinal Bertrand invited them, in the King's name, to resume their deliberation on religion, leaving every other subject, and to express their opinions freely, whatever those opinions might be, speaking in his presence with as great liberty as in their last meeting. Fair as the challenge seemed, it did not dispel the suspicion of the more cautious; but one Councillor, Anne du Bourg, son of a Chancellor of France, and eminent for knowledge and integrity, frankly gave his mind. He thanked God for having brought the King thither, to be present at the decision of such a cause, and exhorted His Majesty to afford it aid for the sake of the Lord Jesus, whose truth above all other considerations ought to be maintained by Kings. He then descanted on the whole subject with extraordinary boldness; but when he appealed directly to the conscience of the persecutors, telling them that it was no light thing to condemn those who invoked the Saviour, even when thrown, by their sentence, into the flames, the Cardinal Bertrand gnashed his teeth with rage, the King rose, called the Cardinals aside, and, after the consultation of a moment, walked out of the room, and sent in the Captains of his guard to arrest Du Bourg, and another named Faur. To these were afterwards added three others, and all were thrown into the Bastile. Those who had advocated the cause of the persecuted, expecting to be sent to the same place, endeavoured to escape by flight, and could only elude the ban that was immediately published, by forsaking France,—six or seven excepted, who purchased life by recantation. However, the desired uniformity of administration was secured. The independence of Parliament, if it existed before, was now annihilated. Du Bourg and his brethren were shut up in the Bastile; and Henry retired from Paris to the house of the Constable at Ecouen.

Thence he sent letters-patent to the provincial Judges, commanding that all Lutherans should be destroyed, now that the conclusion of the war with Spain left him at leisure to attend to the extirpation of heresy, and offering to place military force at their disposal, if such

assistance were found necessary. He required them to report their proceedings frequently; and threatened to make examples of any who should show pity to the heretics. The Judges were ready to display zeal in the performance of his pleasure, and some more persons were burnt; but the Reformed put their trust in the promises of God, and sought deliverance from their enemies in prayer.

Respite, if not deliverance, was to be granted, but not by man. Henry had just married his daughter Elisabeth to Philip II., and his sister was promised to the Duke of Savoy. For celebration of those glad events, the court and the city were preparing for great festivities, and Henry returned to Paris to enjoy them, having ordered a tournament of three days in the street St. Antoine, which was made use of on such occasions from its vicinity to the palace then occupied by the Kings of France. After tilting bravely in the morning with many gentlemen amidst the applause of the spectators, after dinner he invited Count Montgomery, one of the most adroit, to break a lance with him. The Count consented with great reluctance; the Queen entreated Henry to engage no more, but rest for that day, for she had been troubled with ill dreams. A boding of danger to the King rested in the minds of some others. The Duke of Savoy joined in the dissuasion; but he persisted in his purpose, and called for a lance, saying, "I will only run this once," and entered the lists with Montgomery. Their shock was observed to be unusually violent; the King fell from his horse, was taken up speechless and carried into the palace. The lance had entered his eye and pierced the brain; and, after lying speechless ten or eleven days, he expired. Then, when he had lost both sight and life, it was remembered that he had sworn to see the offending members of the Mercuriale burnt before his face; and it was scarcely less remarkable that he fell under the fatal stroke just opposite the Bastile where those gentlemen were imprisoned, and that the hall of nuptial festivity was changed into a chamber of mourning. As if to place a last note of condemnation on the departed Monarch, the persons who laid his body in state threw over it a piece of tapestry embroidered with a representation of St. Paul's conversion; and the visiters were observed to fix their attention on this sentence, wrought in large letters, "*Saule, Saule, quare me persequeris?*" "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" They removed that piece, and put another in its stead; but the sentence had taken wing, and resounded throughout France. A persecutor had fallen, by the judgment of God, as many thought; and the Reformed hoped for protection under another Sovereign.

Those hopes, however, were not realized. Catherine, the Queen-Mother, had been regarded as less hostile, if not favourable, to their cause; and Francis II., a boy of fifteen years, was thought likely to be governed by her counsels. But the Guises, bitter bigots, managed to get possession of his person; Catherine had little power, and the reins of government were grasped by the very men who had instigated the deceased Monarch to his worst deeds of cruelty. Now they engaged the young King to pursue the same course, and obtained letters-patent appointing Judges to try the cause of Du Bourg and his

fellow-Councillors, and hasten their execution. The brothers of Du Bourg, who had come to Paris to watch the course of the prosecution, and engage others to interest themselves in his behalf, were commanded to quit the capital; the Commissioners were men of bad character, and his inveterate enemies, and against them he appealed. The appeal was accepted; but merely in order to invest his condemnation with a show of justice. An Advocate, appointed to plead in his defence, served to solicit him to submit to the authority of the Church, and renounce his faith. They even reported that he had done so; but a letter from his own hand, addressed to his brethren, and a confession of faith presented to the King and to the Parliament, undeceived the public. During the delay occasioned by judicial formalities, the Protestants spared no effort to obtain his release. Some wrote letters to the Queen-Mother, to the King of Navarre,—now come to Paris, as Prince of the blood, to take part in the affairs of government,—to the Prince of Condé, and to others who either agreed with them in Christian faith or were favourably disposed. The Queen and others were willing to encourage hope in so numerous a body as the Huguenots had now become. Condé earnestly employed his influences; but the faction of the Guises, at length become dominant, resolved on the execution of Du Bourg. A report that his friends had combined to extricate him from the Bastile served as a pretext for shutting him in an iron cage, with scarcely room to stretch his limbs. There they fed him with bread and water, and prohibited all communication. In that durance he consoled himself with prayer, singing the praises of God, and playing on his lute. Meanwhile sentence was still delayed by means of an appeal to the Pope, from whom, by dint of perseverance and bribes, his brothers had obtained a Bull of evocation, transferring the case to Rome. Their hope was to get him out of custody by that means, and help him to escape into Germany instead of going to Italy; but he would not consent to purchase liberty, or even life, by acknowledging the authority of the Pontiff. Henry, Count Palatine, also, sent Ambassadors to the King to ask for Du Bourg to serve him in the University of Heidelberg; but the Cardinal of Guise, aware of their approach, hastened the death of the victim, lest the King should be persuaded to accede to that request, and had him taken from the Bastile to the Conciergerie, or city-prison, and degraded from Deacon's orders, to be delivered to the secular arm. They reserved him until Christmas (A.D. 1559), at which season it was usual to bring the most notorious criminals to execution, but especially the Calvinists; and then he was brought out to die. On the Saturday before that festival, the dark dungeon of the Bastile gave up its captive. A formidable guard of four hundred foot-soldiers, and upwards of two hundred horse, drew up in the street where Henry II. had met his death; the outer gate was unfolded, and between ranks of guards within the court came forth the honest Christian Councillor, who had so often refused every effort of friendship, and resisted every inducement that the guile of enemies could conceive of, to purchase life at the cost of conscience. A cart stood ready to take him away; but before going into it he turned to his

Judges, who had just read the final sentence, and said: "Now do you extinguish those fires, and, after having left your wicked life, turn to God, that he may pardon you your sins. 'Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.' As for you, Councillors, may you live and be happy; but always think on God, and the things which are of God. For my part, I am freely going to suffer death." No one knew in what direction the strong escort would move; for at every spot where it was usual to burn heretics faggots had been piled, and stakes planted, so as to divide the multitude, and distract any who might endeavour to rescue him by force. They conducted him to St. Jean en Grêve, and encircled the spot on which he stood waiting in silence to undergo the sentence, for he had promised not to address the people. He only interrupted his prayer to say one sentence,—that he was about to die for the cause of the Gospel, not for any offence against society. Then he threw off his outer garments, offered up this last petition: "Lord, leave me not, lest I should leave thee," and presented his neck to the hangman. He was strangled, and his body reduced to ashes.

While his case was pending, protracted only by formalities consequent on his position as a Councillor of Parliament, the work of murdering the confessors of Christ went on pitilessly. As if the edict of Ecouen, last mentioned, had not been sufficient, another (September 4th), and yet another (November 14th), urged the servile, or the blood-thirsty, Magistrates to new atrocities. Every house wherein an assembly was detected was to be rased to the ground; every person found there to be burnt to death; no one convicted of any shade of heresy was to be spared.

To feed the flame of popular fury the most outrageous calumnies were circulated. False witnesses deposed, that they had made their way into nocturnal meetings, and seen the heretics begin impure banquets by eating roasted pigs in derision of the Paschal Lamb, sacrifice children, and then, extinguishing the lights, abandon themselves to excesses that pen cannot describe. The Chancellor Olivier, a tried friend of the sufferers, clearly disproved the perjury, and traced it to its source; but that did not avail. Poor young Francis wrote to the Parliament that punishments enough could not be invented for infliction on such criminals. Houses were broken open on the slightest suspicion, whole families dragged to prison, pursued by the hootings of the mob, and from prison to the flames, having their tongues cut out, lest they should criminate the murderers, or enlighten the people. Violent death became so common, and so unsparing was the rage of Judges and executioners, that little children talked of it familiarly, and fortified each other against fear. Those who fancied themselves to be suspected abandoned their houses, and fled at night or in disguise; the minions of authority entered the empty habitations, and took inventories of abandoned property. The streets were filled with carts removing stolen furniture; corners and alleys were choked up with moveables exposed for sale; troops of armed men dragged

parents and children away to prison; whole blocks of building remained without inhabitant; the affluent were pauperised in a day, and robbers grew rich upon the spoil. Infants and little children, who might have encumbered flight, were left behind to plead by their helplessness for pity. But humanity was extinct; not even the instinct of compassion had survived, and they wept life away on the stones of the street. Nay, none could dare to take up a babe stained with parental heresy. Images were erected in the streets, and whoever passed by without showing a gesture of reverence, was liable to be assailed and murdered on the spot. Wretches cried "Lutheran," to set the rabble on persons with whom they had quarrelled. The hearths of martyrdom never cooled. The horrid swing moved incessantly, suspending racked and half-living bodies over the red flames. Every pulpit rang with incentives to the tumultuary crusades. Shouts of threatening, wailings of anguish, exclamations of terror resounded throughout the land; but at last, when the majesty of a Parliament fell with Du Bourg the martyr, when the last remnant of judicial dignity and public freedom was seen to be trampled on by a faction, —that faction being in possession of the throne, the tribunals, the prisons, the dwellings of the people,—God permitted long-slumbering vengeance to awaken, and made the perpetrators and abettors of that tyranny suffer the retribution of a civil war.

The best men in France began to consider within themselves by what means they could overthrow such a government, consistently with their duty to their country, to the throne, and to God. Often in the confidence of friendship, and of brotherhood in suffering, small companies, unconscious of the thoughts of those at a distance, would dare to ask each other if there were no remedy, no method of defence. Some of the most eminent lawyers and theologians in France and Germany were then consulted, and they gave it as their judgment that since the Guises had usurped the government, it would be lawful to take up arms against them, provided that the Princes of the blood, as born Magistrates, or one of them, would undertake the cause; and especially if that were done at request of the States of France, or of a sound part of them. But the usurpers were careful that those States should not assemble. They agreed that it would be useless, and worse than useless, to address the King, who, although legally of age, was in reality a minor, and in their power, as well as the Queen-Mother. The only effectual measure would be to seize on their persons, and then to convoke the States-General, and call the Guises to account for illegal administration. And they also agreed that the management of such an enterprise could only be intrusted to men of sound religious principle, and uninfluenced by either hatred or ambition. Such an one was Louis of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, to whom the project was communicated, with an entreaty that he would endeavour to prevent the ruin of the King and of all the state. After mature consideration, aided by the opinions of the most learned men as to the rights of Princes of the blood, he employed trustworthy persons to examine the charges brought against the Guises, that he might resolve on the course which, in conscience, he ought to pursue.

This being done, it became evident to Condé that it would be his duty to the King, considering his youth, and inability to think or act with independence, to seize on the persons of Francis Duke of Guise, and of Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, and bring them to account for their misconduct. But, considering that they had all the power of the kingdom in their hands, to arrest them seemed to be impracticable. While Condé was thus pondering the matter, a gentleman named Godefroy du Barry, Baron of Renaudie, came to him as an accredited representative of his correspondents. He had suffered, unjustly, fine and imprisonment; after his liberation had spent some time in Switzerland, and then returned to his estate in France. Him Condé ventured to employ as secret agent to confer with his friends in various parts of France, and concert a scheme of simultaneous action. In short, it was determined to seize on the person of the King during a progress through the country for the benefit of his health. A large number of nobility and commoners congregated with amazing secrecy, and they were gradually approaching Blois, an open town where the court then was, when a man, to whom Renaudie had divulged the secret, made it known to the Cardinal of Lorraine. The court could scarcely believe so daring a project to be possible; but they removed to Amboise, a small place on the opposite bank of the Loire, a few miles distant, possessing a strong castle on the summit of the hill, and persuaded the Queen-Mother to write to the Admiral, Coligny, and to D'Andelot, persons likely to abet the conspiracy, and require their immediate attendance on the King. They came readily; and when told of the rumour of a rebellion, Coligny plainly said that the violence of the administration had provoked those discontents, which could only be allayed by the immediate publication of an edict granting liberty of conscience, and promising to refer the disputed question of religion to a general and free Council. The Chancellor Olivier supported the proposal; and consequently an edict was hastily drawn up, registered in the Parliament of Paris, and made public, granting pardon of all crimes touching religion, excepting, however, all the Preachers, and several others; and commanding Judges not to proceed against those who "lived thenceforth as good Catholics, faithful and obedient children of the Church:" that is to say, to release those who were in custody, but to proceed again with active persecution as soon as the alarm should have passed away. They did enough to show the Reformed that they were neither impervious to fear nor capable of mercy: while a secret Act (*arrêt*) of the Parliament determining that the edict, when it came to be carried into execution for the future, should be reconsidered, is evidence that they were incapable of good faith. Then came the attempt and failure of the "conspiracy of Amboise." * On the morning of March 17th, 1560, a man who had pledged his faith to the conspirators came to the Queen, and told her that parties lay concealed in the surrounding woods and neighbouring villages, ready to take the castle by surprise at an

* So called by the Guises, and by Romanists generally. The Reformed say "the *tumult* of Amboise," and so does Thuanus. His twenty-fifth book opens with "Amboisiano tumultu sedato," &c.

appointed hour, and make prisoners of the royal persons and the court. The Duke of Guise instantly took measures of defence. The Prince of Condé himself, who had recently arrived, and would have welcomed the assailants, was appointed to take part in the defence, but associated with another officer strongly attached to the faction of the Guises; ambuscades were placed near the ways which the informer had described, and such parties of horse or foot as could be spared went out to intercept the leaders whom he had named. They took several prisoners, brought them into the castle, and hanged them on the battlements. An attack made on the castle, the next day, failed; the Guises were furious, and caused the amnesty just published to be revoked. Their soldiers massacred or delivered to the execution all whom they could overtake. Gibbets crowded the market-place of Amboise, the streets ran with blood, scores of dead bodies floated down the Loire. Nearly twelve hundred men were beheaded, hanged, or drowned. The Baron of Castelnau and fifteen other gentlemen were reserved for torture, notwithstanding that the Duke of Nemours, to whom he surrendered, had promised him, "on the faith of a Prince," and under his own signature, that he and his companions should suffer no harm. Under the terrible question they could not be made to divulge a single name, nor vary from the single declaration that the conspiracy was directed against the Guises alone. In possession of Castelnau and on the body of Renaudie they found papers containing the plan of the "associates," and protestations that the person and authority of the King were to be respected, and "nothing in any way attempted against the King's Majesty, nor the Princes of the blood; but only, by the help of God, to restore the government to its first state, and cause the ancient customs of France to be observed."

Castelnau defended himself admirably. Nemours pleaded his own pledge on his behalf. Coligny and D'Andelot did their utmost to save him. The Queen-Mother went to the apartments of the Duke of Guise and his Cardinal brother, to entreat them to spare his life; but all in vain. "By the *sang de Dieu*," said the Cardinal, "he shall die: the man breathes not in France who shall save him." Castelnau and his fifteen friends were placed on a scaffold opposite the castle. The young King, his Queen Mary Stuart, Queen Catherine, with her Princes and Princesses, the Duchess of Guise, and ladies of the court, occupied the castle windows and balconies to see the execution. The condemned gentlemen knelt down and prayed, appealing to God to attest the justice of their cause. Head after head rolled on the scaffold. Villemorgue, one of the fifteen, when it came to his turn, dipped his hands in the blood of his brethren, and raising them to heaven, cried aloud, "Lord, behold the blood of thy children most unjustly slain! Thou wilt take vengeance!" The Duchess, on hearing this, shrieked with horror, sprang from her seat and ran to her apartment, whither the Queen followed her after the spectacle was over, found her in an agony of tears; and on asking why she lamented in so strange a fashion, received for answer, "Alas, Madam, have I not cause? I have seen the shedding of innocent blood,—blood of the best and most faithful

subjects the King ever had. I fear that some heavy curse will fall on our house, and that God will destroy us, in vengeance for this barbarity." The Chancellor Olivier, who had signed their condemnation, suddenly awoke to a sense of his own guilt, rushed to his chamber, flung himself on his bed, and gave way to a frenzy of despair, reproaching God that ever he was born. Lorraine, hearing of his anguish, went to console him; but he would not be comforted. Turning on his bed, he hid his face, that he might not see the man; and as he left the room, the wretched Chancellor exclaimed, "Ha, cursed Cardinal, you have damned us all!" In two days he died. The Cardinal also endeavoured to assuage the distress of Condé, whom he found weeping, and whose countenance during the execution had betrayed intense grief. But Condé would not thus be comforted. He denounced the proceedings of the King's Ministers as infamous, and stung the Priest with words that he never could forget.

After this brief, and necessarily incomplete, statement of imprisonments, burnings, confiscations, and massacres, and after being informed that even to collect the names of the martyrs who passed through the usual formalities of trial and execution, suffered under new inventions of cruelty, and bore witness to a work of divine grace in their souls with a constancy not inferior to any that is recorded in the martyrologies of Christendom, what will the reader think of the following judgment of the Jesuit Sforza Pallavicini, whom Pope Alexander VII. rewarded with a Cardinal's hat for his literary service to the Church? "Heresy, at that time (A.D. 1559), left not a stone unturned to diffuse itself throughout the Catholic provinces; but, by the religious care of Princes, was repressed at once. On its sectaries various kinds of death (*varia—supplicia*) were therefore inflicted as well in France as in Spain; but in France *more remissly*, for there the reins of government were held in the feeble hands of a child and of a woman. In Spain more vigorously, all foul blood being drawn out of the wound; and therefore there was no indulgence shown to nobility of race, weakness of sex, nor dignity of rank. For that disease (*scabies*) had infected some of the Spaniards, in consequence of correspondence with the Germans under Charles, and with the English under Philip. Heresy, by the sweet poison of licence, became exceeding dangerous, and sometimes, by contact, even to the physicians themselves. And therefore severity was *pious*, not only towards Heaven, but even towards the state; since, for the drops of blood then shed in Spain, thence ever afterwards kept safe, France, *through the fault of a more tender surgeon*, poured rivers of blood from all her veins." * At what period of Gallic history the Surgeons of the Church were tender, we have not yet ascertained. The truth is, that in France there has been, from the times of the Albigenses, a tradition of Gospel truth, a traditionary resistance to the Church of Rome, and almost incessant persecution of the children of God.

With the affair of Amboise those rivers of blood began to flow. The history of the civil wars concerns us only as they were occasioned by religious persecution. We must observe their general progress at a

* Hist. Concil. Trident., lib. xiv., cap. xi., sec. 2.

distance, but approach more nearly to describe some principal events.

The country was divided into parties, and the court into factions. The Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine, with their adherents, ruled France, and fought against every sort of reformation. Catherine, unable to extricate herself out of the toils of such a domination, first endeavoured to weaken them by supporting the Prince of Condé, the Admiral, and the King of Navarre, whom the Reformed considered as on their side; but she betrayed them all in the end, and was herself more completely entangled in consequence of her own dissimulation. Every one saw that something should be done to save the kingdom; but there was no national assembly. The States-General had not met for more than eighty years: the Guises feared to summon them; and the advocates of religious liberty, not daring to hope for sufficient influence in such a body, did not venture to urge its immediate convocation. With the concurrence, however, of both parties, letters patent were issued in the King's name, to convene the Princes of the blood, the Ministers of the crown, and several of the chief nobility and Knights, at Fontainebleau. Thither the young King arrived; not attended, as formerly, with his court alone, but surrounded by a strong military force. The Duke of Guise had another force in reserve in the neighbourhood. The Constable and his sons rode to the castle attended by eight hundred volunteers, and after them followed another company of nine hundred. Coligny was there; but Condé, by previous agreement, remained away, as did Anthony of Navarre, who was perhaps afraid to come. The King presided, opening the assembly by a speech, and desiring every person present to speak freely. Catherine delivered a lengthy harangue, the leading personages gave statements of the condition of the country, the revenue, and the army, and the meeting adjourned (August 21st, 1560). At their second sitting Coligny, kneeling, presented two papers to the King, and said that, having been sent into Normandy by His Majesty's orders to inquire into the cause of troubles which agitated that province, he had found that the first and main reason was persecution on account of religion. The papers, one addressed to the King, and the other to the Queen, were of similar tenor, and contained a petition "on behalf of the faithful of France, who desired to live according to the Gospel Reformation." The prayer of this petition was for an equitable administration of justice, and defence against calumny, violence, and outrage, with "temples" of their own, wherein they might assemble, during day-light, and peaceably, to hear the word of God, pray for the prosperity of the state, and receive the holy sacraments as ordained by Jesus Christ. They offered free submission to the laws; and professed themselves content that any should be punished as seditious and rebellious who assembled in any other than the appointed places, or in any way proceeded contrary to the public peace. They even proposed to pay larger tributes than the rest of His Majesty's subjects, in gratitude for the desired liberty, even so restricted, and in testimony of their loyalty. After an earnest debate, continued through three sittings, in which the Duke and

Cardinal displayed great violence, and the Admiral rejoined with equal warmth, the assembly resolved that the States-General should be immediately assembled; and that, as the Pope delayed to summon a General Council,—for the Tridentine fathers had been dispersed for more than eight years,—an assembly of Bishops should be convened for the 16th of January, 1561, either to communicate with a General Council, should there be one, or to deliberate on the assemblage of a National Council, to treat of ecclesiastical reform.

Between this meeting and that of the States-General at Orleans four months would intervene, and be the period of preparation for a great struggle. The Court, the Clergy, and the Popish majority of France, calculated on defeating, perhaps destroying, the Huguenots,* who hastened to provide themselves with some defence by collecting money from the rapidly-multiplying churches, and raising troops. Missives to the Clergy required them to be more diligent in the repression of Calvinism, as true Christianity was called. The Cardinal, for example, wrote to the Bishop of Montpellier, praying him to bear in mind that the time was come for the Church to defend herself, and not spare any of the means or powers she possessed for resisting the injuries and insolence of those seditious wretches; and charged him, from the King, to keep his eyes open, that there might be no unlawful assemblies or prohibited preachings in his diocese. To help the Bishop in keeping his diocese, the Count de Villars had force at hand, with commandment from His Majesty "to cut to pieces all persons who might forget themselves on that point." Many persons were cruelly put to death. The mobs were ferocious; but the churches assumed an attitude of unyielding constancy. Soldiers were employed to drive women and children to mass, and Magistrates enforced the administration of baptism by the hands of Priests; but such measures only aggravated the general disaffection to the administration of the Duke of Guise as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. His brother, the Cardinal, conceived a plan for making an end of the Huguenots at a single stroke. The Faculty of Theology at Paris had drawn up a Confession of Faith (A.D. 1543) for signature by their members, who were to conform to it in their sermons; and Francis I. had issued letters patent declaring seditious all of the laity who dogmatized contrary thereto, either in public or in private. This Confession had fallen into desuetude; but the Cardinal proposed to act on it again. From every province he had lists of the Huguenots, commonly known as such, or discovered by his spies; and the application of this test was intended to bring them to the stake. During the sitting of the States-General this formula was to be produced, and first receive the signature of the King. The great officers of state, the nobility, and the knights, were then to append theirs, and swear not only to observe it for themselves, but to

* It was about this time that the word came into use. Like most popular appellations of contempt, it is of uncertain origin. The most plausible conjecture is, that it was derived from one King Hugo, whose ghost was said to roam the streets at night. And as the Calvinists went to their meetings at night, they might be called "Huguenots" (*hobgoblins*) in derision.

spare neither father, mother, wife, brother, sister, relative, nor friend, who should refuse conformity. They calculated that Coligny, D'Andelot, and many others, would refuse to submit; and the King was requested to degrade and deliver to death all recusants, and have them burnt alive next day, without any form of judgment. The Chancellor was commanded to have the test applied to the officers of law, the Bishops were to impose it on the Clergy, the Queen was to require the like submission of all the ladies of the household, and every person in the kingdom was to be called on to signify conformity. Delighted with the scheme, Lorraine called it his "mouse-trap;" and as the cat gambols over her helpless prey, so did he disport himself in the imagination of a general slaughter, such as France had never seen. "And as the prisons of Orleans did not seem to be sufficiently large or sure, nor yet those of Loches, Bourges, and other towns, to contain so large a number of marked persons of all classes, workmen were employed everywhere to put the prisons in order, and to make new ones. Among others, the great tower of St. Aignan was furnished with iron gratings, and fortified, to receive the principal persons of Orleans, as was another in the neighbourhood, intended for the Admiral and his brothers, whence it was afterwards called 'the Admiral's tower.'"

But the Cardinal's trap, however capacious, and cleverly set, would not take all the mice. Beyond the French boundary, on the Navarrese territory, there would yet remain alive powerful supporters of the Reformation. The King of Navarre himself, and the Prince of Condé, his brother, who had withdrawn to Bearn instead of venturing to the meeting at Fontainebleau, were also to be caught. As for Condé, it would not be difficult to make out a charge of conspiracy against him. La Sague, his secretary, who had represented him at Fontainebleau, having confided some part of the secret to a false friend, was arrested on his return thence at Estampes, and carried, with his papers, to court. Overcome by fear of torture, he had confessed to a wide-spread conspiracy, and, by bathing the cover of a letter in water, gave ocular evidence of a scheme prepared by Condé and his friends for seizing on some important towns, occupying Picardy, Brittany, and Provence, and getting possession of Paris itself. Intelligence that the south was in open insurrection soon confirmed the disclosure of La Sague; troops were sent into the disaffected provinces; the King was persuaded to write to Anthony of Navarre, whose share in the insurrection was undoubted, yet not openly avowed, to bring Condé to court, that he might clear himself from charges laid against him, as they said, from all parts of the kingdom. Francis wrote to his uncle, counterfeiting the language of confidence and affection, and entreating him to bring his brother forthwith to Fontainebleau, assuring the weak-minded King that he had no other desire than to find Condé innocent, and see him honourably acquitted; and, moreover, that he would not intrust the execution of so delicate, yet important, a service, to any one but himself. Every conceivable method of persuasion was employed by the bearer of the letter, under the instructions, also, of Catherine, that he should

overcome the reluctance of the Princes, or awaken their fears in the event of a refusal. Their appearance at court, it was said, would restore confidence. Refusal to appear would bring down on Navarre a hostile and irresistible invasion. Anthony was charged with abetting a conspiracy, and sheltering the chief conspirator. His conduct would either show innocence or guilt, and determine the fate of himself and of his little kingdom. *The royal word was given* that no evil should befall them in France.

Navarre and Condé fell into the snare, and entered France. Warlike preparations of both parties, the Guise government and the oppressed provinces, everywhere met their view. Coldly-rendered honours, and friendly intreaties to return, equally served to indicate the peril that awaited them. A body of French cavalry, under the name of a guard of honour, received them into custody. Many of their friends, even including some ladies, were arrested. Seven or eight hundred Huguenot gentlemen, armed and mounted, had met the King, and asked him to place himself at their head, and espouse the cause of the persecuted churches, offering large and ready reinforcements; but he hesitated, and then rejected the offer. They besought him to leave Condé with them as their chief, and, if he would go, proceed alone; but he refused. They withdrew disheartened. Francis advanced, with his courtiers, to meet them at Orleans; but as they approached that city, they found no welcome, and even the population had deserted the ways. Soldiers alone occupied the gates, manned the walls, and lined the streets. Between lines of military, who insulted them as they passed, they went to a house where Francis awaited their arrival. The salute due to royalty was withheld. They were bidden to dismount outside the gate; and, like men already in the fangs of a destroyer, half-sinking under a weight of dread, they found their way into his presence. Condé soon heard a torrent of reproaches, and then, arrested by the Captain of the guards, was thrown into prison. Navarre was detained under observation; and many attempts were afterwards made to get rid of him by assassination, but they successively came to nought.

The chief of the Huguenots, and of all who desired civil liberty for France, being in prison, a commission was appointed to conduct his trial and hand him over to the executioner. The Sovereign Prince of the half-reformed state that, lying between France and Spain, now lay at the mercy of enemies in both countries, was scarcely less distant from the scaffold. Both gave themselves up for lost. The 26th day of November was appointed for the execution of Condé. Efforts, indeed, were made to save him, and the Chancellor delayed to sign the sentence; but nothing was foreseen that could deliver him from death. The 10th of December following, appointed for the assemblage of the States-General, was expected to be the date of another sentence; and, after sentence, death would not linger many hours. The test above mentioned would then be presented for universal signature; and, under one grand renunciation, and one grand martyrdom, the long-persecuted cause of Christianity, it was calculated, would expire.

A counter-stroke of Providence quashed this calculation. Eight days before the intended execution of the Prince, the King, not yet seventeen years of age, was seized with a sudden heaviness in the head as he was attending vespers. He fainted, and was carried to his chamber. A disease from which he had for some time suffered, rapidly grew worse, and the Physicians declared that they knew of no remedy. The Guises, foreseeing the downfal of their power on his decease,—since the regency of the kingdom during a minority would fall to a Prince of the blood, and the King of Navarre, whom God had shielded from swords ready drawn by themselves for his assassination, would hold the reins of government,—quickened preparations for a civil war, and an invasion of Navarre. Commissions were issued for levying new troops, all the recruits to be certified, by the parish Priests, as "true Catholics," lest the army, or any part of it, should refuse to act against the Huguenots. These, also, accelerated the enlistment of considerable forces in self-defence; and the party dominant began to tremble lest the death of the King should render all their armament of no effect, and the Duke and Cardinal change places with the condemned Princes. Again they endeavoured to murder Navarre. The dying King himself consented to provoke him to a quarrel in his chamber. Navarre was summoned thither, and, in spite of many remonstrances from persons who had overheard the plot, he went. The door was shut. The King tried to ensnare him by bitter words of provocation. The dagger was prepared, as if to avenge a word that might sound insolent to majesty. But God preserved him from passion, and the plot failed.

While the Duke attempted those means, the Cardinal bestirred himself in another way, exhorting people to make pilgrimages to holy places, and vows to saints, and ordered processions of Priests and Monks. The preachers, especially in Paris, bade the multitude pray that the King's life might be spared, until he had finished the work begun, and exterminated the vile heretics, enemies of the Roman Church, and cause of all the calamities of France, and all the evils of the world, and not to disappoint them of their hope, as they had once been disappointed by the sudden death of good King Henry. Litanies resounded through the streets, relics were exhibited, and Francis himself, whose languid hand had just been withheld from the murder of his "good uncle," made a vow to God, to all the saints of paradise, both male and female, and especially to "Our Lady of Cléry," that if they would be pleased to restore him to health, he would never cease until he had cleansed France from wicked heretics; and prayed that if ever he pitied wife, mother, brother, sister, relative, or friend, if even the least tainted with suspicion, God would take his life away. In spite of all, the disease grew worse and worse. The Reformed, also, had recourse to prayer. They proclaimed a fast, and gave themselves to incessant supplication. Their petitions were that God would please to withdraw his chastisement and fierce displeasure; assuage the violence of the enemies of the Gospel around the person of the King; deign to show himself defender of his Church, saving her from the hands of her enemies; dissipate by his wondrous mercy

—since there was no earthly helper—the designs of the conspirators, as he had made foolish the counsel of Ahithophel; and give to the King sound health and good counsels, that their souls might be preserved in patience. Thus did prayers ascend to the mercy-seat of heaven, and thus did the orgies of a mad idolatry surround its altars.

Meanwhile the King rapidly approached his end; and the Queen-Mother, looking to her own security, now began to court the favour of Navarre, whom she had aided to beguile into the hands of his enemies, but whom she expected to see raised to power. The physicians and surgeons were accused by the Priests of being in league with the Huguenots to kill their patient. They proposed desperate measures, yet feared to use them; and on the 5th of December, five days before the intended assemblage of the States, Francis II. breathed his last. The Guises fled from court, and shut themselves up, trembling with terror. Catherine advised them to make up a sort of reconciliation with the King of Navarre, who, always timorous, feared to assume his full prerogative, and, instead of being Regent, accepted the office of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, leaving the regency to be settled. None but his widow, Mary Stuart, was known to mourn for the departed Sovereign. Catherine and the Guises were so busy in looking after their own affairs, that they left any who chose to direct the obsequies and funeral. Of all the Lords assembled at Orleans, only two made their appearance at the grave; and of all the Prelates, only one blind Bishop had a sufficient sense of decency to join them. Condé, after a few days, came out of prison, not to suffer as a traitor, but to take a chief part in the struggle for religious liberty.

Charles IX., a child of ten years and a half, ascended the throne of France on the decease of his brother. His uncle, Anthony of Navarre, professedly a Huguenot, but destitute of personal religion, had already disappointed the hopes of the Reformed. He consented to be second to the Queen-Mother, and her assumption of the regency was soon ratified by a majority of the States-General. The future course of Navarre will be so insignificant, that we shall say little of him. Before twelve months had expired from this time, he and his Queen * had sent an "orator" to Rome, to place their kingdom under the protection of the Pope. In the States-General, assembled at Orleans (from December 13th to January 31st), much dissatisfaction was manifested towards the Clergy by the nobles and commoners; and in the course of warm debates it became evident that the national voice demanded "liberty of conscience," or, as we should now more correctly speak, "liberty of worship." Encouraged by changes at court, and emboldened by the freedom of the lay estates, the principal Ministers of the Reformed churches met at Orleans at the same time, were introduced by Navarre to the Council of Government, and

* But his Queen did not renounce her faith. She was a devout and consistent Protestant to the last hour of her life. There can be little doubt but her death was by poison. And as for her share in placing Navarre under Papal protection, it was but nominal.

presented a petition to the King for participation in civil privileges, and for *temples* * in which to exercise religious worship. The Chancellor de l'Hôpital and the Admiral Coligny supported the demand; and a secret order from the Government to the Parliament of Paris (January 7th, 1561), directed the release of all persons imprisoned on account of religion. A public order was also sent to the royal Judges (April 19th), in the King's name, to check zealot Lent-preachers, and protect the Reformed from the outrages usually committed at that season; commanding, 1. That people should not be allowed to call each other by the injurious names of Huguenot or Papist. 2. That no one should violate the security that every man ought to enjoy in his own house, or in that of his friend. 3. That no one, under pretext of executing preceding decrees prohibitive of unlawful assemblies, should take upon himself to enter houses in search of small companies of people; but that this should be left to the judicial authorities. And, 4. That all persons then in prisons on account of religion should be set at liberty; and that those who had left their homes on the same account should be free to return, and have possession of their property, under condition of living "as Catholics," and without causing scandal.

But before the publication of these instructions to the Judges, the Parliament of Paris had issued an order (March 31st), prohibiting all persons, of whatever state and condition, to make preachings or sermons, or to hold meetings, or be present at meetings, but go to their parish churches, and other accustomed places, and hear sermons there, under pain of being declared guilty of lese-majesty, with confiscation of the houses wherein such meetings had been holden. This order was not obeyed; but the simultaneous publication of rival edicts not only indicated great confusion of powers in the Legislature and Executive, but foreboded those fearful scenes that the historians of this reign have described. At Paris and in the provinces the Reformed congregated for worship; and this sudden demonstration of liberty exasperated their enemies beyond measure.

Foreign intervention, tumultuary force, and judiciary prosecutions were means whereby the Papists hoped to resist the apprehended influx of heresy.

The first expedient was too perilous to be tried by any but the Clergy; and even of them, only the least eminent and responsible would venture to commit themselves. Some Doctors of the Sorbonne, and other zealous clerks, resolved to hazard an application to the King

* In the common language of France, as in that of western Christendom during the earlier centuries, *temple* is used to signify a place of divine worship, when the speaker, expressing himself in the elevated style of poetry or oratory, wishes to convey the single idea of worship of God. But in the religious nomenclature, when ecclesiastical or political distinctions are marked by conventional appellatives, *temple* means a building occupied by congregations of "pretended Reformed," and is limited to them alone, or to Heathens, by the careful speaker, who bestows the appropriate and honourable name *église*, or "church," on those edifices which he acknowledges to be employed for Christian worship. Thus writes Alberti, (Grand Dictionnaire,) "On ne donne guère le nom de temple aux églises des Chrétiens, si ce n'est en poësie et dans le style soutenu; il ne faut cependant excepter les lieux où les prétendus reformés s'assemblent pour l'exercice de leur religion."

of Spain to interfere for the deliverance of France from the heresy that he had so completely suppressed within his own dominions.* One Artus Désiré, a vivacious Priest, already distinguished within his own circle as a rhymester, was selected as Envoy Extraordinary to Philip II., furnished with a memorial engrossed on vellum, and having embarked on the Loire, at Orleans, in a boat for Tours, trusted to follow the course of the river and the fortune of the ocean, so as to find a Spanish port, and reach the presence of the most zealous and devoted Sovereign of whom Popedom could ever boast. But a painter in the service of the Queen-Mother betrayed the secret of the poet, who was arrested, brought on shore with his despatch, and, instead of appearing before Philip, found himself in the presence of Charles. The authors of the document addressed the Spaniard as "Dear Sire, Most Catholic King, thrice Christian Prince, elect by the grace of God." They were entirely assured of his most Christian pleasure to vanquish and chastise, correct and punish, all persons fugitive and banished from the congregation of true Catholics. At the request of these true Catholics, and on behalf of His Majesty's most humble and obedient clergy, citizens, merchants, and common people of the city and University of Paris, as yet preserved by the special grace of God from the venomous and mortiferous Lutheran poison, they approached His Most Noble and Most Sacred Majesty, to supplicate, request, and most humbly pray, that, of his good grace and accustomed clemency, he would aid and defend their holy and fruitful Christianity, to the honour, glory, and praise of God and all His blessed saints and saintesses in Paradise. The aid and succour they required was against the Magistrates and Governors of France, who were giving such favour, power, and authority to the enemies of their Catholic faith: so that all the faithful expected a swift approach of trouble, sedition, and sanguinary death among Christians, unless preserved, by the mercy of God and the King of Spain, from a calamity surpassing all calamities that had ever befallen the world since the day of its creation. The despatch then took the shape of a sermon, adorned with citations from the Gospel, from "Monsieur St. Paul," and from the Prophets, and St. Augustine; and closed with renewed appeal for his safeguard and protection. The culprit Désiré was threatened with death.† He wrote petitions to the King and Queen Catherine, asking to be favoured, by way of mercy, with condemnation to the gallows, rather than the block. The Parliament of Paris made him beg their pardon

* The Duke of Alva, then at the head of the government, threatened the persons whom Catherine sent to Madrid to explain that she had yielded the Colloquy of Poissy to *necessity*, not to the Calvinists, that Philip would send Spanish soldiers into France to put down heresy, unless she fulfilled her duty by doing so herself. Many French nobles were in secret correspondence with the Council of Castile.—Thuani Hist., lib. xxviii.

† This Désiré was a favourite of the Parisian Clergy. Under their authority he printed a book, containing such rhymes as the following:—

"Tailler tu te feras image de quelque chose que ce soit,
Si honneur lui fais et hommage ton Dieu gran plaisir en reçoit."

"Thou mayest make unto thyself an image out of any thing; and if thou givest it honour and worship, God will take great pleasure in it." Thus, as they read the commandment, it was done into verse by Désiré.

on his knees, bare-headed, without shoes, and with a taper in his hand, and committed him to the gentler detention of a Carthusian convent, whence he soon came forth again. Treason, when committed on behalf of holy Church, was accounted so venial an offence, that he suffered no severity of treatment there, nor any torture in order to ascertain who had been his accomplices or employers. The Sorbonne and priesthood, by silence, acknowledged themselves guilty; and the supreme civil court, by connivance with the traitor, avowed participation in his crime.

Tumultuary violence was employed throughout the provinces, although prevented in the metropolis by the favour shown to those of the "new religion" by Princes of the blood and other high personages. We can only note a few examples out of the multitude that Beza has recorded. On the morning of Whit-Sunday, a poor weaver of Chateau-Neuf, a town about seven leagues distant from Orleans, attended at Jargneau to unite with his brethren in the celebration of the Lord's supper, returned to his dwelling, and was resting after having walked about four leagues, when a party of ruffians, employed by Vertet, Procureur of the King, broke into the house, tore out his eyes, dragged him into the street and through all the ponds and ditches of the place, and then flung him into the Loire. The poor man endeavoured to save himself from drowning; but as he struggled to gain the bank, they showered stones on him until he sank, and his body was carried away by the stream. The deed being reported to the court, the Bailly of Orleans was ordered to bring the criminals to justice; and the Procureur, with two of the murderers, being found guilty, were condemned to be hung at Orleans. The sentence was executed; and the wife of Vertet was allowed to take her husband's body for interment. The funeral procession glittered with tapers from all the churches, the bells were tolled in every belfry, and an immense multitude followed to the grave, saying that they rendered honour to the body of a martyr to the Catholic faith. The Reformed, meanwhile, hid themselves at home. Patients in the hospitals, reported as members of the Reformed Church, were cruelly tormented, or left to perish for want of attention; and this in obedience to the public exhortations of the preachers. The Magistrates of Paris, proceeding to the Hotel Dieu in order to put a stop to such proceedings, were assailed by a mob whom the zealots called out by sounding the tocsin.

At Beaune, the word of God had been attended with so great power that many flagrant sinners became members of the Reformed Church, and adorned their profession by purity of life. The Priests, enraged because of the abolition of a brothel and several other houses of ill-fame, attacked, by their usual representative, a mob, a congregation assembled at prayer in an enclosed place outside the town, stoned the Magistrates who interfered to protect the congregations, rescued three men from custody; and the next day, when the Reformed found it necessary to arm themselves for defence during a second tumult, several of them were wounded, and three killed in the affray. The body of one of them, Pierre Petot, was buried by night by the care

of some humane women; but next day a party of other women exhumed the corpse, and dragged it through the streets. Many lives were lost by mobs whom the Priests instigated; and many murderers were suffered to evade the penalty of justice. Lesser acts of persecution were innumerable. And while the royal instructions remained in force, and a tolerant edict, that shall presently be noticed, shielded peaceable worshippers from the open vengeance of the priesthood, it was not unusual to persecute them by means of false accusations and suborned witnesses to fictitious crimes. The Ministers of the altar were even known to deface images and commit sacrilege within their own churches, that suspicion might be turned upon the unoffending Huguenots, and the sacrifice of the victims be effected under judicial forms.

From the hand of the Cardinal of Lorraine, as Archbishop of Rheims, the new King received his crown in the cathedral of that city, rendering his vows to the holy Mother Church, in return for her consecration, after the accustomed forms. The ceremony being finished, the Cardinal, in a sort of Council, harangued his royal ward on the state of religion in the kingdom. He lamented, speaking on behalf of all the Clergy, the decay of the holy Catholic and Roman faith, in consequence of the assemblies of those new sectaries, now become more frequent than ever; and censured the remissness of the Judges, who excused themselves by the King's letters from the performance of their duty. He exhorted him not to suffer innovations, but to assemble the Princes, Lords, and others of his Privy Council, in the court of the Parliament of Paris, and there make a good and inviolable law for the preservation of the faith, by suppressing, at once, *that perilous liberty of conscience*. On the other hand, the newly-crowned King received petitions from all quarters, complaining of persecution, and renewing the request for temples. Those petitions loaded the table. Montluc, Bishop of Valence, strongly inclined to the doctrines of the Reformation, proposed that a Council should be convened, in which the Reformed Ministers might take part, hoping that some way of agreement and pacification might be found, for there was no hope of such an issue from any Council assembled by the Pope. The Cardinal of Lorraine, also, approved of the suggestion, confident that the force of his eloquence, learning, and dignity combined, would confound the unlettered sectaries, and bring him the glory of an easy conquest. But he would not allow them any incidental advantage that might accrue from a solemn *Council*, nor yet acknowledge that any assembly wherein heretics appeared, except for punishment, or humiliation, might be accounted such. He therefore proposed that it should merely be considered as a *Colloquy;* and, under that less compromising designation, it was ultimately agreed that a conference with some divines of the New Religion should take place. Not, either, to offend the Pope by assembling a National Council, the meeting was to bear the above designation, and consist of Clergy, duly convened at Poissy, a town five leagues from Paris, while the King should merely introduce some of the Huguenots, with whom the Clergy, but especially the Cardinal, would condescend to pass through forms of disputation. Thus came about "the Colloquy of Poissy."

The principal Reformed Ministers received safe-conducts for journeying to and from Poissy. The Pope received a letter from Catherine, written in a style of moderation towards Calvinists more than verging upon heresy, at least in his eyes, and announcing this expedient for appeasing dissension. Disconcerted on that intelligence, he despatched the Cardinal of Ferrara ostensibly to preside, but with secret instructions to suffer nothing to be done in the proposed assembly. Catherine, however, would not await his arrival. Theodore Beza, Peter Martyr, Augustine Marlorat, John Raymond, Martin and Francis Morel, with about as many more, came as representatives of evangelical Christianity. The champions of Romanism were the five Cardinals of Lorraine, Tournon, Bourbon, Armagnac, and Guise, and several theologians of the Sorbonne. France was represented by the royal personages, including the King and Queen of Navarre, and their court, as members of the same family. Already had Beza preached in the hall of the Prince of Condé, to the admiration and profit of his hearers. He had been introduced to the presence of royalty, conferred, both in their presence and alone, with the Cardinal of Lorraine, felt the sunshine of a palace, heard words of adulation, and received intimations of rewards that would not be withheld from a compliant disputant. The Queen, however, had assured him, with a significant coolness, that she would reserve to herself the office of moderating, or, at least, of influencing, the assembly according to her own ideas of equity. It was to be a religious controversy, conducted and settled just to answer an expediency of state.

In the large refectory of a nunnery, about mid-day (September 9th), the royalty, clergy, and nobility of France, in their proper persons, or by representatives, assembled. From the King down to the sentinels, nothing was omitted of costume or place that could display the respective dignities to advantage, and give an air of magnificence and authority to the assemblage. The King spoke first, declaring that *he* had convened them for the pacification of the kingdom, the honour of God, and the peace of consciences. He enjoined perseverance in the good work of reconciling his disunited subjects, and promised to protect them in so good a work. The Chancellor, at His Majesty's command, made a more lengthened introduction; and the Cardinal of Tournon, on part of the Church, as Dean of the College of French Cardinals, and other Prelates, acknowledged the goodness of God, of the King, Queen, Princes of the blood, and of that brilliant assembly, all of whom had concurred in the salutary enterprise. These compliments between the powers of Church and State being finished, the Captain of the Guards was sent for the Ministers, and, accompanied by the Duke of Guise, introduced the twelve chief representatives of the Reformation, with twenty-two deputies from the provincial churches. With Presbyterian equality, each wearing his black Genevan gown and bands, and bare-headed, the Ministers appeared before the company, standing outside a barrier on which they rested. Theodore Beza, chosen by the others for their spokesman, addressed the King. "Sire: since the issue of all enterprises, both great and small, depends on the assistance and favour of our God, and principally

Beza.

when there is a question concerning that which pertains to his service, but which surpasses the capacity of our understanding, we hope that your Majesty will not think it wrong, or strange, if we begin by the invocation of his name." Thus speaking, and without waiting for permission, he fell on his knees, together with his brethren. The assembly was profoundly silent, and heard, to their amazement, a fellow whom the most of them had pronounced unfit to live, pleading at the mercy-seat of God for the descent of the Holy Spirit for whom that day they had sung no mass, because a Colloquy, unlike a Council, was not worthy to be ushered in with any sacred ceremonial; nor ought, thought they, to have sanction of the Holy Ghost. They heard this Doctor of the Reformed theology make confession of sins, deprecate the divine displeasure, and ask for grace to confess His truth before "the King whom He had established over them, and before the most illustrious and noble company in the world." Having recited the Lord's Prayer last, he arose, with his brethren, and, from without the barrier, addressed the King again. The elegance of a courtier, and the dignity of a Minister of Christ when making confession before Kings and Governors, are blended in the speech as it remains from his own pen, and it is an admirably full and chaste compendium of Christian doctrine and discipline. Then, bending his knee, he offered to Charles IX. of France, as Luther had offered to the Emperor Charles V., a written confession of the churches at that moment represented by the Ministers and Deputies. The King took it from the Captain of the Guards, and handed it to the Prelates. And Beza was heard with singular attention until, towards the end of his discourse, speaking of the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ in the eucharist, he said, "that the body of Jesus Christ, although truly offered up and partaken of by us in that sacrament, is still as far from the bread as heaven is high above the earth." Although he had said many things equally repugnant to the Roman doctrine, without being interrupted, this gave so great offence that the Prelates lost all patience. "*Blasphemavit!*" shouted some,—"Blasphemy!" Others rose up to go away; but as His Majesty and the court kept their places, silence was restored, and he proceeded. Tournon followed with a few empty protestations of fidelity to the faith of Clovis and his ancestors, and asked a day for making ready a reply. This granted, the assembly dispersed. Lorraine, however, arranged with his divines that he should deliver, not an answer, but a counter-confession of faith, evading controversy altogether. This he did at the next sitting (September 16th); and, having a Doctor behind him to assist his memory, pronounced a very long harangue, crowded with patristic authorities and scholastic sentences. This ended, Tournon rose to walk away, and all the Ecclesiastics were following, when Beza asked permission to reply. The Bishops crowded round the royal youth, and sent the Captain of the Guards to tell him that another day would be appointed for him to answer. Meanwhile the Legate came from Rome, greeted on his way through France with demonstrations of popular aversion; but he fulfilled his mission by surrendering the ensigns of Legate, and, in the quality of a friend intermingling with both parties, managed to

have private conferences appointed instead of stately colloquies. He also joined with Lorraine in endeavouring to bring some Lutheran divines from Germany to dispute with those Calvinists, and drive the battle into the enemy's encampment, by bringing them to quarrel with each other. That plan failed; but the affair was smothered in private conferences.

The Queen-Mother tampered with both parties. Weary of the domineering faction of the Guises, she gave them promises without any intention of fulfilment. Hoping for a counterpoise in Condé and the Reformed, she fed their hopes with contrary promises, and showed great favour to them and to their friends at court.* All this went on under show of attempting a reconciliation, and led to some temporary benefit. But association with adverse factions at court gave the religious controversy a political character, and irreparably vitiated the cause of the Reformation in France. Liberalism suddenly became fashionable. The Bishop of Valence, imitating the worst customs of Geneva, rather than the better, might be seen preaching in his hat to congregations of mushroom Huguenots; and the Cardinal of Châtillon held a "supper" in his palace with his domestics, while still carrying the honours of his Romish dignity. Such vain helps were dishonourable to the cause of Christ.

Yet the persecuted had reason to rejoice in a brief respite. The Guises were discouraged, and quitted the field, to hide their mortification in the country. At St. Germain (January 7th, 1562), an assembly of notables discussed a project of amity prepared by Catherine and De l'Hôpital, the Chancellor, and, after ten days' debate, passed "the Edict of January," as that first enactment for religious liberty in France continues to be called. A severe edict of the July preceding, which had been found impracticable, was cancelled. Ecclesiastical buildings of whatever kind, which the Reformed might have anywhere occupied for their worship, were to be given up, and all reliquaries and ornaments restored. The Reformed were not to build churches or hold meetings within the towns, nor break crosses or images. But the edict removed all prohibition of religious assemblies outside the towns and by day-light, forbade Magistrates to hinder such meetings, and instructed them to protect the worshippers, and punish as seditious all persons, of whatever religion, who should make their assemblage the occasion of tumult. No arms, except such as gentlemen usually carried, were permitted in the congregations. The Ministers were to inform themselves of the character and condition of all persons admitted to their communion, so as to be ready to surrender them to justice, if prosecuted for any crime. The King's officers were to be allowed access to the congregations, and no criminals were

* To the unutterable mortification of the Papists, who were not slow to show it. One Sunday (December 26th), while a Minister named Malot was preaching, the ringers of the neighbouring church of St. Medard rang so furiously that his voice was drowned. A gentleman of the congregation went alone into the church, by a postern, and civilly asked the ringers to cease for a little. No sooner had he entered than some Priests who were there shut the door, and one of them killed the gentleman. Officers of justice then came to take the murderer, but Priests and people armed kept possession of the church, until the legal power prevailed, and some of the rioters were taken into custody.

to be harboured under pretence of worship. Synods or Consistories might be held, after royal permission, and in the presence of royal commissioners. Their acts, also, were to have royal sanction. They were not to make laws, create Magistrates, levy military forces, or impose assessments or taxation on their members, but receive their voluntary contributions. The Ministers would receive licence to officiate after swearing to observe the edict, and abide by their own confession of faith. They were also required to refrain from offensive language against the mass and other ceremonies in their sermons, and forbidden to preach from village to village without licence. After some correspondence with the Chancellor, the Ministers and Deputies of the churches, who were at St. Germain, wrote a circular to the churches, exhorting them to submit to the restrictions of the edict.

This first gleam of religious liberty aroused the priesthood and the Guises to desperate opposition. Under their influence, all the Parliaments except one, that of Dijon, either refused or delayed to register the edict. The King of Navarre was gently detached from the cause of the Reformation, and offered Sardinia in gift from Spain, if he would merely abstain from supporting the Calvinists, and let his son go for once to mass. They had already alienated him from his Queen, and ensnared him in the fascinations of a licentious court. "His head was full of Sardinia and women," and the expostulations of Beza were spent on him in vain. The Parliament of Paris openly resisted the edict of January; and the Reformed, while acting on it under the cautious counsels of their Ministers, were trusting to a law which the Parliaments, as according to custom, had not yet made certain by their acceptance. Pending the publication, the Queen explained away some of the clauses, and then commanded the Parliament of Paris to publish it: it being already evident that, even when published, it would be of little force. The joy of the Reformed had received a sudden check, and now the signal was given for a religious war.

Vassy, a small town or village in the ancient province of Champagne, lay within the principality of Joinville, the chief residence of the Duke of Guise. A Reformed Church had been recently constituted there (October 12th, 1561), to the annoyance of the ducal family, and especially of the old Duchess-dowager. To intimidate the new society a party of soldiers was billeted on the inhabitants, but soon withdrawn; for the men of Vassy were not to be subdued by fear. The Bishop of Châlons, accompanied by a Monk of some note as a theologian, then went to try his power of argument, appeared in the congregation during worship, heard the Minister address a thousand or twelve hundred persons, and entered on a disputation with him. The Bishop and his Monk were beaten, left more converts to the Gospel in Vassy than they had found, went over to Joinville, and complained to the old Duchess that they had been treated with disrespect (December 12th). The Duke was then solicited to obtain a commission from the King to punish the people of Vassy as rebels; but evidence laid before the Privy Council disproved the charge, and the commission could not be granted. The impending stroke having been thus

averted, "the holy supper" was administered with great solemnity in presence of about three thousand persons collected from neighbouring towns (December 25th); a stated Minister, Léonard Morel, was then appointed, instead of an occasional supply from other churches, and the number of members rapidly increased. All those circumstances raised the anger of the Duchess to overflowing. She forbade her subjects of Joinville to attend at the sermons of Morel; and threatened Vassy with the indignation of her daughter Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, widow of the late King, and Dowager-Lady of Vassy. But she also threatened them that her son the Duke, at that time in Germany, would inflict vengeance on them on his return. And she had incessantly reproached him for his "excessive patience" in allowing such a scandal to continue, to the dishonour of God, and his own discredit. The time came to execute those threatenings.

The Duke had returned, and being resolved to comply with his mother's importunity, as far as possible, without openly violating the edicts, prepared to visit the place. Having slept in the neighbourhood on the preceding night, together with his wife, his brother the Cardinal, and a splendid suite, he rode into Vassy on the morning of Sunday, March 1st, 1562, and was received by a guard of about two hundred armed men, who had been stationed there during the last eight days. In passing through the village of Brouzeval, he had caught the sound of their bell, and thereby knew that the Reformed were assembling for worship. Near the market-house of Vassy he dismounted, walked into the church, and held some private conversation with the Prior of the place, and the Provost, or Mayor. The obnoxious congregation, not unaware of his arrival, to the number of ten or twelve hundred, were assembled in the barn which they had fitted up as a temporary church, without arms,—men, women, and children, listening to the word of God; but knowing that such meetings were warranted by the edict of January, they thought themselves secure. Some say that the sound of the bell caused his attendants to raise a cry like that of soldiers rejoicing in the prospect of plunder, and move in a body towards the place of meeting. Others pretend that the singing of the congregation disturbed Guise in his devotions in the neighbouring church; that he sent a message desiring them to stop until he had finished mass; but that they rudely refused, and so stirred up the rage of his servants. Be it as it may, one La Brosse going first, and then a few others after him, entered the barn, and were shown to seats. Others collected on the outside, some on horseback and some on foot, but all furnished with weapons of death. La Brosse, when scarcely seated, contradicted the preacher. His companions vented profane and blasphemous exclamations, he shouting that they all deserved to be killed. This outrage provoked the disturbed worshippers; and, on hearing the uproar, those on the outside battered down the doors that had been shut, and one of them began the deeds of blood by running a sword through a poor man who happened to be standing in his way, and who, when asked in whom he believed, answered, "In Jesus Christ." Two young men, who endeavoured to escape, were then transfixed. The younger Duchess, pro-

ceeding in a litter towards Paris, was just leaving Vassy when the noise began, and sent back a messenger to entreat her husband not to shed blood; but he was already at the door, and whether shouting to his people to refrain, as if dreading the consummation of his own plan, or setting them on to the slaughter, it is impossible to say. The confusion was extreme. From a stone or some other missile he received a slight wound on his face, and instantly drew his sword and rushed in on the devoted flock. The more active were breaking through the roof, and clambering over adjacent house-tops. Others desperately flung themselves out at the windows. Priests in the street pointed at them, and soldiers shot them down. The carnage was terrible. "O Lord God, help us!" cried hundreds who could not escape; and the butchers, in derision, invoked the devil to destroy them. The Minister, struck by a shot, knelt down in the pulpit to pray, and in that position was again wounded by a sword. Thinking the wounds to be mortal, he cried aloud,

"Mon âme en tes mains je viens rendre,
Car tu m'as racheté,
O Dieu de verité."

"Into thy hand I commit my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth;" (Psalm xxxi. 5;) for even in death those beloved chants were on the lips of the French Christians. The Duke heard his clear voice above the din, sent men to bring him out of the pulpit while yet alive, and commanded a gallows to be erected at once, that he might be hanged. Meanwhile the Duke's lacqueys tortured him, until, unable to stand, he was laid on a ladder, and carried to Esclaron, a place two leagues distant, to be reserved to another kind of death. But, through the interposition of Him into whose hand he had committed his life, he survived the chief murderer. Either sated with blood or fearful of reprisals, the Duke of Guise stayed the massacre, and withdrew into the burial-ground, while his men emptied the barn of its furniture, carrying with him a large Bible from the pulpit, and gave it to the Cardinal, who stood there among the graves. "Read, my brother," said he, "the title of these Huguenots' letters." The Cardinal, looking at it, told him it was the holy Scripture. "How!" said he, with an oath, "the holy Scripture? It is more than fifteen hundred years since the holy Scripture was made, and not yet one year since these books were printed. By ——, 'tis good for nothing." "See," says Beza, "the theology of the man whom Carles, Bishop of Riez, makes to speak so theologically at the hour of his death." In and around the barn lay sixty dead bodies. More than two hundred wounded were carried away, many of whom also died. Forty-two women were made widows. Several houses were pulled down; and during their demolition the Duke and his company coolly rode away to dinner at Ertancourt, on his way to Rheims, intending to proceed thence to Paris. To make it appear that the massacre had been provoked by the Huguenots, he caused some of his accomplices to collect suitable evidence, and, no doubt, their tale has been repeated in the shape of history; for there are few events more variously related than this massacre of Vassy. The old Duchess-dowager thought to

crown the whole by disarming the inhabitants; but it was now impossible to replace into its scabbard the sword that her son had so cruelly unsheathed.

The Queen-Regent was with Charles at Monceaux, a royal estate in the neighbourhood of Paris, enjoying the pleasures of spring. Condé was in Paris, and to him flocked nobles of the Reformation from all parts of France, bringing heart-rending tales of persecution, and imploring help. Ministers of the Reformed churches met to confer on the exigencies that arose hourly. Montmorency, Governor of the Isle of France, gave them an intimation that it would be prudent to refrain from religious meetings for a few days, as all France, and not least Paris, was rent into parties, exasperated against each other; and for them to congregate might give occasion to renewed calamities. On their part, they could not consent to a silence which their enemies might interpret as indicative of either guilt or fear; for they were innocent of offence, and had confidence in God. Condé hastened to Monceaux, obtained an audience of Catherine, laid before her and the Council the horrors of Vassy and the designs of Guise, who was then on his way towards Paris, where the populace were wont to receive him with acclamations such as welcome Kings, and hoped to strengthen his position in the capital, overawe the Reformed there, and obtain a revocation of the edict of January. He therefore prayed that Guise might not be permitted to enter Paris. Catherine, justly alarmed, and well aware that the Guises were preparing to carry by force what they had so long been endeavouring to attain by policy, commanded the Duke to come to Monceaux, bringing with him but few attendants. He haughtily returned for answer that it was not then convenient for him to appear, as he was entertaining company. Beza, on behalf of the church, and a gentleman named Moncourt, deputed by the nobles, went to demand justice of the King, and obtained an audience in presence of His Majesty, the Queen-Regent, the King of Navarre, and others. They related the massacre of Vassy, perpetrated in violation of law by the Duke of Guise. They recounted similar atrocities committed by the populace in all directions. At Cahors, Sens, Auxerre, Tours, D'Aurillac, Nemours, and many other places, Priests had led mobs to repeat the horrors of the 1st of March. At Tours three hundred persons were shut up in a church for three days, and then taken to the bank of the river, and butchered one by one, excepting the little children, who were sold for a crown each. An infant, born on the spot, had been thrown into the river with its mother; and the Council shuddered as they heard that the babe, floating down the stream, lifted its arm, as even the murderers fancied, to appeal to heaven for vengeance. Catherine was told that the Romish preachers were calling on the people to follow these examples; that within a few days three thousand persons had been murdered; and that the Duke of Guise, having begun at Vassy without check, was hourly expected to march on Paris and plunge the kingdom into civil war. Navarre, corrupted by licentiousness, and this by the contrivance of Catherine herself, who desired to weaken his power by smothering his conscience, endeavoured to exculpate Guise, and throw

all the blame on the Huguenots, who, he said, had given the provocation by throwing stones; and "Guise was not a man to be insulted with impunity." Beza reminded him of his forgotten promises and broken vows; and contended that even if the Duke of Guise had been thus insulted, the dignity of his station, if that were all, required that he should have sought legal satisfaction, and not set the fatal example of trampling on the laws. "It is true, Sire," said he, addressing the King, "that it becomes the church of God, for which I am now speaking, to suffer blows, and not to give them; *but may it please you to remember that this anvil has worn out many hammers.*"

Without deigning to appear at Monceaux, but marching at the head of a formidable troop, Guise entered Paris. The Constable of France, the Duke of Aumale, the Marshal of St. André, the Lord of Randan, and others of his party came, like a royal court, in his train. Twelve hundred men in arms followed. The Provost of the Merchants, who undertook to represent the city, leading a multitude of common people, went to meet him; and he rode to his palace amidst shouts of *Vive Guise*, in imitation of "God save the King." At the same time that he thus entered Paris by the gate St. Denis, the Prince of Condé, returning from worship in a place without the walls, also entered by the St. Jacques, accompanied by seven or eight hundred gentlemen on horseback. The two trains met. Every one expected a conflict. But the chiefs saluted each other, and passed on.

At this juncture the Queen would gladly have thrown herself and her son into the hands of Condé. She even wrote to him secretly; and by confidential messengers invited him to deliver "mother and son" and France from the tyrannous faction. Could he have commanded support enough to wage immediate war with those who had both the executive and the army at their disposal, he would have gone to Fontainebleau, whither they had removed during these events, and, by securing the persons of both King and Regent, commanded obedience. But the richer members of the churches, especially in Paris, withheld necessary contributions; Condé hesitated; Coligny shut himself up in despair; and Guise, casting off the respect due to royalty, went in arms to Fontainebleau, and compelled the Queen with her son and the court to go with him to Paris. With tears and indignation she submitted to the compulsion; and soon, finding the faction of her captor to be the stronger, resumed her usual heartless policy, made their cause her own, and was never again known as friendly to the Reformed.

While Romanism made its head-quarters in Paris, Condé and Coligny, with two thousand horse and foot, took Orleans, were well received by the inhabitants, and made that city the centre of their operations. A government was organized. Couriers to two thousand one hundred and fifty churches carried a proclamation demanding succours of men and money. On receiving a manifesto from Condé, thirty-five large cities, among which were Blois, Tours, Dieppe, Havre-de-Grace, Montauban, Nismes, Orange, Lyons, and Grenoble, and, in short, almost all the south of France, joined his cause. In some instances the public treasure was appropriated to this service, but in

the King's name. The gold and silver of the churches passed from the shape of crucifixes, saints, and ornaments, into that of coin, stamped with the head of Charles IX., to defend whose real interests the Reformed and their friends arrayed their forces. Bells and other articles of baser metal underwent fusion, and re-appeared in the form of warlike munition or ready cash. Even the Romanist laity were not sorry for a transmutation that so suddenly raised the wealth of the realm; and soldiers of adventure on both sides delighted in the "fine civil war" that afforded frequent booty of newly-minted coin. During this recruiting, the Priests, on the other side, renewed their sanguinary sermons, and by ringing of bells gave signal for massacres. Even the Cardinal of Guise, as Archbishop of Sens, thought himself justified in allowing the tocsin to be sounded, and an indiscriminate onslaught followed. It would be endless to attempt a collection of revolting narratives. Men, women, children, entire populations, were mowed down, hour after hour, until none were left. Men forgot their manhood. A Spanish detachment, under command of D. Luis de Carvajal, boasted that they had killed forty women together at Pamiers. Their fashion was to stab infants first in the mothers' arms, and then cut down the mothers themselves. One of the most savage Romanist officers, Montluc, was honoured with a letter from the Pope, signifying, under the ring of the holy Fisherman, love, esteem, and praise for his excellent, magnanimous, most Christian, and most Catholic bravery!

Condé, as leader of the Reformed, when driven to defence, sent letters to the Protestant Princes of Germany, not asking intervention, but briefly explaining the reasons of the position he had taken, for the satisfaction of his brethren in the faith. Not so "the triumvirate,"—Guise, Montmorency, and St. André. They prepared the protocol of a league with Philip of Spain for the extirpation of the Huguenots. According to this paper, Philip was to be leader of the enterprise, and the Duke of Guise chief of the Roman confession in France. The Emperor and Romanist Princes of Germany were to stop the passages into France, that the Protestant Princes might not send succour to the Reformed. The King of Spain was to send a part of his army to the Duke of Savoy, who would raise as large a force as possible from his estates. The Pope and Italian Princes would do the same. They would agree that while France was thus encircled, a commission should be given to the Duke of Guise to extirpate all who professed "the new religion;" and efface the name, family, and race of Bourbon, lest there should arise from it some future avenger or restorer of that religion. This having been done in France, it was proposed to undertake a European war for the destruction of Protestantism everywhere.

Reasons of state prevented the consummation of their scheme; and, indeed, foreign auxiliaries could scarcely be found, except on terms to which the court could not openly submit. After collecting funds with extreme difficulty, the triumvirs marshalled their troops for war. The Reformed also encamped under the walls of Orleans. Conferences between the Queen and Condé were resorted to, in hope of averting the catastrophe; but the condition proposed by the former—

to disarm the Huguenots—could not in prudence be accepted, and hostilities began in earnest.

At first there was no decisive battle. After some trifling skirmishes the armies separated, and each divided, in order to recover towns occupied by the opposite party. At first victory inclined to the Reformed, whose discipline was admirable: but good morals and warfare cannot long exist together; the royalists, as all acknowledge, were far more addicted to pillage and the other abominations of a heated soldiery; but everywhere the usual horrors raged in towns besieged and sacked, and the stronger side gradually prevailed. To describe military operations is not an object of this work; but it must be noted that at the siege of Rouen the King of Navarre received his death-wound. He had sacrificed his religious profession to the hope of adding Sardinia to his kingdom, shunned the reproach of Christ, and abandoned himself to the guilty pleasures of the French court; but he died while fighting against the church within which he had formerly sought the privileges of spiritual communion, beset with terrors of remorse. To aid the army in warring against the new religion, the Parliament of Paris published a proclamation (June 13th), which proscribed the entire Protestant population. All "Catholics" were required to arm in every parish, and, at sound of bell, attack their neighbours, and kill without mercy. The horrible edict was obeyed. One half of France was armed against the other; and on every Sunday and feast-day the Romish preachers read the proclamation from their pulpits, and offered paradise as the price of blood. The historians are generally reluctant to unveil the atrocities of those days, and here to do so to any adequate extent would require many a heart-sickening page. A Protestant historian, whose interesting volumes now lie before the author, thinks it right to assure his readers that in exhibiting a few examples he is not actuated by "a spirit of hostility to the Catholic Church." Surely this is excessive tenderness; for to the *catholic* Church no Christian can possibly be hostile; but let us guard our nomenclature, and not scruple to avow that to the system and spirit of the Romish Church, a communion which ignorance or guile only can call "catholic," any one who pities its members, and loves the souls which Babylon traffics in and slays, may acknowledge an utter and unconquerable hostility.

The Reformed were beaten in a great battle at Dreux; but the Marshal of St. André fell that day. The Duke of Guise, too, just when the capture of Orleans seemed certain, and the conquest of the Huguenots all but complete, was assassinated under the walls of that city by one Poltrot. Coligny was suspected of having employed the man; but a minute investigation proved that he had not the most remote participation in the crime. Daunted by the loss of their chief and of the Marshal, two of the triumvirate by whose hands the misgovernment of France had been conducted, the Romish party submitted, at least for the time, to an agreement of peace. Thus ended *the first war.*

Rather more than a year after the massacre of Vassy, the Prince of Condé signed a treaty of pacification (March 19th, 1563), which

was afterwards published as the "Edict of Amboise," a compromise unsatisfactory to all concerned. According to this edict, "1. In all towns where those of the pretended Reformed religion had the free exercise of the said religion on the 7th of the said month of March, they should continue to have it, always excepting the churches and houses of Ecclesiastics. 2. In each bailiwick and lordship subject to the jurisdiction of courts of Parliament, excepting the city and suburbs of Paris, they might also have a convenient place for the exercise of their worship in the suburbs or neighbourhood of the towns. 3. Lords and gentlemen, being high justiciaries, should have the same free exercise on all their lands for themselves and their dependents only; but those of inferior rank should only enjoy this right in their own houses. 4. All prisoners of war should be given up without ransom on either side. 5. Foreign mercenaries, whether Calvinist or Catholic, should be dismissed and sent back to their respective countries. 6. The King granted a full amnesty to the Prince of Condé, the Admiral, and all who had followed and served them in the late troubles, His Majesty declaring that all had been done for his service, and that they were not to be called to account for anything that was past. 7. They of the pretended Reformed religion were not to contract alliances with foreigners, nor call them into France on any account, nor make any levy of men or money, without express commission from His Majesty." Humiliating as were these articles to the "pretended Reformed," the Parliaments of Paris, Provence, and Toulouse refused to register them. Paris only submitted to registration *in silence*, and by command of the King, executed by the Duke of Montpensier, as a Prince of the blood. Provence and Toulouse mutilated the edict in registration, and Dijon remonstrated to the Queen even against this scanty meed of toleration.

A succession of events demonstrated the impossibility of peace with Rome. An armed league for the support of the Roman Church, and the expulsion of its enemies from France, was already in existence, under the connivance, if not sanction, of the Sovereign. The Parliament of Toulouse, the Cardinal of Armagnac, many Ecclesiastics, nobles, and burgesses, were preparing to raise troops. After the death of Anthony of Navarre, his widow established the Reformation in her kingdom, and thus raised a tempest of wrath on every side. The Pope cited her to appear before the tribunal of the Inquisition, and, this failing, issued a Bull of excommunication (September 29th, 1564). France, fearful of the Pope and Spain, expressed sufficient indignation; and however willing the Court and Clergy might be to extirpate Calvinism, they unanimously rejected the attempts of Rome to compel five French Bishops to appear before the Roman Inquisition under accusation of heresy, and to force upon the Gallican Church the decrees of the Council of Trent,—decrees utterly incompatible with civil liberty and national independence. But the rage against the Queen of Navarre was not abated on this account. Her Spanish enemies, awed by the attitude of France, in resistance to any open attempts of foreign powers to coerce a Sovereign, entered into a conspiracy to

seize the person of Her Majesty and her two children,* carry them away from Pau, where they then resided, and throw them into the prison of the Inquisition at Madrid. The plot was providentially discovered in time to save the royal family. The relatives of the late Duke of Guise appealed to Charles IX. for justice on account of his murder, which they still pretended to believe had been committed by Coligny, notwithstanding his undoubted innocence. The object was to deprive the Reformation in France of his influence and aid. The same Ambassadors who came from Rome to ask for the reception of the Tridentine decrees, entreated Charles to break the edict of pacification, and offered Papal troops to help him to root out Calvinism.

Catherine and her son made a progress to the south, ostensibly for pleasure, but really with far different purposes. They met the Duke of Alva at Bayonne, had him much in their company, and imbibed his horrid policy of pitiless and indiscriminate destruction. From that time the proceedings of the French court became more and more like those of the Spanish. They also visited the Queen of Navarre; but no effort of theirs could persuade her to re-establish Popery or to renounce her faith. Jeanne of Navarre consented, indeed, to accompany Catherine on her return to Paris, not unwilling to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Spain; but besides many occasions of dissatisfaction, she suffered persecution in the person of her Chaplain, who was placed under arrest for having preached in her private apartments. The edict of Amboise had become a dead letter. Inquisitors raged in the Netherlands, war followed, and the Duke of Alva began to exemplify the principles which he had inculcated on Catherine at Bayonne during many nocturnal interviews in the apartments of her daughter, the Queen of Spain, carried on after their households were asleep. By intercepted letters it was discovered that an extirpation of the French Huguenots was intended simultaneously with the slaughter of the Gueux in the Netherlands. The arrival of a body of six thousand Swiss mercenaries to guard the passage of Alva into Belgium, over some part of the French frontier, confirmed suspicion, and the Reformed were again compelled to take measures of self-protection. They had found neither justice nor mercy at the tribunals, nor protection from any earthly authority. In spite of the edict and its amnesty, three thousand persons, they calculated, had been murdered by mobs and Magistrates on account of their religion since the day when it was ratified.

Their first measure was to solicit the amicable interference of the German Protestant Princes, some of whom sent Ambassadors to remonstrate with Charles—now a child no longer—on the infractions of his compact with their brethren. But this only provoked him to anger. Condé and the Admiral were treated with open indignity.

At Valleri and at Châtillon the chiefs of the Reformation held secret conferences. They pondered the insolent boastings and menaces of their enemies. They received intelligence of councils holden to concert measures for the imprisonment and execution of the

* One of these lived to occupy an eminent position as Henry IV., King of France.

Prince and the Admiral. Two thousand Swiss were marching to reinforce the garrison of Paris, four thousand to Orleans, and others to Poitiers. Not only courage, but common prudence, required them to strike the first blow, and they agreed to call their fellow-sufferers to arms, hoping to gain possession of a few towns in which to garrison forces for war, to recruit an army, and overthrow the Guise government. But, first of all, they wished to surround and seize the King. With profound secrecy they organized an insurrection all over France, suddenly made their appearance under arms, approached Monceaux, the royal residence, and necessitated the King and his mother to commit themselves to the charge of a body of Swiss, and flee to Paris. They pursued them to the gates, reduced the city to a state of siege, engaged a very numerous force in battle for an entire day, and only retreated at night-fall before numbers many times greater than their own, leaving the Constable, Montmorency, mortally wounded on the field (November 10th, 1567). While the issue of this conflict was doubtful, they received an overture for negotiation, and eventually agreed—being pressed by the impatience of their volunteer troops, who were glad to return home on any tolerable terms—to the following conditions of peace: The edict of pacification of March 7th, 1563, was to be kept and observed in every point, without reserve or modification. All subsequent interpretations, by which its articles had been explained away, the King now annulled, and granted a full amnesty to Condé, the Admiral, and their followers. The Prince was once more acknowledged as "dear cousin," and the others as faithful servants and subjects. The towns agreed to return to their obedience. The foreign troops were to be disbanded on both sides. And, lastly, the negotiating parties limited the operation of their compact to the time when it should please God to make them all of one religion. An edict to this effect was published without any expression of reluctance by the affrighted Parliament of Paris (March 27th, 1568), and proclaimed in the camp of the Reformed before Chartres. Thus terminated the *second* war; but to the great dissatisfaction of the Admiral, and many others, who clearly foresaw that this "uneasy peace" would not be permanent.

Conscience, honour, and even common sense, forsook the counsels of the King. Faithful to their treaty, the Reformed disbanded their forces, and dismissed their mercenaries; but the royalists remained in arms, retaining the Swiss and the Italians. They placed garrisons in the towns, and detachments on the roads. Some of the towns, indeed, and chiefly Rochelle, Montauban, Sancerre, Albe, Milhaud, and Castres, refused to admit the troops; but this reasonable refusal exasperated the quarrel. The Government strengthened its alliances in Germany, and the acknowledgment of the Council of Trent seemed imminent. Everywhere the Huguenots were oppressed, and often persecuted unto death. The Cardinal of Lorraine incessantly urged the Queen to adopt the policy of Alva. The Popish preachers delivered sermons surpassing in vehemence their former denunciations. They plainly said, that the Huguenots had not three months to live, and that the King himself should rather be tonsured, and shut up in

a cloister, than suffered to protect them. To make peace with heretics they called a crime; to keep faith with them, a weakness; to murder them, an acceptable sacrifice to God. Obedient to this impulse, the rabble at Amiens and Auxerre murdered their townsmen by hundreds. In Auvergne they burnt a man alive without the least judicial form, merely because he had not hung out tapestry on the feast of Corpus Christi. A nobleman murdered his own brother, boasting that he was his thirtieth victim, and avowing that what he had done was under express counsel and command. The Parliament of Toulouse arrested and executed the very person who brought them the edict of pacification to be registered. The secret league, noticed above, was renewed in unprecedented force, especially between the ecclesiastics, nobility, and more wealthy burgesses. Besides the "Holy League," spread over France, the King had a private Council of his own, without official appointment or authority, who intrigued for the single purpose of crushing the Reformation. The Chancellor De l'Hôpital, whose counsels were pacific, as they always had been, was banished from court, and, relieved of his presence, Catherine undertook to ruin Condé, by demanding 300,000 crowns on account of expenses of the war. A form of oath was sent into the provinces, by which every Huguenot was to swear never to take up arms or distribute money without express permission of the King. An edict bade all the Reformed to resign every office or dignity they might chance to hold, and prohibited future nomination of such persons to any place of trust or honour. Thus Coligny ceased to be High-Admiral, and D'Andelot to be Captain-General of infantry; and all Protestant Governors were degraded. It was resolved to arrest all the leading Huguenots at the same moment. To cover this plot, as regarded Condé, letters from the King and his mother, full of affectionate expressions, invited him to visit them at court; but the bearer, suspecting treachery, confidentially disclosed the peril. At the same time judicial murders and private assassinations suddenly multiplied. The Prince of Condé and his friend Coligny, with their helpless families, fled from their homes in one company, guarded by one hundred and fifty horse. The first Prince of the blood saw his wife, great with child, carried in a litter, and their three little children in cradles. The others were in a similar condition. They fled over by-ways towards Rochelle, and had to cross the Loire, while the principal roads and bridges were all occupied by troops. But the waters were low, and they passed by a ford known only to those familiar with the river. Condé carried his youngest infant, and the whole party safely waded through. Scarcely had they passed the channel, when a body of cavalry was descried in full pursuit, and death appeared inevitable; but the flood began to swell, and, ere the horses could try the ford, came boiling down; and even their enemies record this instantaneous interposition of God's most gracious providence. Volunteers now flocked to the fugitive Prince.

Leaving his family, however, at Brouage, he first went alone into Rochelle, disguised as a sailor, to ascertain the disposition of the city. The magistracy and inhabitants gave him an enthusiastic welcome,

and he then made a public entry with his family and friends (September 18th, 1568). No royal Governor or garrison had occupied the place. The inhabitants had recently refused to make an oath of unconditional submission, and receive royal troops. Fortified towards the land for resistance, open for supplies towards the sea, and filled with a flourishing commercial population, lovers of liberty and friendly to the Gospel, it was just the station wherein the persecuted might rally forces for resistance, if not for aggression. Condé addressed the multitude, describing the perfidious and treasonable proceedings of the Cardinal of Lorraine, then chief of the Romanist party; represented the power of that party over the young King, who, as he thought, would more gladly pacify France by edicts for religious liberty, than, by breach of faith, massacres, and war, desolate the land. Ministers and members of their flocks, fleeing for life, crowded into Rochelle; many thousands of volunteers came armed from the neighbouring provinces; and the Queen of Navarre, fearing to remain in that remnant of a kingdom, came thither with her two children, and a strong contingent of three thousand foot and four hundred horse. Such as were not in a condition to unite with the Reformed endeavoured to escape from court, or from the country. De l'Hôpital, suspected of intelligence with the Huguenots, was deprived of the seals. The Cardinal of Châtillon, disguised as a sailor, escaped to England.

At Paris all was alarm. Instead of having been taken in the broad net laid for them, the leading Huguenots had all escaped, and, with an unprecedented promptitude and energy, were already fortified in the free city of Rochelle, and determined to raise the standard of resistance, without condescending to a parley. Yet, as before, it was hoped that their strength might be broken by entangling them in correspondence; and an offer of pardon, with "liberty of conscience," was made to those who would lay down their arms. But they were not again to be deceived. Other edicts were next launched against the Huguenots, equivalent with a declaration of civil war; the Parliament and people of Paris partook in the rage of hostility against their fellow-countrymen; a general procession, surpassing all such exhibitions within memory, was made on the day following, the Cardinal of Lorraine carrying the pyx, the most precious relics coming after, and King, Queen, and courtiers bringing up the rear, to engage the dead saints to fight against the living.

The Duke of Anjou then set out in command of the royal army; and during six months a warfare desolated the insurgent provinces, more fierce than any that had preceded, until the fatal battle of Jarnac plunged the Reformed into extreme sorrow and perplexity. Already the day was lost, for the bulk of the half-disciplined army had made a premature retreat; but Condé disdained to quit the field. The waves of battle flowed up close around him, overwhelming his companions everywhere; but he resolved to keep his ground to the last; and, even after his horse had fallen under him, continued fighting on one knee. At last, surrounded by a heap of faithful friends who had rallied round him in the face of death, he surrendered his sword

to a gentleman named D'Argence, raised his visor, and gave his name. D'Argence received his prisoner with the courteous humanity that throws a gleam of dignity even over the horrors of war, and, dismounting from his horse, lifted up the wounded Prince, assisted him to reach the shadow of a tree, and seated him against it on the grass, faint and full of anguish. A circle of officers surrounded him, to gaze on the man whose valour they had witnessed throughout the hard campaign, and to render him those expressions of respect which might assure his drooping spirit that he had fallen into the hands of *men* who would fain guard him, at that moment, even from a shadow of discourtesy or violence. But an officer was seen galloping towards the spot,—it was one Montesquieu, Captain of Anjou's Swiss guards,—in an instant he drew up upon the circle, and, before any hand could stay him, levelled his pistol at the captive chief of an army already beaten. Condé understood the savage glance, and, covering his face in his cloak, leaned forward to receive the bullet. D'Anjou, delighted at the consummation of the murder, which the army understood to have been perpetrated under his command, had the body, so disfigured that its features could scarcely be recognised, flung on an ass, carried to the castle of Jarnac, and thrown on the floor of the chamber where the Prince had slept the night before. He even proposed to build a chapel on the spot where his officer had shot him, that masses might be said there in time to come for the destruction of heresy, and his own name be associated with the detestable assassination; but his companions in arms dissuaded him from buying Roman honours at the cost of world-wide infamy (March 13th, 1569).

It was well that the retreat that had left Condé unsupported saved the main body of the army; and the loss of the battle, therefore, did not terminate the campaign. The Admiral, at that juncture considered more cautious than brave, did not succeed him in the chief command, which, by common consent, was conferred on the Prince of Navarre, then scarcely sixteen years of age; and he and the young Prince of Condé were presented together to the army as future chiefs of reformation and liberty. The courage of the army was revived, and some successes gave them new confidence; but they were inexperienced, and sustained an almost utter defeat in the battle of Moncontour by the Duke of Anjou (October 2d, 1569). Yet again they rallied. Sustained, under God, by the wisdom of Coligny and the Queen of Navarre, and the courageous activity of young Prince Henry, they traversed the south of France, effected military operations that proved an amazing power of endurance, and assumed the bravery and patience of veteran troops. An apparently final victory, on the other hand, had deceived the courts of Paris and Rome; and Charles IX., even after the delirium of joy raised by the victory of Moncontour, was glad to ratify a treaty with the Huguenots at St. Germain (August 8th, 1570). The treaty is exceedingly important in relation to subsequent events, and we must note it well. "We have permitted," said the King in this edict of peace, "all gentlemen and other persons, inhabitants of the kingdom, having high justice or full fief of halbert in the realm and country of our obedience, as in

Normandy, whether in property or usufruct, in all or in part, with our Bailiffs and Seneschals, to have the exercise of the religion which they call 'Reformed,' in their principal places of abode, as long as they reside there, and their wives and families in their absence, for which they shall answer, and be bound to name the said houses to our Bailiffs and Seneschals, before enjoying the benefit of this edict." They should also enjoy the same right in any other houses on their estates when present there, but not otherwise, for themselves, families, and dependents. In other houses they might only exercise private worship for their families alone, or friends to the number of ten. Baptismal parties, also, might assemble to the same number. The Queen of Navarre was allowed to have divine worship performed, even in her absence, in the duchy of Albret, counties of Armagnac, Foix, and Bigorre, in houses to be named by the King, and set apart for that purpose. Towns were specified in fifteen "governments" of France where the Reformed might exercise their worship, besides "all the towns where the said exercise should be found to have been publicly made on that 1st day of August." Most expressly were they forbidden to assemble for purposes of worship, conference, or instruction, in any other places than the above; and from Paris or the royal court, and two leagues around either, they were utterly excluded. Some other limitations being added, the edict granted permission to the Reformed to bury their dead in cemeteries of their own, but under an escort, with no more than ten persons following, and at night. They were bound to submit to the limitations of the existing marriage-laws respecting degrees of consanguinity and affinity. Universities, schools, hospitals, and alms-houses were to be open alike to all, without regard to their religion; but they were to submit to the Romish regulations on days of fasting and abstinence. And because the memory of recent war could not but be attended with inquietude, the towns of Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité were given in trust to the Princes of Navarre and Condé and twenty gentlemen of the said religion as places of retreat, to be held by them for the King, and surrendered at the close of two years. But in those towns, as in every other, the Romish religion was to be freely exercised; and the Ecclesiastics were to enjoy their revenues and honours without hinderance. The whole was concluded by a form of amnesty for all who had been concerned in the war.

The Spanish Ambassador, being present at St. Germain, loudly declaimed against the treaty. "Rather," said he, "would the King, my master, render any amount of help, than see the French Monarch condescend to treat with sectarians and brigands." Philip offered three thousand horse and six thousand foot for the extermination of the Huguenots; and the Pope had striven by incessant remonstrances to prevent any peace not made by the extirpation of his enemies. Neither Philip II. nor Pius V. knew that Catherine and the Cardinal of Lorraine cherished the idea, however undefined as yet, of destroying those by guile whom they could not overcome by force. Had they known this, they would have been at ease. To this event everything now tends.

There was, as we have seen, a secret Council, apart from the ostensible Government of France, and it consisted of three persons: Saulx, (or Tavannes,) Gondi, and Biragua, of whom brief notices are given in a foot-note.* Aside from the proper business of government, Catherine—whether alone, or in conspiracy with these persons or any others, it is impossible to say, except that Lorraine cannot be exempted from suspicion—entertained a fixed purpose to effect what the Cardinal had once attempted by his "trap," and what he had more lately failed to attain by a general assassination of the chiefs and more conspicuous members of the Reformed communion. Even persecution, therefore, was suspended; and the external condition of France appeared to show that all were weary of war, and anxious to prevent its recurrence. The Admiral, indeed, with the young Princes and the Queen of Navarre, instead of dispersing to their respective places of abode, continued at Rochelle, reasonably suspecting that a tranquillity so sudden and so general would not be permanent, and sure that so perfidious a Cabinet could not suddenly have become honest. They therefore continued in communication with their brethren, combined their resources, and, as was usual for persons in their position, kept some troops in pay. Rochelle was thus the centre of a great moral confederation, which might at any time resume the posture of defence. The Cabinet, therefore, as well as the Cabal, laboured to disarm suspicion, and allure the Reformed from the strong walls

* Saulx, Lord of *Tavannes*, by which name he is generally known, was once a page of Francis I., and rose into notice in the army by military merit. He was best known to Charles IX. as a companion in debauchery; and in the wars with the Huguenots signalized himself by cold brutality almost without an equal. After the taking of Macon, he placed the city under the secondary command of one St. Poinct, who made large numbers of the Reformed leap from the wall of the city into the river. Tavannes, pleased with the sport, used to ask after dinner, if "the farce of St. Poinct" was ready for the entertainment of *the ladies*. "This was, as it were, the watch-word, upon which his people were wont to bring out of prison one or two prisoners, and sometimes more, whom they carried to the bridge of the Saone, and he, being there with the ladies, after he had asked them some pretty and pleasant questions, caused them to be thrown down headlong, and drowned in the river. It was also an usual thing to give false alarms, and upon that pretence to drown or shoot some prisoner, or any other whom he could catch, of the Reformed religion, charging them with a design to betray the city." His wife and he had accumulated an immense quantity of spoil, sufficient, as was calculated, to secure him a revenue of 10,000 livres annually. For his accommodation, Charles created (November 28th, 1570) the place of Marshal of France. "His temper," says Moreri, "was deceitful and given to trickery."

Albert de Gondi, Marshal of Retz, an Italian, son of the Maître d'Hôtel of Henry II., and Marie de Pierevive, governess of the royal children, a woman of infamous reputation, crept into favour by pandering to the vices of the young King, and the guilty caprices of his mother. He is described as "polite, sly, corrupt, a liar, and great dissembler." In short, he had no originality of character, nor the slightest touch of honourable principle. He thought that the best way to deal with the Huguenots was *through their cooks*. He was suspected of poisoning Charles IX.

Renato Biragua, a native of Milan, son of an old diplomatist, his father having been Ambassador from the Duke of Milan to the Emperor. Francis I. had made him Councillor of the Parliament of Paris, and he had been employed on missions for the service of the Church at the Council of Trent, and for the suppression of heresy at Lyons. He, too, lived on the court, knowing no other law than the will of the Prince. Many characteristic sayings are recorded of him; such as that he called himself "Chancelior of the King, and not of the kingdom." And when, at last, he was rewarded with a Cardinal's hat, he called himself "Cardinal without title, Priest without benefice, and Chancellor without seals." That is to say, he meddled with every person's business rather than do his own,—a fit agent to be held in reserve for secret service.

of Rochelle. Bigotry was apparently laid aside, as unsuited to the change of times, and the policy of France was altered. The King had been on the point of a marriage treaty with Philip of Spain for his daughter; but Catherine changed over to Germany, and negotiated with the Emperor Maximilian, with whose daughter, Elizabeth of Austria, Charles was wedded (November 26th, 1570); and the Parisians were told that since a religious peace had been established in France, it was fitting that their new Queen should be brought from a country where the principle of toleration had been acknowledged. The German Protestant Princes distrusted this novel profession of liberality; and their Ambassadors solemnly exhorted the King and Queen, in their visit of congratulation, to equal administration of justice, promise-keeping, and indulgence to those of different religion, advising him not to give ear to those who said that faith should not be kept with sectarians; and citing the examples of Charles V., Ferdinand, and Maximilian II., who had been brought to see the evils of intolerance, and whose prosperous reigns abounded in evidence that religious uniformity is not necessary to the stability of an empire. They spoke of the liberty enjoyed by Mohammedans in Poland, Jews at Rome, and Christians in the Turkish dominions. Charles gave them an answer of ceremony next day, passing over their chief point in silence.

The lull of the tempest, however, soon ended. That Priests and Monks would cease to persecute was too much to be expected, or that now, for the first time, a favourable edict would be everywhere observed by riotous populations. At Rouen, the guards at the city-gates insulted and beat some persons who went into the suburbs for morning prayers (March 12th, 1571); and, emboldened by the connivance of their superiors, attacked a congregation returning from worship in the evening, killed five, and wounded many more. The rabble at Dieppe attempted a similar outrage, but were prevented by the Prefect. The King, "fearing that the conduct of the military would be interpreted to his own discredit, or would interfere with the completion of his designs," instituted an inquiry, and caused a few obscure persons to be hanged, some others banished or fined, and about three hundred, who had run away, condemned to death for contumacy, which, says Thuanus, "appeased the Protestants, although querulous by nature." In Orange, the populace, instigated by two Monks, killed a large number in a tumult which lasted three days, and among them several women; and many more lives would have been lost, had not the Governor of the castle afforded refuge to the survivers. Here, also, having received a complaint from Rochelle, Charles caused justice to be done. The messengers, too, were received with great kindness, and returned to their fortress delighted with the new appearance of courtesy, cordiality, and justice. Commissioners had already been at Rochelle, in conference with the Queen of Navarre, the Princes, and Coligny, labouring to remove every cause of dissatisfaction; and again another messenger carried proposals of matrimonial alliances that should unite the adverse members of the royal family, and be a pledge to all France that religious dissension would for ever cease. To the Prince of Navarre the King

offered his youngest sister, Margaret of Valois; and to the Prince of Condé, Mary of Cleves. And the King engaged to promote a marriage which the Admiral desired for himself with a lady of the duchy of Savoy, although the Duke had issued an edict to prohibit his subjects from marrying foreigners, in order to prevent this union with a Huguenot. And, to crown the whole, Charles signified his intention to carry out the new principle of religious liberty by assisting the Prince of Orange in Flanders to drive out the Spaniards, and consented to make war on Spain for the recovery of some fiefs originally belonging to France. But he assured the Admiral that in order to fulfil these intentions he needed his presence, counsels, and assistance.

Affairs underwent an entire change. Rochelle was no longer a strictly-guarded fortress, the refuge of fugitives, and head-quarters of an army. Fear had vanished; Coligny received his Savoyan spouse through the intercession of the King, against whom he had been so recently in arms. The young Princes were on the wing to migrate towards court. After negotiations had continued for several months, the Admiral quitted Rochelle (September 11th), and, attended by a train of fifty gentlemen, met Charles at Blois. Weeping with joy, and kneeling at the feet of his long-alienated Sovereign, he placed himself, with undissembled loyalty, entirely at his disposal. Charles raised up the veteran, embraced him, and said pleasantly, "We have you this time, and you shall not give us the slip again." The good man could not suspect treachery, nor imagine the cruel thought that must have lurked in that playful sentence. Honours and gifts were lavished on him; and when his brother, the Cardinal of Châtillon, died in England, he received a year's revenue from the vacated benefices. The Cardinal's death was sudden: he had been poisoned by his own servant; and the man was afterwards discovered at Rochelle as a spy, and convicted. Thus fell the first victim; but none suspected that it was so. As if to carry dissimulation to the utmost possible extent, Châtillon had been employed to negotiate, in conjunction with the French Ambassador in England, for a marriage between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, the King's brother; and they despatched him when his unconscious participation in the illusion was at an end.

The Duke of Guise was mortified at the favour lavished upon Coligny, and, to keep up the intrigue, Charles allowed him to imagine himself neglected, and signified his pleasure that he should withdraw from court. The Pope, too, was exceedingly displeased at the proposed marriage with the Prince of Navarre, and refused to grant his dispensation; but Lorraine, simulating dissatisfaction, had also absented himself from court, and gone to Rome, not to confirm Pius in his aversion to the proposed marriage with a heretic, but to obtain the necessary dispensation from the impediment of consanguinity, and thus facilitate the object of Catherine to draw the whole party into a snare.

Overcome by the solicitations of both friends and foes, the Queen of Navarre next came to Paris (February 1st, 1572), to take part in arrangements for the intended marriage of her son. The Pope, not sufficiently assured of the reason of the concession he had made, had

sent a Legate to endeavour to break off the marriage; the Legate reached Paris about the same time, and the actors in the plot found means to parry his opposition, or to cool his zeal. The good Queen was loaded with caresses, yet wearied with misgivings, and miserable in a court where she could feel no confidence in any one, and could ill conceal the depression of spirit that almost overwhelmed her; but she hoped that, after his marriage, Henry might take his wife away to Bearn. In a few weeks (April 11th), the marriage-articles were signed; and as war with Spain appeared to be in actual preparation, the Admiral, who had not yet revisited Paris, was induced to come thither from Châtillon, in order to promote it, counsels being still divided, and the King seeming to be irresolute. Thither he went, notwithstanding the entreaties of his friends, who feared to see him betrayed to death; and a royal proclamation forbade all persons to recall the memory of past events, pick new quarrels, carry muskets, fight duels, or even wear swords, in the royal court of Paris and the suburbs, under pain of death; and special tribunals were appointed for the settlement of quarrels, should any unhappily arise, either among nobles or common people. The Admiral placed unbounded confidence in the authors of these precautions, laughed at the fears of others, and said that he would rather be dragged round Paris with a hook, than have recourse to civil war again. The question of peace or war, necessarily entertained by persons who regarded the warlike proposals as made in earnest, produced great commotion, amidst which the Queen of Navarre fell sick. Her sickness might have been the consequence of much anxiety; but it is a coincidence too important to pass by unmarked, that she died in Paris after an illness of five or six days (June 9th).

Again the storm lowered so deeply that the Huguenots would have provided for their safety if not utterly deluded. Catherine almost quarreled with the Admiral, retired sullenly to Monceaux, and there, with Tavannes, Gondi, and another, resolved to assassinate him, and actually engaged a man to perform that service, whom the Duke of Aumale undertook to assist with a lodging near his intended victim, and a fleet horse whereon he might escape. The Duke of Anjou, also, was in the secret; but their purpose was not yet carried into execution.*

* Some one, with either knowledge or suspicion of the plot, wrote a letter to the Admiral, containing a full exposition of the truth, and supplying a key for our understanding of this unparalleled passage in modern history. Thuanus gives this letter. "You remember that it is a fixed principle of the Papists, sanctioned by the name of religion, and confirmed by the authority of Councils, that faith is not to be kept with sectarians, in which number Protestants are counted. You also know that in remembrance of the late wars, Protestants are the objects of bitter hatred, so much so, that there can be no doubt that it is the determined purpose of the Queen that, by any means whatever, the Protestants shall be made an end of. This woman is a foreigner, an Italian, descended from a race of Popes, whom they oppose, and of an Etruscan and most crafty temper; and it is impossible that she should not devise the utmost vengeance against her enemies. You now see in what a school the King was educated, where, even under the most excellent masters, he imbibed from his mother the habit of perjury, profanity, and polluting himself with whoredom and adultery. And tampering with faith, religion, and counsel, and wearing a mask of hypocrisy, is but sport to him. That he might be accustomed to blood-shedding, he was trained from childhood to the sight of slaughter-houses, and familiarity with death. You know that he is persuaded that there is no other religion than that which is supported by the state; and that, according to his

Margaret de Valois.

Henry Prince of Bearn, now King of Navarre, made his entry into Paris (July 20th), accompanied by his cousin the Prince of Condé, recently married to Mary of Cleves, and a large concourse of Huguenot nobility, in order to celebrate his own nuptials with Margaret. Truly they were at peace with Charles, the Guises had professed a reconciliation, the Protestants were protected by an edict, France was making war with Spain and entering into alliance with England, despite the excommunication of Elizabeth; and, by royal command, Paris was to receive him respectfully, at least. To provide for himself in some degree, merely to second the effort of the King for the preservation of public tranquillity, he brought a powerful train of eight hundred gentlemen, clothed in mourning for his mother, and a thousand well-appointed cavalry. Many of those gentlemen, impoverished by war, had mortgaged their estates that they might sustain the honour of their order by appearing well at court. Many Ministers were there too, mingled in the cavalcade, which advanced severe and solemn, as if it had been a funeral pageant, through the gate St. Antoine. While those two thousand horse passed along the narrow streets, the Parisians gazed with jealousy on so stately an array. No voice welcomed them. "Huguenots! Huguenots! cursed Huguenots!" were the words lowly murmured: for the King's edict repressed outward manifestations of hostility. Navarre and Condé rode onward, thinking over letters of warning that they too had received; but thinking again of treaties, alliances, and crowns. Hate brooded on them; and high thoughts of war, and higher meditations of prayer and trust, rose from the hearts of Princes, Knights, and Ministers.

But at court they were received with overflowing demonstrations of hospitality. Canonical impediments hindered the espousals. The Cardinal of Lorraine at Rome had obtained a brief; but it was written with sibylline obscurity, and did not satisfy his brother of Bourbon, who was to perform the ceremony. But Catherine had a letter forged,

master Machiavelli, no other should have place in a kingdom; for that kingdom cannot be at peace as long as there are two religions within its borders. You also know that he has been filled with the idea that the Protestants are bent on taking away his life and his empire, and that therefore he will never suffer that they who have once borne arms against him, whether justly or unjustly, shall have the benefit of an edict; nor will he think himself bound to observe a compact into which he entered with subjects under arms. You know that these are the arts of Princes, the elements of civil science, the secrets of empire. Thus did Commodus destroy Julian, whom he had caressed and honoured as a father. Thus did Antoninus Caracalla command the first youth of the city to be massacred after he had assembled them under pretext of recruiting the army. And thus Lysander killed eight hundred Milesians whom he had invited under profession of friendship and alliance. Thus did Sergius Galba wreak his vengeance on six thousand Iberians; and, more lately, by command of Anthony Spinula, the chief men of the island of Corsica, when assembled at a banquet, were put to death. With the like art, in our own memory, has the barbarous King Christiern perpetrated his butcheries at Stockholm. Thus Charles VII., although reconciled to Bourgogne, could not withhold his hands from killing him. Neither is a recent conversation of the King with his mother at Blois any secret. When, insolently jesting, as his manner is, he asked her, in God's name, if he had not acted his part finely towards the Queen of Navarre on her arrival, she answered, that he had certainly begun well, but that a fine beginning would be of little service unless he persevered. 'But I,' said he, swearing, 'will bring them all into your net.' From these words, of which you cannot but be well informed, you should derive counsel; and if you are wise, you will keep away from that city and court, as from an impure sink of all mischief."

as from the French Ambassador at Rome, assuring the scrupulous Cardinal that the brief was to be interpreted liberally; and the royal couple were affianced in the Louvre (August 17th). On the day following they were married in Nôtre Dame. The display was magnificent. Gentlemen of both religions mingled at the ceremonial with studied affability; Margaret stayed to mass after the benediction; while Henry, as a Protestant, walked with friends of his religion into the Bishop's palace until she had finished; and then began the days of banqueting and plays, such as were usual on occasions of royal marriages, and were exceedingly splendid then. Coligny was present, by necessity, at every grand spectacle, but intent upon affairs of state, and snatched every moment to promote the expedition to the Netherlands, on which he counted for the humiliation of Spain and the deliverance of his persecuted brethren. Banners lost at Jarnac and Moncontour hung in the cathedral, and, as he surveyed them, he told his friends that he longed to replace those saddening trophies by others to be won from Alva in the Low Countries. But let us make a diary of this fatal week.

Tuesday, 19th. King and court wearied and in bed after the dissipation of the day and night preceding. The Admiral and his friends gravely writing and conversing concerning complaints from the provinces. They hear that a company of the Reformed, returning from a baptism in Troyes, have been attacked by the mob, and the infant killed in the nurse's arms. A grand dinner in the palace of the Duke of Anjou. A ball at night in the Louvre.

Wednesday, 20th. A masque in the palace of the Bourbons. Paradise and hell are fitted up, and it is so contrived that in a sham fight Navarre and some Huguenot gentlemen are shut up in the said hell for an hour, to the amusement of the court. They are wise enough to keep their temper. We read that before this trial of patience, Charles had taken Coligny aside, and addressed him in such words as these: "You know, my father," (for in this respectful style he usually addressed the aged Admiral,) "that I have promised you that none of the Guises shall show you any incivility, as long as you are at court. They have promised me that they will not, but conduct themselves honourably and moderately towards you, as is their duty. I have entire confidence in your words, but put little faith in their promises; for I not only know that these Guises are disposed to seek occasions of revenge, but are daring and lofty, and great favourites with the common people of Paris. Exceedingly sorry should I be if they, now that they have come to Paris with a very large body of armed men, for the sake, as they say, of being present at the marriage, should contrive to injure you. Any harm done to you I should consider as done to myself; and, therefore, as it occurs to me just now, if you think well, I will have a regiment of guards brought into the city, and put under the command of men whom we can trust, that if anything of the sort should be attempted, it may be put down at once." Coligny assented, approved of officers whom Charles named, imagined himself perfectly secure, and was more persuaded than ever of the King's kindness. A regiment was accordingly introduced, and

the Protestants suspected nothing. Their patience at the masque secured them from assault that night.

Thursday, 21*st*. The Marshal de Montmorency, foreboding worse, took leave of Coligny this morning, pleading indisposition. He had just returned from England, and was thought to be exhausted after the voyage. Another officer called on the Admiral to say that he was going, and that if he were to do the same it would be better for himself, and for them all. Another came to pay his respects before quitting Paris, observing, in answer to Coligny's expression of surprise at his timidity, that he would rather be saved with fools than perish with wise men. A tournament closed the day.

Friday, 22*d*. The Admiral was engaged this morning at the Louvre in public business. Tavannes was there also, and saw him leave the palace, linger for some time in conversation with the King and others, and then return towards his hotel. Some one put a memorial into his hand, just after he had left the company, and he was walking very slowly past the house of an old tutor of the Duke of Guise, now Canon of the neighbouring church of St. Germain, attentively reading the paper, when the report of an arquebuse was heard, and three bullets, missing the Admiral's heart, shattered two fingers of his right hand, and wounded his left arm. Maurevel, a man who had already committed an assassination, and was sheltered from justice by the Guises, —the very Maurevel whom Catherine had some months before retained for that service,—had shot him through a grated window in the Canon's house, and was mounting a fleet horse at the back-door before any one could think of entering on pursuit. The Admiral uttered no exclamation, nor manifested any discomposure, but pointed to the house, sent a messenger to inform the King, and was led to his hotel. Navarre, Condé, the Count de la Rochefoucault, and many other of his friends, crowded the apartment; while Paré, the King's surgeon, took off the two broken fingers with a pair of blunt scissors, and handled the severely-wounded arm with a rudeness that must perhaps be attributed to the clumsy surgery of those times. On hearing some one express fear that the wounds were poisoned, Coligny calmly observed that nothing could come to pass without divine permission; and endured the extreme pain inflicted by the royal surgeon with but a single exclamation of displeasure: "And is this the fine reconciliation for which the King stood guarantee?" "Ah, my brother!" said he to the Chaplain of the late Queen of Navarre, "I now feel that God loves me, since for his most holy name's sake I have received these wounds. God grant that I may never forget his goodness towards me." Another Minister endeavoured to console him with promises from the word of God; and he poured forth earnest supplications that he might never be forsaken, nor the divine pity towards him ever fail. When the surgical operation was finished, he whispered a request to his Minister, Merlin, to distribute a hundred crowns among the poor. Condé and Navarre hastened to the Louvre, complained to the King of the indignity of the deed, and prayed that they might be allowed instantly to depart, as it was not possible to remain with security in Paris. Charles played a fit of most furious anger, swore vengeance

on all concerned in the attempt, and declared that he regarded it as an insult offered to himself. While he seemed to be dancing with fury, Catherine came in, joined in the exhibition, and said, that at that rate the King himself was no longer safe in his own house. The Princes suffered themselves to be entreated to remain in Paris, and gave credit to his violent asseverations that vengeance should pursue the assassin and his accomplices, for an everlasting example. Maurevel had fled, as the King knew, but the city-gates were shut, and strict search made for the murderer, in whose stead a servant-woman and errand-boy of the Canon were taken into custody and interrogated; and by their evidence it appeared that a dependent of the Duke of Guise had brought him into the house the night before, under a false name, that he had slept in the Canon's chamber, and that a horse had been kept in waiting for him that morning.

The Duke of Guise, although understood to be guilty,—and Catherine had even endeavoured to excuse him, as having but avenged on the Admiral the murder of his father by Poltrot under the walls of Orleans,—was not arrested, but sat quietly at home while Charles went to see the sufferer, who had sent to invite him to his chamber, that he might make some communication of importance before his death, which seemed to be near at hand. Queen Catherine, the King's brothers, the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon, the Duke of Montpensier, the Cardinal of Bourbon, two of the original conspirators, Tavannes and Retz, with some others, went in company. On entering the chamber the King commanded the Huguenot gentlemen to withdraw, which they did, but reluctantly and murmuring, two excepted, who kept the door, and overheard part of the conversation. With many dire execrations the King swore that he would take such vengeance as never would pass away from the memory of man. Coligny, as became the condition of a man on the brink of eternity, was calm; thanked the King for his attention; pointed out the danger to which France was exposed by the treachery of members of his court,—men, whom the King well knew, and they were then present, who communicated secrets of state to their enemy, the Duke of Alva. He then remonstrated against the persecutions permitted in the provinces, instancing the recent murder of an infant at Troyes; charged the Commissaries, who had been sent to investigate similar cases, with collusion with the criminals; and gave the King such plain, yet solemnly respectful, admonition as he had probably never heard before. But they had him in their grasp, and could therefore indulge him in an honesty that would not again find utterance. Retz proposed to his attendants that he should be removed to the Louvre, to be safe there, in the event of any popular tumult; but they apprehended none, the King's physician thought him unfit to be removed, and Teligny* reminded him that, after the honour of that visit, it was not likely that the populace would presume to disturb his dying master. The visiters quitted the apartment. Much of the following night was spent in anxious discussion by the leading Huguenots. Most of them urged an immediate retreat from Paris, a last effort to

* Son-in-law of the Admiral.

save the Admiral and themselves. They remembered menaces spoken half in jest and half in earnest, dark sayings heard among the multitude, and friendly advices to some of them to make excursions into the country. But the King of Navarre, Condé, and Teligny, entirely persuaded that Charles was sincere in his professions of affection to the Admiral, favour to themselves, and displeasure towards the authors of the present calamity, prevented them from following the only way that ought to have been taken. Charles and his mother spent much of the night in writing letters of exculpation to their Ambassadors in foreign courts, and letters of another kind to Governors of provinces.

Saturday, 23*d*. As the morning advanced the suspicions of the Huguenots gathered confirmation from every rumour. Some went to the King, and demanded justice on the assassin; and, at last, in spite of the dissuasion of their chiefs, five hundred gentlemen went in a body to the Louvre, and said that if justice were not done them, they would find means of avenging themselves. On the other hand, the Duke of Guise had an audience, complained of the calumnies that were circulated to his dishonour, and of the King's expression of suspicion, and asked permission to quit Paris. Charles put on an air of cool dignity, and told him that he might go if he pleased. This was intended to serve him as an occasion of appeal to the populace, who were already wrought up to great rage against the Huguenots: so the Duke mounted his horse, and rode, with a company of his friends, towards the gate St. Antoine, as if to leave the city; but, instead of proceeding, turned back again. This irritated the people, who thought him to be in disgrace, and vengeful murmurings filled the remote streets and alleys of the city. The conspirators, agitated by rage and guilt, held secret councils in the Louvre, councils described so variously, even by some who took part in them, that it is impossible to say to what extent their plans were carried, or what were the precise means employed or suggested for the consummation of their crime; but every incident was made subservient to the meditated massacre. The rabble of Paris, burning with impatience to avenge the imaginary insult of their patron, were hurrying to and fro, as if looking for a leader to head them in an insurrection. At the Louvre, too, there were evidently active communications, messengers incessantly hurrying to and fro, and the troops appeared to be receiving orders in preparation for some movement. Coligny, apprehensive of a popular tumult, but still confiding in the government, applied to the King, towards evening, for a few archers of the guard to watch at his hotel during the night, and protect him from any violence that might be attempted; and the Admiral's messenger further requested that several gentlemen of his friends might be allowed to take lodgings for the night in the neighbourhood, as an additional precaution. Charles was embarrassed for a moment, supposing that the plot had been discovered; but Anjou, who heard the request made by Cornaton, coolly suggested that he should take one Cosseins, with fifty men. Cornaton, taken by surprise, could not refuse the formidable guard, but dreaded the presence of Cosseins, a

declared enemy of the Admiral, with such a force at his command. Cosseins marched to the spot quickly, and placed his men in two shops, immediately opposite the Admiral's hotel in the Rue Béthisy; and, as it had been requested that some of his friends should lodge near at hand, another officer came with an order to turn out all the Catholic lodgers from neighbouring houses, and leave the rooms vacant for the Calvinists. Coligny did not suspect the true reason for collecting them thus together, but regarded it as done in compliance with his own request, and for his better protection. A friend then came into his chamber,—the Vidâme de Chartres,—described the threatening appearance of the rabble, repeated some of their ominous expressions, and entreated him to allow himself to be conveyed away on a litter. He had just seen Cosseins mounting the extraordinary guard under the windows, and this added to his fear. But the King of Navarre described the indignation of Charles against the Duke of Guise, whom he suspected of ill designs; said that, at the King's desire, he was selecting some of his best friends to sleep that night in the Louvre, for greater security; and the majority, fancying that all those measures were taken for their protection, feared to frustrate them by any proceeding of their own that might indicate distrust. The truth was, that the murderous cabal had merely determined to preserve Navarre and Condé for political reasons. Navarre returned to his usual apartments in the Louvre, and met there the few friends whom he had been desired to invite. Coligny bade his company good night, and, with Teligny and one or two others, was soon tranquilly asleep.

Sunday, 24th. ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY. Everything had been prepared the night before. Reports had been circulated among the Parisians that the King was in a secret understanding with the Huguenots, and that a force was approaching the city to support them against the Catholics, and against the Duke of Guise. The Duke, like a man threatened with assault, had sent for the authorities of the city, and with them organized a system of "defence" through all the sixteen districts of Paris, in order that the whole population might be called out in case of alarm by any hostile movement of the Huguenots. Full use was made of the incautious menace of the five hundred gentlemen who had demanded justice against him in the day. Two forces were prepared,—the civil and the military. Late in the evening the Provost of the Merchants * assembled the Captains of the sixteen divisions, and their subalterns, and told them that, at length, the King had resolved to permit the people to take arms and exterminate the rebels who had so long kept France in confusion; that he wished that no one might escape; that a massacre would begin that night in Paris, and be followed by other similar massacres throughout the kingdom. A little before day-break, he told them, the bell of the Palace of Justice would toll, and at that signal every good Catholic should place torches in his windows, that there might be light for the work, and, with a white cross on his cap, and a white

* This personage, in Paris and Lyons, was placed over the *Hôtel de Ville*, or "Town-House," with a sort of police authority over the freemen of the city.

scarf round his arm, that he might be distinguished from the heretics, should come out to do justice on his enemies. The officers dispersed, and, with ferocious haste, those good Catholics prepared the crosses, scarfs, and torches. While the Provost was communicating the King's pleasure to the city, the Duke of Guise was addressing the Captains of the French and Swiss guards. "The hour has arrived," said he, "when, by command of the King, capital vengeance must be taken on him who is hateful both to God and men, and on all that rebellious faction. The brute is in the net, and you must take care that he does not escape. Do not miss this opportune occasion of gaining a most glorious triumph over the enemies of the kingdom; a triumph such as we have not yet won, after all the blood shed in so many provinces during the past wars. Victory is easy. You shall have rich booty, the reward of one good deed, without a drop of your own blood being spilt." The mercenaries needed no persuasion, and immediately took their posts around the Louvre, with orders not to suffer any member of the families of Navarre and Condé to quit the palace. At midnight Guise went to the Town-House, where the civic authorities were in waiting, and received him with acclamation. It was the King's pleasure, he told them, that Coligny and all the other rebels should be put to death. They were, therefore, to allow no one to be spared, nor any of those wicked men to evade their vengeance. Thus the King willed and commanded, who would see the example of Paris followed in all other cities of the kingdom. He also repeated the directions already given for a simultaneous illumination of the streets, and for the badge of cross and scarf.

Shortly after midnight the Queen-Mother, impatient, and fearing lest her son's courage should falter, went into his chamber, attended by Anjou and Nevers, with Tavannes, Biragua, and Retz. The King was indeed hesitating. Conscience, feeble as it was, was awakening, and the young man looked wretched. She drew him into conversation, rallied him on his weakness, reasoned on the admirable opportunity now given them by the providence of God for making an end of all their enemies; quoted sentences from Italian Divines in confirmation of a religious resolution to show no pity to the enemies of God; and pointed out what the fury of those enemies would be if his intention, no longer possible to be concealed from their knowledge, should not be executed. When she perceived him to be sufficiently stirred up, she bade him give his order for the fatal signal. He commanded the tocsin to be rung. The Palace of Justice seemed then too distant; and, that no time might be allowed him for remorse, she caused the bell of St. Germain, a church close by the Louvre, to be rung. Lines of soldiers were already distributed along the streets by the diligence of Guise. The knell boomed over the dark city, and, in a few moments, a glare of torches blazed from all the windows, except those of the Protestants, who started with terror from their beds. Catherine and her son looked out upon the scene from a window over the gate of the Louvre, while Anjou and the others stood behind them. A guilty fear seized on the whole company, and, without consultation, they recoiled at the same instant,

and sent a messenger to call back Guise, and bid him spare the Admiral. But Guise was gone.

Guise made his way, through the lines of military, towards the hotel where Coligny lay asleep, while the Papists were rushing into the streets with such impetuosity that he could scarcely advance; and some Protestants, who lodged near the Louvre, were already running thither for protection, and, on asking the soldiers what the alarum and multitude of people meant, were told that there was to be a sham fight that morning, and the people were making haste to see it. The sentinels then drove them from the gate, the Queen beckoned to the sentinels, and at her signal they were cut down by the soldiers and the mob. By this time Guise had reached Coligny's lodgings, where Cosseins was waiting with his guard, and, on his arrival, knocked at the door and demanded admission, saying that he had come from the King with a message to the Admiral. On the door being opened, he stabbed the porter, and forced his way through door after door until he reached the chamber of his victim. At the first noise the venerable Admiral had risen from his bed, supposing that the mob were breaking into the house, and was now leaning against the wall in prayer. His friends and domestics, unable any longer to barricade the doors, which gave way under the blows of the assailants, ran into the room. Cornaton, a faithful attendant, told him that resistance was no longer possible; that not the King, but God, called him. In reply, he advised them to save themselves, if possible; said that he was prepared to die, and commended his soul to God. Most of them fled just as the guards were rushing up the staircase; and Besme, a valet of the Duke of Guise, entered the chamber, sword in hand, crying, "Are you Coligny?" "I am," answered the Admiral, then seated in an arm-chair, and looking calmly at the murderer, "I am, indeed; but respect my grey hairs, young man: whatever you do, you cannot shorten my life." Besme plunged the sword up to the hilt in his breast, others mangled his body with their swords, until they heard the Duke of Guise, shouting under the window, "Besme, have you done?" It was done, he told him; and then the Duke of Angoulême, too, raised his voice, calling out that Guise would not believe it until he saw the body. The body, gashed as it was, was thrown out at the window, but so disfigured that it could not be recognised; and the Duke of Guise, to be certain, wiped the blood from the face with his handkerchief, and, having certified himself that there was no mistake, cried out, "I know him;" and "giving a kick to the poor dead body of him whom, living, every man in France had feared, 'Lie there,' said he, 'venomous beast! thou shalt not spit thy poison any more.'" Having satisfied his vengeance on the Admiral, he turned to the soldiers, and told them that they must now go forward with the work so happily begun. The bell sounded from the tower of the Palace of Justice, and the unbridled multitude, bursting into one terrible shout, began the general slaughter. The air rang with a deafening din of execrations. The dwellings of the Huguenots were attacked, and nothing could be heard but the crashing of doors and windows before stones and hatchets, the clang of arms, the

Coligni.

shrieks of men, women, and children, mingled with vociferations of blasphemy and fury, such as the world had never heard before. The streets streamed with blood. Heaps of naked and mutilated bodies clogged the ways. The dying and the dead were stripped, and their houses emptied. Guise and his companions ran about among the mob, shouting, "Kill, kill! Blood-letting is good in August. Kill, kill! The King commands. For the King! For the King! O Huguenot! O Huguenot!" Now the gates of the Louvre were shut; but the soldiers in the court were let into the apartments of the Protestant guests, after Navarre and Condé had been summoned to the presence of the King, and commanded to give up their fine religion. Navarre had little to surrender, and he submitted. Condé remonstrated stoutly, and declared that he would rather die than renounce the truth. But it was not part of the plan to put a Prince of the blood to death; and he was only loaded with indignity, called a madman, traitor, rebel, and told that he should have no more than three days allowed him to come to a better mind. Meanwhile, sixty thousand armed Frenchmen were butchering their brethren, and the King, frantic with thirst of blood, looked out from the windows of the Louvre on the piles of dead bodies that had fallen on the pavement, and the cartloads of them that began to be taken past, and flung into the Seine. The ladies of the court amused themselves with examining the bodies of the Huguenots with whom they had been feasting but a few hours before. Catherine, with the madness of a fiend, ran from room to room, chiefly busied in threatening the less brutal members of her family, such as the Duke of Alençon, sending to her chamber the young Queen-Consort, Elizabeth, and ridiculing Margaret of Navarre, as she was fainting in hers at the sight of the wounded and pursued who, in vain, rushed into her presence to beg for mercy. Never did morning rise on such a scene. There could be seen but two divisions of the people: the living, blind with rage, and hunting after more Huguenots to be killed; and the warm and gory dead, whose spirits, escaped from a living hell, cried at the altar of God for judgment, or their doomed survivers, just ready to be slain. But the last groan had not risen. The last yell of defiance had not died away, and Paris, drenched in blood, but began a new reckoning with the Judge of the whole earth for retribution. Five hundred gentlemen and ten thousand persons of inferior rank fell in that and the following days. The royal family of France, excepting only Navarre and Condé, and two or three ladies in whose bosoms woman's pity could not be extinguished, sank into a horrid complacency; and Catherine maintained her odious pre-eminence in guilt, by receiving the Admiral's head, washed from its gore, that she might better gaze upon the features, and a sack-full of papers found in the hotel. The body, after being stripped, mutilated, dragged through the mire, kicked and trampled on from street to street, was hung by the heels on a gibbet at Montfaucon, and the head was sent to Rome. The massacre continued through seven days.

Still there was a remnant spared, even in Paris. Some fugitives found a hiding-place in the arsenal. Sully, then a young student,

saved himself by putting on his scholar's gown, and taking a Missal under his arm, and thus walked through the streets when the massacre was at its height. Merlin, the Admiral's Chaplain, in clambering over the house-tops, when the assassins had broken into the hotel, fell into a hay-loft, lay concealed there many days, and must have perished for want of food, if a hen had not laid an egg there daily, which kept him alive. And the Reformed who lodged in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, separated from Paris by the Seine, all escaped. They were about to cross the river in boats, early in the morning, to ascertain the cause of the disturbance, when other boats, filled with French and Swiss guards, made their appearance. The guards opened fire, directed by the King himself, on some who were on the bank, ready to embark; but they then perceived that it was time to flee, and, making their way to Rochelle or to the frontiers, outstripped pursuit. Through that dreadful week brutality itself degenerated. Men stabbed infants while the innocents were smiling in their arms, and playing with their beards. Children killed lesser children, servants slaughtered their masters; and when the parents had been murdered, aunts and uncles tormented and destroyed the orphans. Many Romanists were killed for the sake of their wealth; and, at last, the torrent of death flowed so deep that Guise himself became alarmed, and the King issued order after order to cease from violence; but the masses had cast off all restraint, and would not be hindered from carnage that repaid in plunder. The Sorbonne, as well as the Louvre, was invaded. Pierre de la Ramée, (Ramus,) Professor of Mathematics, one of the most learned men in France, but marked as having once corresponded with Theodore Beza, was pointed out as a Calvinist by Charpentier, one of the King's physicians. The murderers broke into his house, dragged him from a cellar, where he had hidden himself, killed him, and threw him out at a window, when some students ripped him open, and trailed his bowels through the street. Denis Lambin, Professor of Greek and Latin, was so shocked at the sight, that he died of horror.

The Priests were careful to stimulate the mob to massacre from day to day. On St. Bartholomew's day, or, as some say, the day after, a white-thorn in the cemetery of the Innocents happened to put forth some blossoms. An old Monk published the "miracle," which they say that he contrived, as a sign that the Church had once more put forth her blossoms; and a fresh impulse was thereby given to the defenders of the Church to prosecute their work of extirpation.

On the Monday, either sickened and terror-stricken with the scene, or fearing the consequences to himself, the King sent letters to the Governors of the provinces, throwing the entire blame on the Guises. He assured them that the sedition had been raised without his knowledge; that having discovered that the friends of the Admiral were resolved to avenge his wound, the Guises had assembled a great number of gentlemen and Parisians, and, after disarming the guards given to Coligny, had killed both him and those whom they found with him; and that this example had been followed with so great violence and fury in other parts of the city, that it became impossible to inter-

pose a remedy. The massacre, he affirmed, was to be attributed to the ancient enmity between the two houses; and as the misfortune had come to pass against his will, it was but right to make known that the edict last published had not been violated in any article, but religiously observed. He further desired that peace might be preserved in the provinces, under penalty of death to the disobedient; "and, finally," he added, "here am I with the King of Navarre my brother, and my cousin the Prince of Condé, ready to share their fortune." On that day Catherine wrote letters to the same effect, addressed to the Governors, and also to the Swiss Republic, which letters were circulated in Germany and England; and the King's guards were sent to Châtillon-sur-Loing, to bring the widows and children of Coligny and D'Andelot to Paris. Their eldest sons escaped, but the others were brought back in custody.

Charles had intended that, after the death of the Admiral and the Huguenots, Guise should have retired from Paris for a time, to take the entire reproach. The Duke, on the contrary, was unwilling that the revenge and the disgrace should fall upon himself alone; and the Queen-Mother, with Anjou, fearing that by that scheme the country would be again plunged into civil war, and her own comfort interrupted, found means to engage the King to accept the responsibility. She had, from the first, desired that all papers found in the houses of the Calvinists should be brought to her; and partly by selection, but partly by forgery, she and Anjou produced documents which tended to prove that the Marshal of Montmorency had promised to take vengeance of him who had caused the Admiral to be wounded, and to punish the attempt as severely as if committed against himself. They represented that to devolve the blame on Guise would certainly encourage Montmorency, with whom the remnant of the Huguenots would join, to renew the war; and that, to prevent so great an evil, it behoved the King to acknowledge his own act by a public declaration, and, by so doing, induce the Guises to disarm, and prevent the Montmorencys from taking up arms, and the Protestants from joining them.

On Tuesday morning, therefore, (August 26th,) the King came to the court of Parliament, attended by his brothers, the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon, the King of Navarre, and many others, and there openly declared that he had been obliged to take the violent measures which he came there to acknowledge, in order to save himself, his mother, his brothers, and even the King of Navarre, although professing the same religion, from death, by Coligny and his adherents, who had intended to set young Condé on the throne, and then kill him also, the only remaining member of the royal family, and usurp his place. Extreme dangers, he said, required extreme remedies, and he therefore wished all the world to know that the murders of the last few days had been authorized by his command. Under equal date he sent out an edict prefaced with a similar declaration, and commanding the provincial Governors to protect the Protestants in their dwellings, inasmuch as the royal massacre had not been executed on account of heresy, but treason, and the concessions made to them were not to

be withdrawn. But he added a clause which might serve to justify further persecution, commanding that since their sermons and assemblies had been occasions of public disturbance, they should not be repeated anywhere, either in public or in private, until his permission had been obtained. Whoever transgressed this prohibition was to be punished with death, and his property confiscated. Secret messengers were sent to enforce the most rigid interpretation of this contradictory decree. Two days afterwards, while the murders were still continued, notwithstanding a proclamation at the street-corners commanding bloodshed to be stayed, a jubilee was celebrated, the King and court, followed by a long train of devotees, walked in procession, chanting psalms, and returned thanks to God for the happy accomplishment of their undertaking for the glory of his cause. Yet many persons, through fear, only pretended to approve what in heart they condemned; as, for example, Christopher de Thou, father of the historian, who said in Parliament that a King who knew not how to dissimulate knew not how to reign; but he ventured to lament to Charles in secret that, if he thought the Huguenots were guilty of treason, he had not proceeded against them legally.*

On St. Bartholomew's eve messengers had been sent to the Governors of the principal towns to engage them to head similar executions.† First at Meaux, on St. Bartholomew's day, more than two hundred men were thrown into prison; many escaped; but twenty-five women were dragged into the market-place by ruffians, violated, and then killed. Cosset, a profligate Magistrate, had the prisoners brought out one by one, killed, and thrown into the castle-ditch, until the butchers were weary of the tardy execution, and drowned the remainder in the Marne; and Cosset then bade the inhabitants follow out that "good beginning." The presence of François de Montmorency at Chantilly, as Governor of the Isle of France, repressed violence at Senlis. At Orleans, where the King's public letter, disapproving the attempted murder of the Admiral, was followed by a secret emissary, with instructions to execute a massacre, one Bouilli, a royal Councillor, invited a Protestant gentleman, La Cour, to sup with him. After supper a party of assassins brought in the dreadful news from Paris, and asked a gratuity for their trouble, which was given them, as the signal that they might proceed to murder La Cour. Then began a massacre that lasted for three days; and the zealots boasted that they had slain one thousand eight hundred men, and one hundred and fifty women and children. Many of the neighbouring towns imitated the example of Orleans. At Angers, as the Reformed Pastor

* And he cited these verses of Papinian :—

> "Excidat illa dies ævo, nec postera credant
> Sæcula; nos certè taceamus, et obruta multâ
> Nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis."

† It is said that only four of them refused to act. One, the Viscount d'Orthés, wrote to the King that he had communicated His Majesty's commands to the faithful inhabitants of the town and brave soldiers of the garrison, but among them all he could not find one executioner; and humbly entreated him only to employ their arms and lives in things *possible*. The murderers must have been infatuated when they wrote letters so contradictory by successive couriers.

was walking in his garden, his wife, suspecting no danger, admitted a stranger who desired to speak with him. That was an assassin. The Pastor fell, and after him his flock were led to the slaughter. At Troyes guards were placed at the gates, and all suspected of heresy imprisoned. After five days, Simphalle, the Governor, received the King's ambiguous edict, when he killed all the prisoners, buried them in one ditch, and then published the edict. Bourges, Rouen, Nevers, Toulouse, and Bourdeaux, were scenes of slaughter; persons being first made prisoners either on alleged suspicion of some crime, or under pretence of being protected from popular violence, and then brought out to death. A messenger from Catherine brought a royal order to Mandelot, the Governor of Lyons, to imitate the example of Paris. Mandelot, although an adherent of the Duke of Guise, shrank at first from the execution of the mandate, and begged of the good Catholics—who instantly surrounded him with a clamorous request for authority to begin the massacre—to wait for a few days until he should have received further instructions. However, by the public crier, he summoned all the Protestants to appear at the town-house, to hear the King's pleasure; and thither they flocked, vainly hoping for protection. They were then thrown into the prisons of the city; but as those buildings were not capacious enough to receive them, other prisons were also crowded; and about three hundred of the principal inhabitants were placed in the dungeons of the Archbishop. While Mandelot hesitated, one Pierre d'Antisse came to buy horses for the army, and, although possessing no authority, assured Mandelot that he was expected both by the King and Queen to carry their pleasure into execution, and put to death all the Huguenots that were already in custody, or that could be found. Surrounded by a crowd of impatient murderers, the Governor resisted the last check of conscience, and, turning to the messenger, gave him permission in such words as these: "To thee, Peter, I say, as Christ said to Peter, 'That whatsoever thou bindest shall be bound, and whatsoever thou loosest shall be loosed.'" No sooner were these words pronounced than the servants of the Church proceeded to fulfil their mission. First of all they went to the public hangman, and required him to execute the prisoners; but the hangman told them that, although willing to execute any lawful sentence, he could not lend himself to a promiscuous murder. They then went to the guards in the castle; but the guards, indignant at such a request, told them they were honourable soldiers, not executioners, and would not take part in any violence towards persons who had not done them any injury. They then succeeded in collecting three hundred archers belonging to the city, who consented to undertake the massacre, and began at the prison of the Franciscans, which was freely opened to them by the Monks, and they killed all the Protestants there in custody. Thence to the Celestines, where they made a great slaughter. Then, led by Mandelot, they went to the Archbishop's prison, emptied the purses of the three hundred Protestant gentry, and while their victims embraced each other, and implored help of God and pity of men,—children clinging round the necks of their parents, parents clasping infants in their arms, brothers

and friends exhorting each other to constancy,—the brutes rushed on them with clubs, knives, and hatchets, and hewed them down like cattle. Their cries were heard far through the city; and Mandelot, who had retreated while the murderers did their work, came back after it was finished, pretending to have been ignorant of their intention, and, asking what they had done, with ridiculous dissimulation, offered a reward for the detection of the murderers. That evening the same persons renewed their task, went to the public prison on the Rhone, beat the prisoners, and then, putting ropes round their necks, dragged them out, and drowned them in the river. All that night the dregs of the people gave themselves up to murder and robbery. Furniture was taken from the houses, and goods from the shops. Dragged from their hiding-places, all suspected of heresy were killed, some despatched with knives or clubs, and others thrown into the river. The courts of the Archbishop's palace were covered with dead bodies; and Mandelot, pale with horror, commanded them to be thrown into boats, and taken for interment to a cemetery across the river; but the Monks declared that burial could by no means be allowed to the carcases of such wretches. Some one cried that they should be flung into the river, and the mob dragged them away to the bank. The druggists, however, asked and had the fattest bodies, which they made use of for the preparation of ointment, "that some good might be got out of people who had done so much mischief." The bodies floated down the Rhone in one mass. The inhabitants of the towns on the banks, appalled by the ghastly spectacle, flew to arms; and, although they had been taught to hate the Huguenots, poured imprecations on the barbarians of Lyons. Red with blood, the water of the Rhone could not be drunk. At Arles, even the wells were corrupted, while the fish in the river died, the inhabitants sickened, and sent to distant streams for water. Claude Gaudimel, "an excellent musician of our age," as the indignant Thuanus styles him, who had set the psalms of Beza and Marot to music, was among the martyrs. The number of the dead was estimated at eight hundred. At Toulouse a similar horror took place, and on the same Lord's day. But we must shorten the recital, and can only note further, that the number of victims was incalculable. Romanist historians are our informants, and not disposed to exaggerate; but they vary widely in their estimate, some counting so high as one hundred thousand, and others so low as twenty-five thousand. Provence and Dauphiné were honourably excepted from this reproach.

Medals, struck at Paris, in gold and silver, to commemorate the event, are still in our cabinets. But remorse gnawed the heart of Charles IX. Nocturnal spectres seemed to chase away his slumbers, dreams awakened him, and day and night his mind was haunted with apprehensions of rebellion. The news of the matins of St. Bartholomew were welcomed at Rome with extravagant demonstrations of joy. The Cardinal of Lorraine rewarded the messenger with one thousand crowns. Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, and the whole mass of Roman Clergy, walked in a triumphal procession. Mass was performed by Lorraine, who also preached a sermon of congratulation to the Church.

Paintings of the most interesting passages in the massacre were placed in the Vatican, the death of the Admiral being the subject of one of them; and for perpetual memory of the thing, a medal was struck, and is yet extant, with "*Gregorius XIII. Pont. Max. An. I.*" on the obverse, and on the reverse, "*Ugonottorum strages*"—("The slaughter of the Huguenots"). Excepting at Madrid, where a courier, after travelling for three days and nights, announced the "good news," and filled the heads of both Church and State with transports of joy, the intelligence was heard with disgust and indignation in all the other courts of Europe.

At this point we stay. The massacres of St. Bartholomew quenched the brightest lights of Reformation in France, and deprived the followers of Christ and the lovers of religious liberty of their chief secular dependence. But many of them still remained. So strong a feeling of discontent arose in those sections of the population that lay beyond the direct influence of the Romish Clergy, of Government, and of civil faction, that every element of resistance to abused authority combined for common preservation. Some fugitives from the untouched quarter of Paris, and others from various parts of France, fortified themselves in Rochelle, and, although there were but two thousand armed men, they stood a siege of several months by the whole force of the French army, headed by the chief officers of the kingdom; but the besieging hosts, without unity of purpose or consciousness of right, melted away under their sallies, or were dispersed by their own dissensions. The smaller town of Sancerre held out against a detachment from the main army with unparalleled endurance amidst the horrors of a famine; but both Rochelle and Sancerre capitulated honourably, and received the benefit of a pacification. From that time forth, under the name of religion, civil war was waged or interrupted as one party or the other gained a temporary advantage; but the same ferocious bigotry displayed itself at every possible opportunity, and with perfidy as flagrant as that practised on the Huguenots in 1572. The revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685, is an example that remains engraven on the universal memory of Christendom; and if our space permitted the continuation of this history into the times usually distinguished as those of the anti-Reformation, it would be necessary to examine with close attention the "Catholic League" of France, in conjunction with the Pope and Spain in 1576, the part taken by the Jesuits in this great counter-movement throughout Europe, and new displays of Christianity struggling again with racks and fires, as in the ages already traversed in our Martyrology. The field is too vast to be presented by an incidental notice; and the development of principles, good and evil, without which history is useless, could not be attained in a hurried compendium. This chapter, therefore, shall close with a notice of the last hours of Charles IX.

The Duke of Anjou, one of the chief conspirators with Catherine to destroy the Huguenots, had been elected King of Poland, and, when he went to take possession of the throne, was accompanied by Charles towards the frontier, as well as by their mother, who could not

conceal her discomfort at losing this confidential son, and her hope that he would soon return. Charles desired the contrary; and, after having accompanied him some part of the way, left him and his mother to proceed, and returned to St. Germain, exceedingly depressed. From that time he languished, and the decline was accelerated, if not by any other cause, at least by the discovery of a plot for seizing on the government by the King of Navarre, the Duke of Alençon, (now bearing the title of Anjou,) and the Prince of Condé. Hearing of nothing but intercepted correspondence, arrests, tortures, executions, and insurrectionary troops, he was carried in precipitate haste to Paris,—whither the court fled with every sign of cowardice,—and laid on the bed from which he never rose. France hastened to cast off the dying King, and he found himself insecurely protected against the vengeance which he too well knew himself to merit. Catherine beset him with importunity until he had appointed her Regent of the kingdom after his decease; and, this done, he sank into a state of bodily suffering and mental anguish too distressing to allow another thought of state affairs. His mother, utterly indifferent to his condition, except as it might be a source of satisfaction to herself, came to tell him of enemies captured or put to death; but he turned away from her like one surfeited with cruelty. His limbs were distorted with spasms. Blood oozed out, not only from his ears and nostrils, but from the pores of his skin. Thus he lay bathed in gore, suffering the agony and humiliation of a lingering death. By his bed-side there waited a faithful old nurse,—but she was a Huguenot, spared, no doubt, because useful to the royal family,—and into her bosom he poured a confession that no Priest would have accepted: "Ah, my dear nurse, (*ma mie,*) I have followed bad advice. My God, forgive me! God, have pity on me! Where am I? I know not where I am. What will become of all this? What shall I do? I feel it now, I am lost!" On the day of his death he called for the King of Navarre,—the man whom he had compelled, during the massacre, to deny his faith, who had since been forced to mass, charged with treason, and was at that moment a state-prisoner in the Louvre. Navarre, like one going to receive sentence of death, followed the guards, trembling, through the vaults of the palace, and came to the bed-side. The Queen-Mother was there to watch the interview, after having endeavoured to prevent it. "*He is my brother,*" exclaimed Charles, stretching out his arms towards him. "My brother, I know that you have no hand in the trouble that has come upon me. If I had believed what they told me, you would not have been alive to-day. But I have always loved you. I commit my wife and child to you alone. I give them to you. Do not trust ——. God keep you!" So did he pay the tardy tribute of conscience to a former leader of the Reformation, unsaying every charge of treason he had ever uttered. He was then in the agony of death; and Navarre (afterwards Henry IV.) saw him breathe his last (March 30th, 1574), in the twenty-fifth year of his age, suddenly cut off in the flower of life. An athletic frame and remarkably robust constitution, with a mind of rude strength, even to

temerity, gave way as if withered by some sudden stroke. Catherine had endeavoured to forestall suspicion by putting on the rack a man accused of witchcraft. But common rumour attributed the guilt to two of her Italian accomplices in other crimes, Gondi and Biragua. The spasms, prostration of strength, and exudation of blood, were supposed to indicate the action of a mineral poison; and an examination of the body, far from removing that suspicion, gave it confirmation. Whoever may have been guilty, the wretched end of Charles IX., who had surrendered himself to the most criminal advisers, is but in correspondence with all the events of a reign more deeply stained with guilt than that of any other Sovereign whose name stands in the list of persecutors.*

CHAPTER VII.

ITALY, with the Alps, the Sub-Alpine States, and the Islands of Sicily and Malta, from the Date of the Confession of Augsburg, in 1530, to the Massacre of the Waldenses of Piedmont in 1655, and a few subsequent Events.

ITALY shall be the subject of this chapter. From Nice, on the shore of the Mediterranean, you follow the range of the Alps northward, including Savoy, a province almost French; and, leaving the Swiss cantons, except where the Italian language marks them as belonging to your history, you pass eastward through the wild mountain region north of Lombardy; and descending by the same natural boundary towards the south-east, having European Turkey eastward, and the Adriatic on the west, you take the sea-port of Trieste and the Istrian peninsula as the outposts of Italy on that side. The field of observation thus included, consists of the entire Alpine region,—marked in the annals of Christendom as the refuge of evangelical doctrine, in various degrees of purity, from the days of the Apostles,—Savoy, Piedmont, the Milanese, Lombardy, and Venice. Then come the lesser republics and free cities, the commercial state of Florence, or Tuscany, and Ferrara. After these the Papal States, having Rome as their metropolis, and claiming an imperial supremacy over Christendom. Naples occupies the southern portion of the peninsula; and the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and even Malta, can only pertain to Italy; and the whole of these territories, notwithstanding political diversities, must now be comprehended under a single designation. And again we take the date of the confession of Augsburg for the commencement of our inquiry, and examine the state of this important section of Europe in respect to the Reformation, in the year 1530.

Chiefly in the valleys of Piedmont there are not less than eight

* Theodore Beza, Histoire des Eglises Reformées du Royaume de France; and De Thou, Historiarum sui Temporis Libri; are the perpetual authorities employed in the preparation of this chapter. But their statements have been collated with those of other historians of France, Spain, Italy, and the Council of Trent.

hundred thousand Waldenses,* whose brethren are dispersed over Italy, and have important settlements in Calabria. The peasantry of the Rhætian Alps, or Grisons, have recently received some knowledge of the Gospel, and seceded from the Romish worship in many of their villages. For some years past there have been witnesses to the truth in Milan. Venice, a great commercial city, and head of a republic, serves as a market for Lutheran books, which are translated, printed, and sold there without any hinderance, and circulated thence all over Italy; and Luther was rejoicing, two years ago, that the Venetians had received the word of God. They are now in active correspondence with Germany; and while Melancthon has been labouring at Augsburg to conciliate Romish theologians, Venetian brethren have been exhorting him to firmness and intrepidity. Two of them, Carnesecchi and Lupetino, are eminent for learning and piety, and will soon be crowned with martyrdom. They have not yet organized churches, but are now purposing to do so; and the Senate is not indisposed to authorize such a proceeding. The Duchess of Ferrara, Renée, daughter of Louis XII. of France, is a Christian lady, and retains learned and devoted Protestants in her husband's court, who spare no effort to communicate scriptural knowledge by the channels of education and literature. It will be found that most of the eminent Italian Reformers have resided in the court of Ercole II. At Florence, the teaching of Savonarola is not forgotten. Some of his disciples are yet alive. Bruccioli and others have been busy in translating the holy Scriptures, which are now published in the vernacular of Italy, and will be stamped with absolute prohibition; and the doctrine of justification by faith is already denounced from the pulpits of the city as a prevalent heresy. A native of Florence, Peter Martyr, is now in the city of Naples reading evangelical lectures to ecclesiastics and nobles, assisted by Mollio, and by Ochino, at this time a man of undoubted orthodoxy, who preaches Christ from the pulpit. A Reformed church will soon arise, the fruit of these labours. The sack of Rome by the Germans is a recent event, accounted to have been a visible judgment of God on the Pope and his court. And this is repeated in the sermons which the Evangelicals, (*Evangelici,*) as they properly call themselves, deliver in private houses throughout the Papal States, and especially in Faenza, notwithstanding the sovereign jurisdiction of the Pope over that city, and the residence of a Bishop there. Believers in the Gospel multiply from day to day. The tidings of salvation have crossed the strait of Messina; and although obscurely recorded by Protestant writers, the murmurings of others disclose the fact that there are "many heretics" in Sicily.

In this year (1530), the Vicar-General of the preaching Friars represented to Clement VII. that "the Lutheran heresy was gaining strength in many parts of Italy:" and that Pontiff issued the Bull *Cum sicut ex relatione,* reciting the statements of the Vicar; commanding the Inquisitors to proceed instantly against suspected persons, but especially against Monks who had imbibed the new doctrine; and giving

* In Martyrologia, vol. ii., p. 494, the Waldenses are described.

them authority to absolve such as would recant.* By an offer of indulgences, he stimulated the zeal of all who would take up the badge of a cross, and become servants of the Holy Inquisition; and commanded the Bishops to assist the Inquisitors in their work.† Simultaneous, then, with the Diet of Augsburg, was the revival of the Roman Inquisition, first intended to exercise jurisdiction over Italy, but afterwards set at the head of the inquisitorial system throughout the world. And at the same time that this tribunal received new strength, the islands of Malta and Gozo, by a remarkable coincidence, were given to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, "that they might employ whatever belonged to their religion for the benefit of the Christian commonwealth, and exercise their forces and their arms against the perfidious enemies of the Christian religion." ‡ Thus did the diploma of Charles V. constitute the employment of their arms against Lutherans or Calvinists, as well as Turks, a condition for their tenure of those islands; and although the Knights of St. John were not specially commissioned to make war on heretics, such was the general idea which pervaded military orders, and which found expression shortly afterwards in the institution of the order of St. Lazarus for the suppression of heresy in Savoy. Here, then, we perceive, on one hand, an advance of the Reformation in Italy; and, on the other, a preparation of temporal force for its resistance. To what extent this force was employed we soon shall see.

Even in the depths of the Alpine valleys the remnant of Waldenses could scarcely find a hiding-place. Watched by Inquisitors, they had discontinued public worship, and only ventured to unite in prayer in their cottages by small companies, and under a perpetual consciousness of danger, until their enemies almost fancied that the dragonnades of the preceding century under Albertus de Capitaneis, and the lesser persecutions that followed, had eradicated the last shoot of the heresy of Valdo from the valleys of Savoy and Piedmont. The Barbes, however, and the few aged fathers yet surviving, longed for a revival of religion, prayed for it, and sent messengers into Germany and Switzerland to confer with the Reformers, and evangelists to awaken the slumbering courage of their scattered brethren in Provence, on the one side, and in Italy, and especially Calabria, on the other. The voice of God's children could no longer be smothered in silence. Hymns of praise again resounded in those valleys; and the echo, heard in Turin, alarmed the Archbishop and the Inquisitor, who ran to the Duke of Savoy and Prince of Piedmont, and implored him to deliver

* The Bull may be cited as an authority in this case. It witnesses to the state of Italy thus:—"Since it has been made known to us, to the great grief of our heart, that in various parts of Italy that pestiferous heresy of Luther is rife, not only among secular persons, but even among Ecclesiastics and regulars, both mendicant and not mendicant, that sometimes some by their discourses and words, and, what is still worse, by public preachings, infect great numbers with this pest, and grievously scandalize the faithful of Christ who live under the obedience of the holy Roman Church, and observe the precepts of the same, to the augmentation of heresy, the offence of the weak, and to the no small detriment of the Catholic faith," &c.—Gerdesii Specimen Italiæ Reformatæ, p. 9.

† Limborch, Hist. Inquisit., lib. i., cap. 29.

‡ Malta Illustrata, lib. ii., not. 14.

over all his subjects of that religion to the secular arm; not to execute the sentence of any tribunal, but by a mere act of power to extirpate the troublers from their haunts (A.D. 1534). Duke Charles, forgetting the declaration of his predecessor, Philip VII., that he had no subjects so good, so faithful, and so obedient as those Vaudois, commanded Pantaleone Bressour, Lord of Roccapiatta, to fulfil the pleasure of the Church in their destruction. Honoured with this commission, as he thought himself, Pantaleone secretly collected five hundred men, of the sort best fit for that kind of service, suddenly marched into the condemned district, and for one day they murdered every person whom they could find. The greater part of the population, however, having fled into their familiar hiding-places, rallied their forces during the night; and next day, when the brave soldiers were marching through the valley of Lucerne to continue the massacre, they found themselves surrounded by the inhabitants, who charged them so vigorously on the rear and flank, that they were obliged to run. But many were left dead on the ground; and the survivers, half dead with terror, hardly reached the open country, the booty remaining behind them. Their mode of attack was therefore changed. Small parties of men, accustomed to skirmish, infested the valleys, and frequently surprised stragglers: for His Highness had found that "every skin of a Vaudois cost him fifteen or twenty good Catholics;" and, avoiding the peril of open invasion, employed his servants to infest the country after the manner of brigands, and thus for a long time they horribly tortured and put to death as many as they could take, or, when circumstances favoured, extorted ransoms to eke out their pay. But the endurance of the persecuted was invincible; and it is related of Catalan Girard, a native of the valley of Lucerne, that when bound to a stake in the town of Reuel in Piedmont, he asked for two large pebbles, and, holding them out to the bystanders, told them that as easily could he eat and digest those stones, as could they extirpate the churches of Christ by the death of their members.

Meanwhile Piedmont was the seat of war between the Sovereigns of Germany and France, until Savoy, and a part of Piedmont, including Turin, fell into the power of Francis I., and a Parliament was established at Turin, similar to courts bearing that name in France. With Francis, the Pope Paul III. entered into intimate alliance; and both united to impel the Parliament to a persecution of the Vaudois, which was effected by vexatious penalties inflicted on them for no other cause than that of their religion; and when they appealed to their new King for protection, the only answer he vouchsafed to their humble petition was, a command to live according to the Roman laws, with a threat that, if they failed to obey, he would punish them as obstinate heretics; adding, by way of reason, that he would not burn them in France to let them live on the Alps. The Parliament, in pursuance of this command, required them to send away their Barbes, receive Priests in their stead, and assist at mass; but the poor Waldenses refused to abandon their Ministers, and answered, that they could not possibly obey orders so contrary to the word of God; and although

they were willing to render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, they could not fail to render to God also the things that were God's. After the example of the holy Apostles, they resolved to obey God rather than man, and rather to abide by His word than by the traditions of the Popes. Terrible vengeance would certainly have fallen on them if Francis had not been heavily pressed in warfare with enemies that were more than able to resist him, and necessity compelled him to leave the Parliament and the Inquisitors to expend their zeal, unassisted by the sword, in Piedmont, as they were doing elsewhere; and especially in the Milanese, where a Bull of Paul III. called on the Bishop to disperse conventicles that were crowded with certain nobles "of both sexes," to awaken the multitude to zeal by means of sermons against the revived heresies of the Beguins and paupers of Lyons, and to inquire diligently after innovators and punish them to the utmost extent of law (June 26th, 1536).

While Francis gained ground in Piedmont, and contested it in Lombardy, his antagonist held undisputed sway in Southern Italy, Naples being a Spanish possession. But one of Charles's most trustworthy servants, Juan Valdes, a Spaniard, who had attended him in Germany, and there associated with the Reformers, and was now discharging the duties of royal Secretary at Naples, displayed fervent zeal in the propagation of the truth, being constrained by the love of Christ to exhort all around him to repentance. Four learned Italians aided him in the same work. These were Bernardino Ochino, a Capuchin; Giovanni Montalcino, a Minorite of St. Francis; Lorenzo Romano, of Sicily, a Monk of St. Augustine; and Pietro Martire Vermigli,—the celebrated Peter Martyr,—a Canon. They all preached the doctrine of the Reformation to crowded audiences, wherein many thousands of the common people, and not a few persons of high rank, openly professed the same faith as that of Luther and Melancthon, whose writings, translated into Italian, were read with avidity in every circle of society. While Naples rang with the applause of these preachers, and the priesthood knew not how to resist the torrent of evangelical influence, Charles V. visited the city, and resolved to suppress the innovation which had caused him, as he believed, so much trouble in Germany. For this purpose he published an edict, prohibiting, under pain of death and confiscation of goods, all intercourse or correspondence with persons suspected of the Lutheran heresy (February 4th, 1536); and, on his departure, commanded his Viceroy, Pedro de Toledo, to exert his utmost diligence to preserve Naples from the contamination which had laid hold on the other Italian states. Don Pedro resolved to spare no pains to assimilate the condition of Naples to that of Spain; the Waldenses, too, abounded in Calabria, a Neapolitan province, and a persecution not less sanguinary than that of their brethren in the north might have followed, had not they striven to avert it by using extreme caution, or had it not pleased God to shelter them for the time. From Naples the Emperor proceeded to Rome. Supported by two Cardinals, he entered the city (April 5th). A train of Cardinals, Bishops, and civil functionaries followed. Laymen lined the streets, and through their ranks

he rode to the church of St. Peter, knelt at the high altar, adored the Pope, and accepted lodgings in the Vatican. During a sojourn of ten days the heads of the empire and of the popedom held familiar conferences,—visiting each other's apartments without ceremony and without attendants,—pondered the state of Europe, agreed that by all means the Reformation should be suppressed, but differed as to the means to be employed; Paul craving a crusade, which Charles durst not venture to attempt.

At the court of Ferrara, one Oritz, a French Inquisitor, Ambassador of Henry II., by this time seated on the throne of France, bore instructions from his master to engage the Duke to compel Renée by force, if persuasion failed, to return to Popery, or, if she would not yield, to separate her from the society of the Reformed, whom she protected, and even from her own children, and to place her under personal restraint, but without the scandal of a formal imprisonment. The Duchess accepted those hard conditions, and, shut up from all Christian society, and torn away from all her children, except one, that one being of age,* surrendered everything but the peace that Christ had given her, and stood steadfast in his cause. Calvin, Marot, and other Frenchmen, with Peter Martyr, who had taken refuge there on the approach of danger at Naples, and other Italians, were driven from the duchy. Calvin became a refugee from Ferrara in Geneva, and Ochino found an asylum from the persecution at Naples in Venice.†

No great revival of religion, at that time, gave character to the Italian Reformation. During many years the believers in evangelical doctrine associated with each other secretly, or, by a management like that which marred the same cause in Spain, carried caution so far that it degenerated into dissimulation; while, on the other hand, the philosophism of Italy had served as a cloak for error, a vehicle of speculative doctrine so exhibited as to be tolerable, even when true, and an apology for faithfulness to truth in doctrine, as long as the enmity of the human heart was not awakened by any very loud appeal to conscience. Neither was there any general persecution; and during this interval the ecclesiastical history of Italy affords but one notable event (A.D. 1540), the sanction, at Rome, of the new order of Ignacio Loyola, which has since risen into unexampled notoriety. But as yet it does not require further notice on these pages.

But while the infant and imperfect churches had rest, the profession of evangelical religion grew more vigorous, especially in the city and republic of Venice, and, by uniform consequence, persecution was aroused. At Rome, the Pope once more saw the Emperor embark on

* She was so unfortunate as to marry the Duke of Guise, and was present at the massacre of Vassy, which she attempted to prevent, but in vain.

† Ochino became a Socinian; and it is to be lamented that by means of the Socini and other Italians, Socinianism spread into other countries and especially into Poland; and some Popish writers have thence endeavoured to make it appear that Socinianism is a mere consequence of the Protestant Reformation. But whoever repeats this charge must be reminded that the Socinian heresy is but the re-production of an elder infidelity, even that which was condemned as Arianism by the Council of Nice, and that its revival came from Italy, the high seat of Romanism, of infidelity, and of licentiousness. For these three have nowhere been more thoroughly combined than at Rome and Naples.

an expedition against the Turks (A.D. 1542), without consenting to turn his arms against the Protestants of the empire, and therefore determined to improve the Inquisition on which, after all, the Church would have to depend for the subjugation of her enemies; and, to that end, framed a new constitution for the Holy Office in Rome. Six Cardinal-Inquisitors were appointed to take cognizance of heretical pravity in all places of the Christian republic, whether within the mountains or beyond. They were invested with authority against heretics of all sorts, together with persons suspected of heresy, and their accomplices and abettors, of what state, degree, order, condition, and pre-eminence soever. To these six Eminences were added a Procurator-Fiscal, Notaries, and other officers, the whole body being empowered to degrade Clergymen, coerce the refractory, invoke the aid of the secular arm, appoint provincial Inquisitors everywhere, receive appeals, and exercise plenary jurisdiction. And, finally, he defined the penalties to be inflicted on the disobedient, and denounced on all such the indignation of Almighty God, St. Peter, and St. Paul. The *principles* of the Inquisition had been already settled, but its plan had never been so clearly drawn. Here, in fact, began the Congregation of the Holy Office, that still exercises its functions in Rome. This formidable measure alarmed the Evangelicals, who began to emigrate into Protestant countries; and as the Grisons were an independent republic in open separation from the Church of Rome, many of them emigrated thither. Here and there, however, even on the peninsula, under the remains of municipal independence, a congregation assembled openly, as at Pisa, where the mass was superseded by the eucharist (A.D. 1543).

A more scriptural theology had found place in the Academy of Modena, where the Romish dogma was not, indeed, openly controverted, but, under the conviction that it would be submitted to revision in an Ecumenical Council, passed by in silence. Following such a course, the academicians could not but arrive at the same point with the theologians of Wittemberg; and Modena, therefore, incurred the wrath of the newly-constituted Roman Inquisition. One of the six Cardinal-Inquisitors went thither to investigate the state of the Academy, and, not venturing to begin with extreme measures, endeavoured to obtain subscription to an accommodated Romish confession of faith. Most reluctantly, and in deference to Cardinal Morone, himself suspected of Lutheranism, and afterwards imprisoned, they signed the formulary; but retained their convictions, and were completely alienated from the Clergy. The Clergy, on the other hand, dreading the severe criticisms of the academicians, almost deserted the pulpits; and as, on the first Sunday in Advent, 1543, no one could be persuaded to submit a sermon to the ordeal of their learned judgment, there was no preaching on that day. After long silence, the Bishop found a Friar to re-occupy the pulpit, and the whole Academy came to hear him; but the preacher suppressed Popish doctrine entirely, and his employer committed him to the Inquisition, under whose coercion he signed a retractation of forty-six propositions noted in the sermon; but afterwards received an address

of approbation of the condemned teaching from a large body of the most respectable citizens. Another Friar was engaged to preach; but he also offended the Inquisition, and was, in his turn, condemned. Shortly afterwards, a discontented member of the Academy went to Rome, and gave the Holy Office information of the disaffected members, especially marking one of them, Filippo Valentino. Paul III. then sent a mandate to the Duke of Ferrara, under whose jurisdiction Modena was, requiring him to arrest that child of iniquity, Filippo Valentino, author and head of the Lutheran heresy in Modena. He was to be kept in custody at the Pope's pleasure, his books and papers being seized, and his accomplices put to silence (May 27th, 1545). The informer himself, now a Commissary Apostolical, came back from Rome to see the mandate executed, attended by an armed force, and would have dragged him from his bed; but, when the company reached his house at night, he had escaped, and they could only get possession of his books and papers. Next morning the dismayed inhabitants read a ducal edict prohibiting the reading of heretical or suspected books, and any private or public disputation on religion, under penalties advancing, to the third offence, from the fine of one hundred thousand crowns of gold or the strappado, to death and confiscation. The academicians fled, and the Academy of Modena ceased to be. A few vestiges of Reformation re-appeared in the city after this dispersion; but, in spite of some endeavours of the Duke to save his subjects from the Inquisition, the Pope being absolute, they were swept away.

A similar mandate (February 7th, 1545) produced the like effect at Mantua. Cardinal Gonzaga, Bishop of that see, had refrained from persecuting several Priests, Monks, and humble laymen, dissentients from the Roman standard of belief; but the Pontiff commanded him to be vigilant, arrest the delinquents, put them to the torture, deliver definitive sentence, and then send them to Rome, just made ready to be burnt. For a time the Duke parried the blow; but only for a time, and at his own peril. The Reformation was crushed in Mantua.

Ferrara still sheltered a multitude of less eminent Christians. But the Duchess was a prisoner in her own palace. The illustrious Reformers who had resided in that court and university were banished, and a Papal brief (A.D. 1545) instructed the ecclesiastical authorities to proceed, as usual, to apprehension, torture, and sentence of the Lutherans. As open accusation could not easily be obtained, familiars were dispersed all over Italy, disguised under every variety of character, and haunting every circle of society. Many of them were in Ferrara; and, under their slow, stealthy, and incessant diligence, the Reformed Church melted away by imprisonment, banishment, or voluntary exile. During this persecution in Modena, Mantua, and Ferrara, the Inquisition at Rome found an easy opportunity for striking terror into the hearts of Italian heretics through the sacrifice of a stranger, whom no Duke protected, and for whose rescue no population would revolt. Jayme Encinas, or Dryander,* a

* *Encina*, in Spanish, is equivalent with δρῦς, "an oak," whence Dryander, his name being Græcised, after the custom of those days.

native of Burgos, in Spain, and student of Louvain, had received the knowledge of Christianity while in Paris, and was confirmed therein by the constancy of the martyrs whom he saw swung over fires in the streets for the entertainment of the courtiers. At the earnest desire of his father, who wished him to devote himself to the priesthood, and to labour for ecclesiastical preferment, he visited Rome, had spent some time there, and, weary of the place, was preparing to join his brothers, then in Germany, and Protestants, when a countryman of his own reported him to the Inquisition as a heretic. The particulars of his examination we do not know, except that his being at once a Spaniard, a Lutheran, and a scholar, stimulated the curiosity of the Clergy, and drew many Cardinals and Bishops to his trial, which was not altogether secret; and that his confession of Christ was so bold as to irritate both Judges and spectators. The latter, especially those of them who were Spanish, clamoured for his instant condemnation. He was summarily condemned; but afterwards offered life if he would put on a *sambenito*, after the Spanish manner, and profess penitence. But he refused, and was hurried away to the stake, where he died as became an aspirant after the eternal crown (A.D. 1546).

The Spaniard was soon followed by an Italian martyr. Fannio, or Faventino, so called from Faventia, or Faenza, the place of his birth, was a member of the persecuted church of Christ in Italy. First, in Faenza, he fearlessly confessed his Lord, and, being of noble family and independent fortune, spent his time in teaching his fellow-townsmen. In pursuance of the mandates above described, he was thrown into prison, and there, yielding to the entreaties of his wife, children, and other relatives, submitted to sign a recantation (A.D. 1547), and was dismissed. But such liberty soon became intolerable; and, filled with horror at the thought of having fallen into denial of Christ, he quitted Faenza, and, travelling through Romagna, publicly preached Christ from village to village. A few sermons sufficed to bring him into the grasp of his former persecutors, and, being seized at a place called Bagnacavallo, he was convicted of heresy, and condemned to die. Reluctant, as it would seem, to hazard a tumult by executing the sentence, the Inquisitors removed him to Ferrara, where he remained in durance for two years, sometimes in one prison, and sometimes in another; for so numerous were his visiters, and so successfully did he exhort his fellow-prisoners, that the authorities found it necessary to break up the little congregations that gathered round him in each place, not excepting some noblemen, state-prisoners, in his last place of confinement, whose ridicule was changed into weeping for their sins, and who came out of prison new creatures, and, in their turn, witnesses to the grace and power of the Saviour, declaring that they had not known happiness until they found it in a prison. No solicitations could again move him to recant, nor could Pope Paul III. find courage to command his execution. Julius III., succeeding to the tiara, had no such hesitancy, but ordered that the Church should be avenged. The messenger who brought notice of this decision received his thanks for the glad tidings

of deliverance. To the jailer and his fellow-prisoners he spoke at great length of the blessedness of that life into which he was about to enter; and to several who again implored him to save his life by returning to the Church of Rome, if it were but for the sake of his family, he replied that he had placed his wife and children under the protection of the Lord Jesus Christ, a faithful keeper, who would preserve all confided to his care. The messenger departed in tears. Next day he was taken to the common prison, and delivered over to the secular Magistrate. Magistrates and their wives, with persons of all ranks, crowded around him in the cell, some begging him to recant and accept life from "the Holy Father," and others weeping. All were amazed at the fluency with which he, a layman, quoted Scripture; and one asked how he could go to death so jocund and gladsome, when Jesus Christ himself, in the garden, sweat as it were great drops of blood. "Christ," said he, "sustained in his body all the sorrows and conflicts with hell and death that were due unto us, by whose suffering we are delivered from sorrow and fear of them all." Thus passed his last night of earthly conflict. Three hours before day, that the people of Ferrara might not see the murder, nor hear him speak, he was taken to the place of execution, and, after fervent prayer, by an extension of mercy more common in Italy than in other countries, was first strangled, and, after some hours, burnt. The Priests and Magistrates were all ashamed to undertake the removal of his ashes, and, at last, some of the people consented to perform the odious office (October 31st, 1550). During his long imprisonment he wrote several pious treatises and epistles, which were not only read in Italy, but translated into German, and printed.*

The church at Vicenza cannot be regarded with unmingled satisfaction, inasmuch as it was tainted with Socinianism; but it would be too much to affirm, with some, that it was a Socinian congregation. As it lay within the Venetian territory, the Pope addressed a brief to the Senate of that republic, complaining that the Podesta and Captain had allowed Lutheranism to be openly professed there, and requiring that they should be made to assist the Vicars of the diocese in seizing and punishing the heretics. The Senate complied, and the church of Vicenza was dispersed (A.D. 1546).

The dioceses of Capo d'Istria and Pola, under the influence of their respective Bishops, Pierpaolo Vergerio, once Papal Nuncio in Germany, and Gianbattista, his brother, were rapidly emerging from the ancient superstition, when an Inquisitor, Annibale Grisone, came from Rome, read a Bull from the pulpits, commanding the people to deliver up heretical books, and aid in the apprehension of heretics. At first they received him coolly; but his perseverance and zeal revived the expiring spirit of obedience to the Church, the work of inquisition began in earnest, consternation seized the inhabitants, every tie of kindred and of gratitude was broken, the son betrayed his father, the wife her husband, the client his patron. At last he called on the multitude, when preaching in the pulpit of the cathedral

* And are noted thus in the Index Expurgatorius:—"Faventinus (Didymus), Germ. Th. Luth. 1. cl."

of Capo d'Istria, to rise against their Bishop, whose heresy was drawing down blight, as he said, on their land, and murrain on their cattle. The people grew furious, Vergerio fled, and his brother of Pola died suddenly, not without suspicion of poison. The Clergy followed up this stroke, and the dispersion of the church in Capo d'Istria and Pola was soon complete.

Persecution began at Florence by the medium of legislation. Severe penalties were enacted on the possessors of heretical books, as well as on their printers (A.D. 1547). Then followed the usual inquisitorial searchings; and when the number of prisoners had become sufficient to render an *act of faith* formidable to the citizens, twenty-two persons were paraded as penitents in dresses resembling those used in Spain, and among them was one * who had formerly served the Duke as Ambassador at the court of France. These penitents were then "reconciled" in the cathedral, and a company of females underwent a similar humiliation in the church of S. Simone (December, 1551). A triad of Inquisitors had been intrusted with the work of purifying Florence from Lutheranism; but it was not found easy to preserve, with such an executive, the profound secrecy and singly inexorable purpose of their chief. Two were, therefore, removed, and Florence was placed at the mercy of one man, ignorant and reckless, who filled the once-flourishing city with terror and mistrust. Foreigners, whom he suspected as innovators, and pursued with incessant vexations, ceased to frequent a mart where familiars haunted them at every step, and their ships no longer gladdened the course of the Arno. The merchants were impoverished, the inhabitants emigrated, artists and literary men shunned the halls of the Medici, the more eminent Protestants sought refuge in Germany or England, and the less instructed, left without a shepherd, perished for lack of knowledge. A similar process of expurgation swept away known Protestants from all the Tuscan territories. A severe persecution visited Sienna (A.D. 1567), and even Germans who had come to study in that University were delivered to the Pope, in breach of public faith.

The intention of the Emperor to extirpate heresy, when at Naples in 1536, had been announced, but not executed, and the Neapolitans had always manifested an insuperable repugnance to the establishment of an Inquisition. But after other parts of Italy became familiarized with that tribunal during a period of ten years, conducted, however, with a caution unexampled in its history, both Pope and Emperor, actuated by very different motives, desired to erect it there also. Paul III. would fain extend thither the Roman tribunal, and gradually establish it among the institutions of Italy, waiting until the sanction of time should prepare the people to submit to higher degrees of rigour. Charles V. would rather act in Naples, as in his other hereditary dominions, with an extreme severity, that would stun the multitude at once, and leave all things at his disposal. The Priest wished for the Roman, the soldier purposed to introduce the Spanish, Inquisition in Naples. The Viceroy, Don Pedro Toledo, both from

* Bartolommeo Panchiarichi.

taste and policy, was intent on carrying out the intention of his master. Ambitious to overawe the Italians by the sanguinary solemnities of a Spanish *auto*, yet aware that the Pope would not readily forego his own scheme, he began by merely requesting a Commissary from Rome to begin the inquisition of heresy, but with absolute power over the Clergy both regular and secular. Paul, secretly hoping that this measure of severity would arouse the Neapolitans to revolt against the Viceroy, and enable him to interpose with a milder form of inquisition, and so strengthen the Roman See at the expense of Charles, instantly granted the petition.

Toledo received the desired Bull, and, in concert with the Archbishop, caused it to be published amidst the festivities of Palm Sunday (April 3d, 1547), hoping that, at such a season, people would be too much dissipated to reflect seriously on the unexpected announcement. But when a copy of the Bull, with the royal *exequatur*, was affixed to the doors of the Archbishop's palace and the cathedral, and the Parliament was assembled in the church of St. Augustine to deliberate on the actual establishment of the abhorred tribunal, the terror and indignation of all ranks became indescribably intense. A deputation, representing the nobility and the people, proceeded to Pozzuolo, where Toledo resided, on account of the salubrity of the air; and Antonio Grisone, a noble, addressed him to the following effect:—

"Most illustrious and most excellent Seignior: This banner, and this our most faithful city of Naples, inasmuch as we have always thought aright concerning the catholic and orthodox faith, has ever been reputed most religious; and we believe that this is nothing new or doubtful to any one, and especially to you, who so well know us all. On the other hand, it is clear and manifest to all the world that the name of Inquisition has always been not only odious, but formidable, to this city and kingdom, and this for many and most just reasons; and chiefly because, while in every part of the kingdom false witnesses and ribalds, men without conscience, may be so easily corrupted by hatred or for money, the city and kingdom would soon be utterly undone and ruined. Ever since the time when, under the government of the Catholic King, Ferdinand of Aragon, of happy memory, this scheme of an Inquisition was attempted, but, through the grace of His Majesty, and our just resistance, set aside and utterly abandoned, we have been at ease and secure, and the more so since your Excellency, a few days ago, led us to hope that it would never be revived. But now, by this edict, we are filled with trouble and with dread; and fearing an Inquisition more than pestilence, we are come with confidence to your Excellency, first Minister of His Cæsarean Majesty, and therefore our chief protector, regarding you no less as a citizen of our own, so to speak, than as supreme President and Governor, hoping that this affair may so end that we shall continue in our wonted quiet and security. We, therefore, implore your Excellency to be pleased not to suffer that, in your time, Naples be stained with such an opprobrium and shame, nor subjected to so intolerable and unmerited a yoke. And we commit and confide into

your hands our property, our wives, our children, and, what is of all most precious, our honour." *

The Spaniard eyed them all intently during the delivery of this most unwelcome address, and, when it was ended, assuming an air of perfect gentleness, answered in his own Castilian with mild and measured words. It was quite unnecessary, he assured them, for them to have taken the trouble of that journey, and for the city to have given way to so great anxiety and suspicion. He did, indeed, account himself a citizen of Naples, by long residence and family alliance; and neither the Emperor nor he would suspect them of heresy, nor force an Inquisition on their religious city. Might God avert such a calamity during his government! and, if the Emperor were to give such a command, and should he be unable to dissuade him by remonstrance, he would rather resign the government than enforce it. Assuredly there should be no Inquisition; but as there were some persons in Naples infected with heresy, he hoped they would not think it wrong to seek out heretics, and punish them in the ordinary way, according to the canons. For that end, and for no other, had those edicts been framed. The deputies, charmed with the gracious answer of Don Pedro, returned to the city, and related it to the multitudes in the public places. Their report, at first, drew forth thunders of applause; but, when repeated and re-considered, a new suspicion chilled the gladness of the Neapolitans. What meant those words of the Viceroy, "punish the guilty?" For, although he had said that the punishment should be inflicted in the ordinary way, might he not advance from gentler beginnings even to the horrible severities of Spain? Yet they suffered themselves to be persuaded that those fears were groundless, and Naples was again tranquil.

Gianpietro Caraffa, Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, also went to Pozzuolo, to the very spot where primitive Christian charity had welcomed that ambassador in chains who bade the servants of God not to strive, but meekly instruct their opponents, and feed, not worry, the flock of God. The effect of consultation between the Cardinal and the Viceroy was made patent in a day or two. Another edict, affixed to the Cardinal's gate (May 11th), much clearer and more forcible than the former, dispelled the illusion; nor was the word "Inquisition" wanting to confirm the terror of the people. A murmur of indignation broke from every lip. There was no time for second impulse, or second thought. Quickly as groups could gather in the streets a simultaneous cry burst forth in all directions: "To arms! To arms! Long live the Emperor! Death to the Inquisition!" The multitude, armed with all sorts of weapons, and rushing like a torrent through every street, lay round the palace of Caraffa, as when the sea that has washed down the embankments, no longer to be resisted, floods the land. One Tommaso Anello, a rude peasant of Sorrento, mad with rage, tore down the edict, and trampled it under foot, while the walls trembled with dreadful peals of execration. A tumultuary assemblage, in the square of St. Augustine, deposed several Magistrates, who were known for servility to the

* Botta, Storia d'Italia, libro vii., 1547.

Viceroy; but they did no further violence. The nobles then mingled with the populace, glad to exasperate their hatred of Don Pedro, and all agreed that they would have no sort of Inquisition, neither Spanish nor Roman.

Don Pedro, unaware of his position, gave orders to one of the remaining Magistrates to arrest Anello, and Mormile, a young nobleman, and put them both to death, for an example to the multitude. Being summoned to appear, they obeyed the summons; but came attended with trains of men in arms, to the terror of the Magistrate, who complimented them on their courage, in defect of courage of his own, and saw them return to their houses on the shoulders of the people. Not yet instructed, Pedro threw a force of three thousand Spaniards into the city. But three thousand men could only resist the entire population in one desperate and sanguinary struggle. Dispersed through the streets of Naples, after killing thousands of the people, they were every one cut to pieces. The horrid strife lasted out the day. All business was suspended, all authority inert, and the last Spaniard had expired ere the evening bells bade prayers for the dead. Nothing daunted, Don Pedro resolved to punish the insurgents, and caused two gentlemen to be beheaded in the open street; on which the whole city united in revolt, refused him obedience, sent messengers to the Emperor, imploring that the Viceroy might be removed, and that the Spanish Inquisition might not be forced upon them. The former petition was not granted; but, after Naples had surrendered to the authority of the Emperor, Don Pedro was instructed to refrain from introducing the Inquisition under that form, but to proceed against heretics after the usual manner. While the agitation consequent on this attempt continued, the Priests allowed nonconformists to continue their secret meetings, but no longer. A Sicilian, Lorenzo Romano, who had formerly preached the doctrine of Zuinglius at Caserta Vecchia, about five leagues north of Naples, and afterwards had gone to Germany, returned, and, in a class of logic, expounded the Scriptures to his pupils. But the Spanish Inquisition failing, the Roman had been extended into Naples, and Romano was brought to that. Overcome by fear of death, he not only consented to abjure and do penance in the churches of Naples and Caserta, but gave information of a multitude of persons who had received evangelical instruction, both in the capital and the provinces. The Inquisitors used this information diligently, threw many into prison, and sent some to Rome to suffer death. And, at last (March 24th, 1564), two noblemen, Giovanfrancesco d'Aloisio, of Caserta, and Giovanbernardino di Gargano, of Avarsa, were beheaded in the market-place, and then burnt. As in some of the academies the lecturers had entered on theological discussions, or made allusions to the holy Scriptures, in order to prevent the spread of Lutheranism, the Viceroy caused those academies to be closed. This again filled the city with terror of the Inquisition, whole streets were deserted by their inhabitants, commerce declined, and Naples lay in sackcloth.

A lingering, but effectual, persecution nearly suppressed the

Reformation in Venice. The Senate, at the instance of the Nuncio, published an edict (A.D. 1548), commanding all who had prohibited books to deliver them up within a week, under penalty of being prosecuted as heretics, since a strict search would be made by officers appointed for the purpose. Money was offered to informers, with promise of secrecy and favour besides. But it must be noted that the republic of Venice would not permit the Inquisitors alone to execute this edict, but associated the local magistracy with them; and the zeal of Paul III. nearly outran his discretion when he launched a Bull against the Doge and Senate, who had infringed on the liberties of the Church, as he said, by employing lay Judges to assist the servants of the Holy Office in destroying heretics. This Pope loved the Inquisition to distraction. He could speak of little else in the Consistory; and, in the article of death, prayed the Cardinals, whatever they did, to take care of the Inquisition, "the sole hope of the Church, the only defence of Italy." Paul IV., his successor,* with like zeal, engaged the Senate to do the drudgery of persecution; and at his command they arrested Pomponio Algieri, a man of eminent erudition, who, while prosecuting his studies at Padua, had become experimentally acquainted with Christianity, and, unable to hide his lamp under a bushel, exhorted his fellow-students to accept the truth which had been made the power of God to his own salvation. The Governor of the city threw him into prison, by direction of the Magistrates of Venice, whither he was immediately transferred, and subjected to a long incarceration; but the extreme heat of his dungeon in summer, the cold of winter, the entreaties of friends, and the visits of senators, with heavy fetters, and the sufferings and ignominy of the place, could not subdue his constancy. He meditated on the sufferings and the triumph of martyrs, confided in the promises of Christ to those who suffer for his sake, wrote a long and admirable epistle to his persecuted brethren, which is still preserved; and was, at last, taken to Rome, that the Church might have no partner in putting him to death, which he endured by fire without a murmur, after having made his murderers blush under the keenness of his reproofs (A.D. 1555).

By virtue of their universal jurisdiction, the agents of Rome procured the imprisonment of even foreigners who came to trade in Venice. And the Republic so far surrendered its own rights as to allow the Inquisitors to seize whom they pleased, put him to torture, and send him to Rome. Some of the Grisons were imprisoned; but released by the Senate, on the remonstrance of special Envoys, after long delays. In the provinces the Magistrates were often more obsequious to the Clergy than in Venice, until there, also, the civil authority threw itself prostrate at the feet of the Inquisition. Some citizens, who had purchased a vessel, and were about to embark for Istria, were arrested, and taken to the prisons already occupied by other brethren. Cupidity quickened bigotry, and then the Senate threw off all restraint. They slowly thinned the numbers of the Lutherans by nocturnal drowning. In the dead of night the con-

* Marcellus II. succeeded Paul III., but reigned only twenty-two days.

demned person was carried, bound, into a boat, and rowed out to sea, where another boat had gone before. The two boats were then brought stern to stern: on a plank laid on between them he was chained, with a heavy stone lashed at his feet. A Priest offered him absolution in return for a confession, if he would make it; and then, the boats being pulled off, the plank dropped, and the martyr's body sank into its resting-place, until the day when the sea shall give up its dead. The first sufferer was Giulio Guirlanda, of the Trevisano, about forty years of age. When stretched on the plank between the boats, he cheerfully bade the Captain farewell, and was plunged into the waves (October 19th, 1562). The records of those martyrdoms are extremely scanty, and three years elapse before another name is added to our catalogue. Antonio Ricetto, a gentleman of Vicenza, was thrown into prison in Venice, and his property sequestered. Although condemned by the ecclesiastical Judges, the senators would have spared his life if he had pronounced a sentence of recantation. They surrounded him with solicitations to submit; his son, a boy twelve years of age, was brought into the prison, fell at his feet, and implored him not to leave his child an orphan; but he had freely surrendered life, fortune, and family, and would not take them back again at the hazard of his soul. One of his brethren gave way, and the jailer ran to tell him that such an one had recanted, and renewed the entreaty that he would do the like; but he only answered, "What is that to me?" In the boat, as they rowed away seaward in the dark night, he prayed for his murderers, commended his soul to the Lord Jesus, and without fear dropped into the water (February 15th, 1566). Ten days afterwards, Francesco Sega followed him. During his imprisonment Sega had written several tracts for the consolation and instruction of his fellow-sufferers, some of which are yet extant among the monuments of the Italian martyrs. Francesco Spinula, member of a noble family of Geneva, but born at Brescia, in Lombardy, a Priest, and intimate friend of Aonio Paleario, of whom we have yet to speak, and author of a Latin metrical version of the Psalms, was numbered with the Venetian confessors. Thrice was he subjected to severe examination; and once the Papal Legate and several of the high Clergy attended to witness the trial, and heard him make a clear confession of Christ and Christian doctrine, and testify against the usurpation of the Pope, the fable of purgatory, and the worship of saints. Exhausted by the rigours of imprisonment and trial, he fell sick, and, in an hour of infirmity, made some concession; but, on recovery, renewed his profession of faith in Christ, was ceremonially degraded, and laid in the sea-grave with his brethren (January 31st, 1567). Of Baldo Lupetino, a native of Albona, and Provincial of the Franciscan Monks at Venice, we have an incidental notice by Flacius Illyricus,* who thus describes him: "The reverend Baldo Lupetino, descended of noble parentage and most illustrious family, a very learned Monk, and Provincial of his order, after he had for a long time preached the word of God in many cities, and in both the vernacular languages, (Italian and Sclavonian,) with great

* Apud Gerdesii Specimen Italiæ Reformatæ, p. 173.

applause, and had honourably disputed in many places, was at length thrown into a dark dungeon in Venice by the Inquisitor, and the Legate of Antichrist, and there constantly bore testimony to the Gospel of Christ for nearly twenty years; so that his bonds and his doctrine became known, not only in that city, but throughout Italy and Europe, and so much the more widely did the truth of the Gospel spread. Which doctrine, at length, that most pious and excellent man, not changed by any threatenings or promises, nor by the wretchedness of a long imprisonment, nor by pitiable sufferings of pain, confirmed by a constant martyrdom, being sunken in the sea. Among many other traces of divine Providence which appeared in his case, this was especially admirable, that neither the Princes of Germany, who frequently interceded for him, could obtain his deliverance; nor, on the other hand, could the Papal Legate and the Inquisitor,—nay, nor could even Antichrist himself,—although they used much persuasion and unwearied solicitation, succeed in having him burnt to death. For, even after he was condemned so to die, he was delivered from the penalty of burning by a sentence of the Doge himself and Senate." The date of this martyrdom is not preserved. Throughout the Venetian territory the inquisitorial plague prevailed; but the secrecy of that tribunal, and the contempt of Italian historians towards heretics, hide their names, and we have only the general statement of foreign writers that their brethren of the Venetian republic everywhere suffered bonds, poverty, and death. Yet Protestant writings were read in secret, even by the senators, and Protestant worship was held in private, in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, by Venetians themselves; and perhaps at no time was it utterly set aside by German Protestants trading at Venice.

We now pass into the Milanese, and adjacent territory. In the market-place of Piacenza, a young man, named Domenico, just returned from Naples, where persecution has broken out afresh, has a temporary pulpit erected, and preaches with great boldness concerning true confession, purgatory, and indulgences. On the day following he returns, discourses to a large congregation on true faith and good works, and announces that, on the morrow, he shall depict the mass and Antichrist in their true colours. We know not whether zeal against Popery or love for souls predominated in this youth; but find that, when he appears on the third day, the Magistrates remove him from the pulpit, and take him to the Bishop's Vicar, who questions him as to his vocation to preach, and commits him to prison. Little more is heard of him, except that he perseveres in refuting the false doctrine of Popery, commits himself to the mercy and grace of Christ alone, *prays for his enemies*, and surrenders himself meekly to suffer death (September, 1550). Galeazzo Trezio, a nobleman of Lodi, while a student in the University of Pavia, became converted to spiritual Christianity, and, rather conspicuous by the sanctity of his conduct than by any formal profession of his faith, was seized by the Inquisitors. Thrice, according to custom, they invited him to abjure; but as often he refused, until the solicitations of friends partially

subdued his firmness. But a slight concession, which he then made, was more than covered by prompt repentance. He affirmed that the Spirit of God had written the truth upon his heart; and it is related that he discoursed with such fervour to his companions, that they longed for martyrdom, and were only restrained by the jailer from voluntarily declaring themselves Protestants. After being four months in prison, he was burnt alive (November 24th, 1551). "The persecution became more general when the Duke of Alva took the government of Milan. In the year 1558, two persons were committed alive to the flames. One of them, a Monk, being forced into a pulpit, erected beside the stake, there to make his recantation, confessed the truth with great boldness, and was driven into the fire with blows and curses. During the course of the following year scarcely a week elapsed without some one being brought out to suffer for heresy; and in 1563 eleven citizens of rank were thrown into prison. The execution of a young Priest, in 1569, was accompanied with circumstances of peculiar barbarity. They condemned him to be dragged to the gibbet at a horse's tail, and then hanged. In consequence of earnest intercessions in his favour, the former part of the sentence was dispensed with; but, after being half-strangled, he was cut down, and, refusing to recant, was literally roasted to death, and his body thrown to the dogs."* But this is little to what would have taken place if the Spanish Inquisition had been established in Milan. Alva fancied that it would be an impregnable rampart against heresy, and had obtained permission of the Pope to try the experiment. The citizens remonstrated, but Alva persisted; they exclaimed against the brutality of the Spanish Inquisitors, and he offered them Italians, who would handle the heretics more gently; but the dissatisfaction assumed the appearance of a general insurrection, and, bearing in mind the terrible revolt of Naples, he prudently withdrew the project (A.D. 1563).

Amidst the dearth of information respecting these martyrs, it is satisfactory to possess a very distinct account of Francesco Gamba, a native of Brescia. Having received some knowledge of evangelical doctrine, and experienced the power of true religion, he determined to visit Geneva, in order to receive further instruction from some of the eminent Ministers of that Church; and, having proceeded thither from Como, as it would seem, united with the congregation at Whitsuntide in celebrating the eucharist. The report of this act soon reached his townsmen, and they prepared to commit him to the avengers of their Church. Not apprehending any danger, he was on the lake of Como, returning from Geneva, when a party seized the boat, took him to the town, and committed him to prison. The tale of his martyrdom is thenceforth related by a friend, in a letter to his brother, probably a resident in Brescia, and is as follows:—From the time that he was first in custody, an incredibly large number of persons of all classes, and especially noblemen and scholars, went to visit him, and entreat him most earnestly that he would not persist obstinately in the vain opinions that, as they supposed, he had

* These lines are borrowed from M'Crie, History of the Reformation in Italy, chap. v.

adopted. They prayed him to have heed to his salvation, and renounce those idle fancies. But the good man replied steadfastly, and invariably maintained that he would abide by, and defend, what he had professed; that those were not empty speculations or vain opinions; neither was he under a delusion, or insane, as they imagined, but spoke the pure truth of God, the holy word and salutary doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ. And this he laboured to confirm by citing weighty testimonies of holy writ; and closed his conversations by declaring, with unconquerable constancy, that he would rather suffer death, following Jesus Christ, our only Saviour and Redeemer of the world, whose cause and doctrine were dear to him, than betray the truth of the Gospel by perfidy; but would persevere unto death in the cause confided to him by his God.

When the Doctors, Monks, and Priests had given over their bootless disputation, the laity crowded round him, some hoping to move him from his opinions, others actuated by compassion for one whom they all knew to be a good and upright man, and endeavoured to dissuade him from his error, as they deemed it, by offering hopes of honour and temporal advantage if he would but lay it aside. But when they found that their labour was ineffectual, they sent a messenger to tell him that, unless he renounced the notions he had taken up, he would be put to death. To this he answered cheerfully, that that was the very thing which he desired above all others; and that, therefore, a more welcome message could not have been brought. Then came a letter from the Senate of Milan, commanding that Francesco Gamba should be burnt alive. But as the Judges were preparing to execute the sentence, they received intercessory letters from the Imperial Legate, and from several noblemen of Milan, which deferred the execution for some days, while Gamba awaited the issue with undisturbed calmness. The decision, however, did not linger. Other letters required the Judges to proceed; and the faithful confessor was brought out of the castle into the presence of the Podesta, or chief Magistrate, who pronounced the final sentence that, unless he would repent and renounce his false opinions, he should suffer capital punishment. On hearing this he rejoiced exceedingly, and, with great modesty, returned humble thanks to the Podesta for having brought him such good tidings; and the Podesta, yielding to the intercession of some friends, remanded him to prison for a week. This interval he spent in free conversation with all who came to visit him, alleging from holy Scripture reasons and authorities why he should persevere; his holy courage grew stronger from day to day; and as the end of his life drew near, his confidence appeared more and more triumphant. At length the Judge summoned him again, and told him that, by order of the Senate of Milan, he must die the next day, or, at latest, on the day following. His reply was the same as before, that no intelligence could be to him more joyful. The Podesta repeated the offer of life, asked him if he would retract what he had dared to speak concerning the sacrament of the mass, and proposed to reward him with honour as well as pardon, if he would submit; but he stood unmoved as a rock in the breeze, and in few

words replied, that the conveniences which they then offered him were nothing in comparison with the eternal benefits which he knew he should receive from the Lord, in whose hand is the crown of life eternal, to be given, in fulfilment of a sure promise, to all those who worship God aright.

When the Podesta dismissed him from his presence, and he was beset by the enemies of the truth, who left no promise nor threatening untried to move him, the majesty of his faith did but rise the higher, towering over all; and when the Magistrate saw that persuasion and threatening were alike vain, he appointed that on the morrow he should die. When he knew this, he sent for his friend, and besought him to write a distinct account of his whole cause and suffering to his brother, for the honour of God, and in token of brotherly affection, together with a message of consolation and encouragement, telling him that, in view of the death which he was going to suffer gladly for the sake of Jesus Christ, he was full of comfort and joy, acknowledging the great goodness of God, who had called him out of the world to suffer shame, and to endure a cruel death, in order that the cause of his Son Jesus Christ, who had not spared his own life, but died to give salvation to all believers, might be promoted. Finally, he desired his love to his sisters and their children, for whom he prayed that God would keep them in peace, and crown them with grace for His service.

On the next day the executioner brought him notice of his death, and, as usual, asked forgiveness. He bade him do his office boldly, and not only forgave him, but prayed God that he would enlighten him by his grace, and give him knowledge of salvation; adding, that if he had possessed any money, he would have given it to him gladly. Then the Podesta himself begged pardon for proceeding to that extremity, excusing himself by the necessity laid on him to submit to the authority of his superiors. Francesco modestly replied that he, too, was exceedingly sorry that those superiors were doing they knew not what, and prayed God that he would show them mercy. As they were thus speaking, the bell tolled the signal, and four Capuchin Friars made their appearance to offer their service for confession, and beg him to be comforted; but he declined accepting their services, and beckoned them to withdraw. Neither would he fix his eyes on a crucifix, as they desired him to do, in order to refresh his memory of the cross of Christ; but told them that that image was excellently impressed upon his heart, with remembrance of His death, and assurance of its power. He told them that, far from sinking into despair, as they thought he would, if without the comfort of a crucifix, his heart was overflowing with gladness, with joy surpassing all human understanding. And as for the cross which he was about to bear, that would be soon surmounted, and then he would be a partaker of the future blessedness of heaven in the society of happy spirits and angels, and enjoy bliss beyond what eye of man had ever seen, or ear had heard. But, as if they envied the power of utterance to one who could speak thus, or feared the effect that such discourse would have upon the multitude, they pierced his tongue, and led him

away to the place of death. There, on bended knees and with uplifted hands, he offered prayer, not framed in words, but such as God can hear, and the murmuring of the crowd was hushed in reverence of that singular devotion. As he rose from his knees, the hangman threw a cord round his neck, and strangled him, the pain of burning being remitted by an act of mercy. When in the hands of the hangman, he signified, by gesture, to his friend a final injunction to write to his brother; and this last desire being expressed, he surrendered his life in testimony to Him who redeemed it with His own. Four thousand people fixed their eyes on him in silence, and, when the body lay lifeless on the ground, separated, wondering why such a man should have died so ignominiously, and saying that a most excellent and innocent person, a true martyr and witness of Jesus Christ, had been put to death that day (July 21st, 1554).

Locarno, now annexed to Switzerland, had, until very lately, been a part of the duchy of Milan. The Reformed doctrine had been introduced there early, but did not find much acceptance until the year 1546, when Benedetto di Locarno, a native of the canton, who had been preaching the Gospel in Sicily, and in various parts of the Italian peninsula, returned to his native country. Giovanni Beccaria, called, for his great zeal, Apostle of Locarno, whose only book had been the Bible, and his only teacher the Holy Spirit, also proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation. Other persons of high respectability and undoubted piety, aided these in laying the foundations of a church which was eventually organized under the direction of a Minister from Chiavenna. The usual routine of Romish assault followed. A popular Priest challenged Beccaria to a disputation, wherein the Priest was beaten in argument, and the Prefect sent Beccaria to prison, by way of solace to the baffled theologian (A.D. 1549). The inhabitants were so indignant at this injustice, that the Prefect saw it good to release Beccaria; and the Priests, therefore, awaited some other occasion of revenge. This good man, and the other leaders of the Locarnese Reform, were compelled, by incessant persecution, to quit their home; but the seed which they had sown bore fruit, and a large proportion of the inhabitants no longer sent for Priests to administer "the sacrament of the dying," nor brought their children to the accustomed font, nor purchased funeral ceremonies and masses for the dead. Ministers from Chiavenna had admitted their children into the visible church by baptism, and interred their dead. The revenue of the Priests was much diminished, and this alone was enough to stimulate their ingenuity for the eradication of "the new religion." They revived the old calumny of secret meetings and licentious feasts; and by the time that this began to be believed, the town-clerk had a forgery prepared,—a deed, said to have been executed several years before, whereby he made it appear that the senators and citizens of the town and bailiwick of Locarno had bound themselves to the seven Popish cantons, under oath, that they would abide by the discipline of Romanism until the meeting of a General Council. This paper he sent to a Diet of the seven cantons, who received it as genuine; and agreed, that all the Locarnese, agreeably to that bond,

should be required to confess in Lent, and submit to a rigid exaction of conformity (March 10th, 1554). Two hundred families in Locarno, brought to the brink of ruin, appealed to the Protestant cantons, and their case was discussed in a General Diet; but there the majority decided against them; so did the arbiters, to whom the final decision was intrusted; and they were driven to a hard alternative. All inhabitants free from crime were required to conform to Romanism, or to quit the country. Any who had reproached the Virgin Mary, or become Anabaptists, or dissented from either of the authorized confessions, were to be punished. The canton of Zurich protested against this decision; but their protest availed nothing. Commissioners from the Popish majority of the Diet went to Locarno, convened a meeting of the inhabitants, read the decree, obtained the signatures of the municipal authorities, and bade the dissentients take one day for consideration, and then return their answer. Another sun witnessed their confession. In the morning the waverers came over, asking pardon of the Commissioners for anything that might have been offensive in their past conduct. In the afternoon two hundred fathers of families, accompanied by their wives and children, came to the council-chamber. The men walked two abreast, leading their elder children, and followed by their wives, who carried the little ones; and thus they presented themselves to the representatives of Popery in Switzerland, who received the supplicants with contemptuous levity. One of their number addressed the Commissioners, denied charges of Anabaptism, Arianism, and disloyalty to the state confederation, pronounced a confession of their faith, professed allegiance to the cause of their common country, solicited a strict investigation of the conduct of every one, and then implored pity on the women and children, that they might not be driven from their dwellings in the depth of winter. The Commissioners haughtily replied, that they were not come there to hear a recitation of their faith, and that the sentence of the seven cantons was neither to be argued nor disputed, but they were to say in one word, would they quit their faith or not? With one voice the congregated families exclaimed: "We will live in it! We will die in it! We will never renounce it! It is the only true faith! It is the only holy faith! It is the only saving faith!" Men, women, and children reiterated these sentences for several minutes; and the hearty confession yet again lingered on their lips in devout asseveration. Then, without one exception, or one faltering voice, two hundred fathers gave their names to the clerk, whose record of each confirmed the expatriation of a household. The day for their departure was fixed, March 5th, 1555, while yet winter reigned over the Alpine region which they would have to traverse. This expulsion might have satisfied the ecclesiastical authorities, but the measure of their vengeance was not full. Riverda, the Pope's Nuncio, who had laboured with dire success in the assembly that condemned them, came also to Locarno, and, having thanked the deputies for their diligence, requested that they would desire the Grison league to deliver up Beccaria, who had taken refuge among them, that he might be punished for the perversion of his countrymen; and that they would

confiscate the property of the exiles, and retain their children, to be educated in the holy Catholic, apostolic, Roman faith. The deputies would gladly have thrown Beccaria into the fangs of the Tibrine wolf; but he was beyond their power. As for the children, they durst not venture on an outrage that the Protestant cantons would have avenged. The Nuncio, with some zealous Dominicans, laboured to decoy the confessors into the snares of Romanism; but not one could he take. On the morning of the day appointed, the entire church departed from Locarno, to take refuge in the Grisons, and would have taken the better road; but the Senate of Milan would not allow them more than three days for transit over the Milanese territory, a term utterly insufficient. They therefore embarked on the lake Maggiore, sailed to the northern extremity, landed there, crossed the Helvetian boundary near Bellinzone, and made their way to Roveredo, a small town subject to the Grison league. There they waited two months, with scarcely roofs to cover them, until the thaw opened a passage for them by the Rhætian Alps to Zurich. A few remained in Roveredo; the greater number were welcomed to the rights of citizenship in Zurich; and reformed Christendom thus received a colony of good citizens, of whom Popedom was not worthy.

Rome and the Roman states were watered, as well became them, with the blood of martyrs. In the church of Sta. Maria, near Minerva, there was held a meeting of solemnity then unprecedented in that place (September 5th, 1553). The six Cardinal-Inquisitors, with their assessors of the tribunal, occupied chairs of state. A crowd of penitents, as we must call them, stood on a rude platform, wearing the sordid livery of the Inquisition. A full congregation covered the floor, and listened to a sermon in dispraise of heresy, delivered by a Dominican, who failed not to inveigh against the prisoners that were brought thither to undergo the salutary discipline of the Church, and be reconciled by the sacrament of penance. Among them stood Giovanni Mollio, of Montalcino, a Doctor in Divinity, and Professor of the University of Bologna, a man of travel, a well-tried confessor of Christ, who had been four times imprisoned, and after having foiled many disputants in argument, and instructed many thousands of Italians in the first elements of Christianity, had been seized at Ravenna by command of Pope Julius III., brought to Rome, passed through the ordeal of a dungeon, and the forms of the Holy Office, and was brought there to make a public recantation with the rest. By his side, in Christian brotherhood, stood a humble weaver, an evangelist from Perugia. The Professor and the artisan both resolved to disappoint their Master's enemies that day. Therefore, after the Dominican had finished his oration, and descended from the pulpit, and the others had recanted, Mollio advanced to the front of the platform, and raised his voice. He defended the articles of Christian faith that he had taught, and refuted those of Popery, briefly, but with a strength of eloquence that held the Cardinals and Clergy dumb upon their seats; and charged on them the infidelity, licentiousness, ambition, and cruelty for which they were notorious. "Your great object," said he, "is to amass wealth by every sort of injustice and

of cruelty. Without ceasing, you thirst for the blood of the saints. Can *you* be successors of the holy Apostles, *you* who despise Christ and his word, *you* who live as if you believed not that there is a God in heaven, *you* who persecute his faithful servants unto death, *you* who make his laws of no effect, *you* who tyrannise over the conscience of the saints? I appeal from your sentence. I summon you, tyrants and murderers, to answer at the judgment-seat of Jesus Christ in the last day, when your titles and your pomp will not dazzle, when your guards and your instruments of torture will not terrify us. And in testimony of this, take back that which you gave me." Thus saying, he flung his taper to the ground, where it lay extinguished. The weaver, also, threw down his. The Cardinals deigned not a reply, but ordered Mollio and his companion to be removed. Those Princes of the Church, having temporal jurisdiction, could commit men to the flames without infringing on the decorum of the priesthood; and they were therefore taken, without further ceremony, to the Campo di Flora, and there the weaver was first hung. Mollio invited the executioner to hasten his end, and in a few moments followed his brother into paradise. The two bodies were then burnt, their ashes thrown into the Tiber, and the insulted dignity of the Roman court was pacified. Some years passed away before they immolated another victim in the Holy City, and then they caught a Minister on his way from Geneva to Calabria, Giovanni Aloisio, and burnt him (A.D. 1559). Another would have been put to death at the same time; but, for some reason unexplained, he was sent across the strait, and suffered at Messina.

Next after these followed Lodovico Paschali, a Waldensian Pastor from Calabria. The colleague of Paschali, Stefano Negrino, had died of hunger in a prison in Cosenza; and he, after enduring eight months' confinement, was taken to Naples, and thence to Rome. On the journey to Naples, he had suffered as much as any living man could well bear, from a Spaniard who had him in custody; and at Rome he was so disfigured with hunger, filth, and laceration, that his brother, who, after great difficulty, had obtained permission to see him, fainted at the sight. No entreaty could move the Inquisitors to mitigate his sufferings in the Roman prison; but the Lord of mercy sustained him; and in letters to his friends at Geneva, and to his wife, we find expressions of the utmost resignation. He tells them that he enjoyed an ineffable gladness in his heart, and was so happy that he forgot his bonds, and seemed already to be at liberty. Ready to suffer death for Christ, not once only, but a thousand times, he persevered in prayer, imploring divine succour until the last hour, lest by any appearance of wavering he should dishonour God. Part of a letter to his wife shall be translated, as characteristic of the true martyr. "Wherefore, my dearest wife, rejoice and console yourself in Jesus Christ. Retain deeply engraven in your memory the first three petitions of the Lord's prayer, casting all your care and anxiety upon the Lord. Trust all to him, and he will give you whatever it becomes you to desire. Rejoice in the Lord: walk reverently before God: read in the holy Scriptures without ceasing: attend at the

sacred sermons: succour those who are in distress: visit the sick: and, as far as you are able, comfort the afflicted and the tempted. Above all, persevere in faithful and devout prayer, and ask that your life may be an example and mirror of His doctrine whom thou hast lately professed to serve; and study, ever more and more, that as you are risen with Christ, you may seek not the things which are below, but those which are above." The good man was taken from prison to the temple of Minerva to hear the last sentence read, and, next day, to the open place before the castle of St. Angelo, where the Pope and a train of Cardinals were assembled to witness the spectacle. On seeing the supreme Pontiff, Paschali expostulated with him for his arrogance in pretending to be Vicar of Christ, when the hangman strangled him. He was then beheaded, and lastly burnt, that the multiplicity of his offence against Roman majesty might be symbolized in the manifold fashion of his death (September 9th, 1560).

When the objects of displeasure were beyond reach, the Pope could only launch his curse causeless at a distance. Thus did he command the Cardinal-Inquisitors to proceed against the Cardinal of Châtillon, Odet de Coligny, St. Romain, Archbishop of Aix, and other six or seven French Bishops. Execution by Inquisitors being impracticable, he pronounced sentence on each of them in secret consistory, judging and declaring them to be heretics, schismatics, and blasphemers, deposed from all profit and honour of the Cardinalate, Archiepiscopate, and Episcopate, and deprived of benefit of Clergy, with all honours, offices, and dignities, and placed them under perpetual incapacity, as heretical and unfruitful branches, cut off from the Church, and hereafter to be legitimately punished, and their persons taken, kept, and delivered by the faithful to the ministers of justice (A.D. 1563). And shortly afterwards, that the tribunal of the faith might have a plenitude of power, he authorized the six Cardinals to exercise penal jurisdiction over the highest dignitaries of the Church, the Pope alone excepted, reserving to himself, in such cases, the prerogative of pronouncing final judgment in consistory (A.D. 1564). As the fabric of the Roman Inquisition was not yet deemed secure, its groundwork was completed about two years afterwards; and as the Bull of Pius V., then published, establishes the Roman Inquisition on the basis which still subsists under its *present* form, the reader may not be displeased by having a translation of it underneath.*

* "Our most holy Lord, the Lord Pius V., by Divine Providence, Pope, established, decreed, ordained, and commanded that the affairs of faith be preferred to all and every other, since faith is the substance and foundation of the Christian religion. Therefore, to all and every of the fair city and its district, Governor, Senator, Vicar, and Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, and to all others soever, Legates, Vice-Legates, Governors of the provinces and lands of His Holiness and of the holy Roman Church, mediately and immediately subject, and to their lieutenants, officers, *bariselles*, and other ministers, as well as to other ordinaries of places, and other magistrates and officers, and men of every condition and estate existing in all and every land, town, and city, and in all the Christian republic, under sentence of excommunication pronounced, and of the indignation of His Holiness, and other penalties to be imposed and executed at the pleasure of His Holiness, and the most Illustrious and Reverend Lord Cardinals-Inquisitors, that they obey the said Cardinals-Inquisitors and their precepts and commandments in whatever concerns the office of the Holy Inquisition. But he prayed Kings, Dukes, Earls, Barons, and all other Princes, in the name of God, that they

Whenever the constitution of the Holy Office is revised, its officers are sure to make trial of their renovated powers, and thus did they at Rome. Pietro Carnesecchi had been Prothonotary to Clement VII., and he maintained, for several years, so great an influence over that Pontiff that people were wont to say that the pontificate was managed by Carnesecchi rather than by Clement; yet his reputation survived after the decease of his patron, when, not occupying a similar place in the councils of his successors, he quitted the perilous field of public life, and, living on his benefices, devoted himself to pursuits of learning. Being an accomplished classic, a poet, and an orator, and already familiar with the highest circles of society, he found welcome everywhere. His mind had long been imbued with the principles of the Reformation; and when the echoes of German preaching resounded in the select societies of Italy, Carnesecchi, Cardinals Pole and Contarini, Marcantonio Flaminio, and others of the same class, used to delight themselves in feeding on "that meat which never perishes," as Pole confessed it, but which he, more than any other, so shamefully rejected afterwards. But Carnesecchi, more earnest and simple-minded, persevered in search of Gospel truth. Valdes, the Apostle of Naples, taught him the way of God more perfectly. Ochino, while yet a believer in the divinity of Christ, and Peter Martyr, were his intimate companions; nor did he cease to correspond with them after they had fled from Naples; and when good men were reduced to indigence by persecution, he supplied their necessities. Pursued by suspicion, and directly accused of heresy, he also found himself compelled to leave Italy; but, favoured with the good opinion of Paul III., eluded the strokes of inquisitorial violence; and first at the court of Margaret, Duchess of Savoy, and then at that of Henry II. of France, found protection. But in all these wanderings, and while surrounded by the glare and licentiousness of courtier life, he did not lose his desire after experimental religion, to say the least; and after converse with the more eminent Huguenots in France, fearing to return to Italy proper, he went to Padua, in the Venetian territory, hoping that the arm of Roman power might not reach him there. An excommunication, indeed, was hurled on him by Paul IV.; but, under a good Providence, the intercessions of friends saved him from the ultimate sentence during that reign; and when one of the Medici next ascended the throne under the name of Pius IV., Carnesecchi, being also a Florentine, and zealous supporter of the Pope's family, obtained a recall of the impending curse without being subjected to any condition of abjuration; and he continued, perhaps more devotedly than ever, to correspond with the Reformed, and promote the Reformation. Then Ghislieri, Prince of Inquisitors, succeeded to the Popedom; and

would favour the said Cardinal-Inquisitors, and their officers, and afford them help, and cause help to be rendered to them by magistrates, their subjects, in affairs pertaining to the said Inquisition. And further, that they transmit all prisoners for whatsoever crimes and offences, even the most atrocious, that are in any way delated to the said office of the Inquisition, or denounced, suspending the cognizance of other inferior crimes, to the said Cardinals, and to the prisons of the Inquisition, there to be detained in order to the cognizance and examination of the crime of heresy, and afterwards to be sent back to the said officers for examination concerning other crimes, without delay."—Limborch, Hist. Inquisit., lib. i., cap. 29.

the noble Florentine, dreading a renewal of persecution, hastened to his native city, sought momentary refuge in the friendship of Cosimo the Duke, and purposed to proceed to Geneva and openly join the church of Christ. This purpose, which was afterwards ascertained from his papers, was deferred, in consequence of the apparent cordiality of Cosimo, who showed him every mark of esteem and hospitality. Hospitality, however, has little sanctity with men who are everywhere aliens, except under the shadow of the Vatican. The Pope laid his case before a secret consistory, and sought assistance for gaining possession of his person by guile, if not by force. Cardinal Pacecco, proceeding in the confidence of the college, wrote a flattering letter to the Duke of Florence, pointing out the advantages that would result to the Church and to His Excellency, if that one man were but removed out of the way. The indirect overture was followed up by a direct summons from the Pope, who wrote a letter to Cosimo with his own hand, and sent it by the Master of "the Sacred Palace." The letter contained a demand to deliver up the heretic, the inveterate enemy of the Catholic Church, the corrupter of multitudes. Carnesecchi was in the palace, seated at table with the Duke in the confidence of an established friendship, at the moment when the official entered, presented his credentials, and disclosed his message. Cosimo, charmed with the promise of a smile from the head of the Church, coolly delivered up his guest, and friend, and subject, to the Papal messenger, who dragged him from the palace, and took him in custody to Rome. But ten days intervene between the dates of the letter of demand and of another letter of acknowledgment, wherein the Holy Father applauds the dexterity and obedience of the perfidious Duke, in doing "so good a deed in such an excellent spirit!" The formalities at Rome were very brief. A former Secretary of his own, a Portuguese, purchased favour by acting as his legal accuser. A series of articles, drawn from his letters, reported from his conversations, and now acknowledged by himself, was material for condemnation. The Pope pretended a desire to be lenient. The Inquisitors delivered the usual exhortations, and made the usual offers of mercy. Even Cosimo,—whether in remorse or in hypocrisy, who can say?—wrote letters intercessory; but Carnesecchi neither equivocated, nor conceded, nor prayed for pity. He witnessed a good confession; and after the forms and delays of office,—forms employed to counterfeit justice, and delays that simulated compassion,—was taken to that noted church of Sta. Maria *supra Minervam*, and heard the Inquisitorial sentence read, as usual, a second time, together with some other sentences, probably of so-called penitents. To show the Romans that, although their Inquisition was eminently gentle, that of Spain was quite after the heart of their master, the illustrious victim was covered with a sambenito, as in Spain. As a counterpoise to the effect of that exhibition, there was a last parade of mercy. A Capuchin Monk went with him from St. Mary to the prison, and they two were shut up together for ten days; and for ten days and nights the Monk hung on him with wearisome but fruitless objurgations. His noble soul was kept in patience; and on the last morning he attired him-

self as well as possible for one who had to wear the Spanish sambenito, walked with placid cheerfulness to the scaffold, was beheaded, and his body burnt (October 3d, 1567). There was no one to collect his sayings, nor describe his constancy. The persecutors charged him with obstinacy, of course; and Romish writers, weary or ashamed of reiterating the old charge of heresy, are pleased to set him down as a *fanatic*. We own him as a martyr. His doctrine, as gathered from the thirty-four articles presented to the Inquisition,* was purely scriptural: his enemies have not accused him of irreligion or immorality: he displayed neither timidity nor anger during his imprisonment and trial: he was happy on the morning of his martyrdom.

Never did Popery rage more furiously within her own states than under Pius V., who was promoted to the pontifical dignity from the presidency of the Inquisition. In Bologna "persons of all ranks were promiscuously subjected to the same imprisonment, and tortures, and death" (A.D. 1567). In that city the heretics were not always deprived of life by hanging or beheading, but often by fire. The University, as usual, was attacked, and many of the students, being Germans, were compelled to flee. At Rome some were every day burnt alive, hanged, or beheaded. All the prisons were overfilled, and new ones were erected. Not even here, however, did the zealots overlook the meaner considerations that stimulated their brethren elsewhere. Two persons of great distinction, Baron Bernardo d'Angole and the Count di Petigliano, were thrown into prison. After long resistance, they consented to recant, under promise that they should be released. But the promise was strangely kept. The Baron was condemned to pay a fine of eighty thousand crowns, and suffer perpetual imprisonment. The Count paid one thousand, and was shut up in the convent of the Jesuits to the day of his death. They sought to save their life, but lost it. Not Carnesecchi alone was betrayed into the gripe of the Inquisition; for perfidy, in all its forms, was preferred to force. Thus, for example, when a rich nobleman at Ferrara had been delated as a heretic, and the Pope could not command certain means of taking him at home, he contrived to take him in a snare. He had a cousin in Rome, and him the Curials summoned to the castle of St. Angelo, and addressed in such words as these: "Either you must die, or write to your cousin at Modena, desiring him to meet you at Bologna, at a certain hour, as if you wished to speak with him on important business." The letter was sent, the cousins met at Bologna, the one was dismissed, and the other brought bound to Rome, and dropped into the vortex of the Inquisition; and this anecdote is the only trace of the event. People disappeared from their houses, their beds were found empty in the mornings, their neighbours whispered that such an one and such an one were dead; but the rest of the tale was buried in panic silence; men were afraid even to betray fear; and every man's existence seemed to hang in doubt (A.D. 1568). Not banditti only, but familiars, spread dismay along the high-roads of the Papal states, and often appeared at Rome, bringing in their captives. Thus they brought Francesco Cellario, a Waldensian Barbe, from the Valte-

* They are given by Gerdes, Spec. Ital. Ref., p. 144, from Laderchius.

line. When travelling according to the custom of those reverend evangelists, he was way-laid, bound, carried to a Roman prison, and after suffering there twelve months, was brought out to the stake (A.D. 1569). The sufferings of those good men were intense, no doubt; but the grace of God reached them in that extremity; and, notwithstanding the cloak of silence thrown over the horrors of Rome in the time of Ghislieri, we catch, now and then, a distant sound of the martyr-song, and venture to believe that those Italians were not less triumphant over death than our own Latimer and Ridley. One, Bartolommeo Bartoccio, after wandering from city to city, had established himself under a feigned name,—we remember that nothing was more common,—and become owner of a silk manufactory at Geneva. One day, being at Genoa, he incautiously revealed his real name to a merchant, was apprehended, and sent on to Rome. Two years' imprisonment proved his faith, and then he walked firmly to the stake; and while the flames were feeding on him, the astonished bystanders heard him shout, *Vittoria! Vittoria!* reiterating the testimony that he had found victory through the blood of the Lamb (A.D. 1569).

Few names are to be found in the annals of Italian history more illustrious than that of Aonio Paleario, born at Veroli, in the Campagna di Roma, about the beginning of the sixteenth century. He first attained to eminence as public teacher of Greek and Latin, in Sienna, appointed by the Senate. In that city he read lectures on philosophy and literature with great applause, combining the energy of a manly spirit, during seven * of the best years of his life, with the charm of a Ciceronian Latin; and his orations gained him the admiration of the learned throughout Europe. He was familiar with the works of the German and Swiss Reformers, and studied the Bible for himself. The sentiment of his discourses was not less dignified and chaste than the language in which it was conveyed; and although he did not assume the character of a Reformer, he was one in reality; and the admonitions of his friend, Cardinal Sadolet, did not dissuade him from insisting openly on truths which many other scholars laboured to conceal. Such a man could not escape persecution: his private and unguarded conversations were reported, his writings were scrutinized, and it became probable that the power of the Senate would be insufficient to save him from the grasp of the Inquisition. A person who appears in the works of Paleario under his Latinised name, Otho Melius Cotta, seems to have been the most diligent and vexatious of the persecutors. To clear himself from an accumulation of calumnies, Paleario pronounced an oration before the senators of Sienna in his own defence, a few passages of which disclose the moral condition of society in Sienna, no less clearly than his own. "Cotta," he exclaims, "dost thou think thyself a Christian, because thou wearest in purple the sign of Christ? Dost thou think thyself a Christian while thou art contriving calumny, and trampling, not on a mute image of Christ, but on an innocent man? He who attacks a man with wicked guile, is far indeed from the religion of Christ; and

* Probably from the age of thirty-four to forty-one.

while thou hast suffered no injury from me, and yet art plotting thus against me, I know not what thou canst fancy thyself to be in the sight of Christ. Surely thou hast not learned of him to fling at me a false accusation like an envenomed shaft, to envy me this dignity, and circumvent me in every way possible. Hast thou never reflected that with false witnesses, and by tricks like these, they once assailed Christ himself, of all beings the most innocent? O egregious piety! O admirable religion! Surely if thou hast learnt thus to worship Christ, it must be to recall his death to mind that thou art crucifying the innocent. And thou, good man, hast gone to the Octovirs,* and asked them to deprive me, a man that am a heretic, as thou sayest, of the office of teaching. But that Greek and novel designation I disclaim utterly: for I am not now addressing thee alone, a barbarian and vulgar man, but speak to these also, who are persons of understanding and religion. Thou didst add, most shamelessly, that I agree in opinion with the Germans, and that thou wast well able to prove it; and those who knew not the hatred that lurked under these words, took them, not for an accusation, for there is no place for accusation, but for evidence. Thou sayest that I agree with the Germans; but how vulgar a charge is this! Thinkest thou that all Germans are tied up in one bundle? All, all bad? But if thou meanest that I agree with the German theologians, this, too, is excessively perplexing: for in Germany there are many most noble theologians; neither is there another country where so many and so various opinions are in circulation; wherefore, in saying that I agree with the Germans, thou hast pronounced nothing. But thy maledictions, although replete with folly, have a point; and when *thou* utterest them, are full of poison. Œcolampadius, Erasmus, Melancthon, Luther, Pomeranus, Bucer, and others, who have been brought under suspicion, are Germans. But I think that none of our theologians will be so stupid as not to understand and acknowledge, that very many things which they have written are worthy of all praise: written with gravity, accuracy, and sincerity: either gathered from those first fathers, (the Apostles,) who left us their healthful precepts, or from Greek commentators, and men of our own, who, although not worthy to be compared with those pillars of the Church, are not to be despised." But Paleario declares that he neither follows the Germans, nor is he at enmity with Frenchmen or Italians; nor indiscriminately receives all things, good or bad, that German, Frenchman, or Italian may have written. And then, with reference to the attempts of Cotta and his adherents to deprive him of his public employment, he addresses the Senate. "As for this poverty of mine, conscript fathers, this domestic indigence, I call it golden, and think it not mean in comparison with the magnificence and luxury of these men. It is my triumph. Truly my means at home are scanty (*res angusta domi*); but I have a conscience in the depths of my soul that is great, (*augusta*,) glad, and free. This conscience the furies cannot agitate by day, nor terrify with flaming brands at night. Let them sit in the professor's chair, let them bestow honours, let them adorn their

* The eight Senators.

apartments with magnificence ; I will hide me in my library with my oaken stool, and be satisfied if I can wrap myself in woollen to keep off the cold, or wear linen for the heats, and rest quietly upon my bed. And, O thou gracious Christ, author, preserver, enlarger of thy gifts, as thou hast given me a contempt for those things, and firmness of mind that I can speak with a regard to truth rather than to my own will and comfort, so I pray thee to give me piety, modesty, and continence, and heap on me those riches which I know are most precious to thee and thine."

The senators could not, or would not, protect him. In the same oration he refers to a book written by himself in Italian (*Thuscè*) that year (A.D. 1543), on the Benefit of the Death of Christ, and appeals to it as containing his real sentiments respecting Christianity. The book was printed without a name ; but this open avowal of authorship shows that he did not fear to confess Christ ; and although the Inquisitors have so far destroyed the impression that not one Italian copy of it is known to be extant, forty thousand were circulated within six years, and it was soon translated into French, Spanish, and English. Of this last version a reprint has recently been published, and attests the orthodoxy of Paleario in every essential point of doctrine ; and especially his earnestness in exalting Christ, whose sacred name ever dwelt upon his lips. But he expected that the composition of that book would bring on him the penalty of death ; and the spirit in which he awaited martyrdom is apparent in his own words to the Senate. "Than which penalty, if I must suffer it, for the testimony I have given, nothing will be more happy for me : neither do I think that it becomes a Christian to die on his bed in times like these. It is a little thing to be accused and thrown into prison, to be beaten with rods, to be hung up with a rope, to be sewed up in a sack, to be thrown to wild beasts ; it will become us well to be roasted at the fire, if by these punishments the truth may be brought to light." And thenceforth he stood prepared for such a death. Under the title of "Servant of Jesus Christ," he wrote letters to Luther and Calvin ; but his most important work, subsequently to this oration, and after his removal from Sienna, which soon took place, is the "Testimonies of Aonio Paleario to the People and Nations who call upon the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ ;" followed, as a second part, by an "Action, or Declaration of the Testimonies against the Roman Pontiffs and their Adherents, addressed to the Christian Princes and Prefects in the Council, in whom dwells the Spirit of God." After many promises and convocations, the Council of Trent was near at hand ; but while no one could confidently expect that it would be assembled, the Protestants refused to acknowledge a company so convened to be a Christian Council. Still they desired and awaited such a Council, and hoped that before it the Papacy would fall. Paleario participated in the hope, and privately wrote twenty articles testatory against the antichristian doctrines and practices of Rome, and the larger treatise following, and confided the whole to friends whom he considered to be "holy men and full of faith," with a testamentary injunction that it should be preserved secret, transmitted by them to their heirs, and kept

unpublished until the meeting of the desired Council, when the representatives of the Swiss and German churches might receive the Testimony, and when the Declaration should be presented to the Christian Princes, and read in the Council as from a departed confessor, or, as he thought probable, a martyr of Christ. These documents are eminently evangelical, and written with the seriousness of one who expects every moment to be deprived of liberty and life. The only points of difference between him and the Reformed Churches in general are, that he speaks of marriage as if it were a sacrament; and maintains that judicial oaths are unlawful. When he sat down to write these Testimonies, he "found himself destitute of all the succours of life, *except* CHRIST, to whom he was entirely devoted;" and he expected to be compelled "to leave relatives, friends, a most excellent wife and most lovely children, and be cut off from Italy, and have to roam in solitudes, or dwell in prison, and then die by violence." At that moment sorrow and weeping took possession of his house, for he was dismissed from his employment, disgraced, and exposed to poverty, reproach, and peril; but he provided this testimony of trust in God his Saviour; and about fifty years afterwards, having passed through unknown hands, the manuscript was found, and committed to the press.

His fears, however, were not yet fully realized. The Senate of Lucca invited the illustrious outcast of Sienna to accept a similar appointment in their city, where he remained for about ten years, and then transferred his services to Milan. Shielded by the good providence of God until an advanced age, he contributed to sustain the standard of truth in Italy during the persecutions above narrated, and was about to remove to Bologna when that storm overtook him which swept over the Papal states under Pius V. His book on the Benefit of the Death of Christ, his oration before the Senate of Sienna, which contained, with much that was offensive to Roman ears, a warm commendation of Ochino, and the tenor of his conversation, writings, and lectures for many years, were all arrayed against him. The Inquisitor at Milan seized him, and took him to Rome, where he was imprisoned in the Torre Nona, and subjected to an inquisitorial trial. Their sentence was, that he should be shut up for three years in a dungeon, then be hung, and his body committed to the flames. After so deliberately severe a sentence, one might suppose that the culprit had committed some unusually aggravated crime; but the sum of guilt is no greater, the annalist Laderchius being witness, than what the following articles express:—

"1. He denied that any purgatory is, or can be, found.

"2. He disapproved of the custom of burying the dead in churches, and other buildings; and said that the ill smell of corpses should be got rid of, after the manner of the ancient Romans, who were used to bury their dead outside the city.

"3. He slighted and thought badly of the state and habit of Monks, comparing them to the Priests of Mars, who carried shields about the city, singing and dancing; and to the Priests of Cybele, mutilated, and having halters round their necks; and to the Druids; and derided them because of their motley religious habits.

"4. He appeared to attribute justification to faith alone in the divine mercy, remitting sins through Christ."

On these points, certainly of most unequal magnitude, Paleario attempted to reason with his Judges, but found them deaf to reasons, and therefore ceased from arguing, and surrendered himself to their vengeance. "Since your Eminences," said he, "have so many credible witnesses against me, it is useless for you to trouble yourselves, or me, any longer. I have determined to follow the counsel of the blessed Apostle Peter, who says, that 'Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps: who did no evil, neither was guile found in his mouth: who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, threatened not, but committed himself to Him that judgeth righteously.' Proceed, then, to give judgment. Pronounce sentence on Aonio. Gratify his adversaries, and fulfil your office." When the period of imprisonment was expired, they passed the final sentence, gave him up to a fraternity of Monks in order to be "converted;" and the brethren, greedy of an honour that they could not merit, registered him as one that had recanted,—which, however, is contradicted by the formal testimony of their own historians,—and on a Monday morning (July 3d, 1570), he was brought out to die. Before quitting the cell, he was permitted to write a letter to his wife, and another to his two sons, which the Friars undertook to deliver, after copying them into their archives. To his wife he addressed a few words of affectionate consolation, telling her that he was going to depart joyfully to attend the nuptials of the Son of the Great King, a joy which he had always prayed God to grant him through his goodness and infinite mercy. He bade her not grieve for him, an old man of threescore years and ten, and useless. To his children he gave some information and counsel as to their family affairs, intrusted their "little sister" to their special care, gave paternal salutations to other two daughters, and prayed that the Spirit of God might comfort and keep them all. At the pyre there was no witness to record the last confession; but his witness is in heaven, and his record is on high.

The Court of Rome, arrogating to themselves a jurisdiction over the whole world in matters of religion, have never acknowledged the right of foreigners to have protection from the Inquisitors in their city. An Englishman in Rome has not yet any guarantee for safety. And it is worthy of observation here, that even when Italians ceased to be put to death in Rome for Christ's sake, Englishmen were made victims. About the month of July, 1581,* one Richard Atkins, a native of Hertfordshire, arrived at Rome, and presented himself at the door of the English college. The students, supposing that he desired hospitality, came out to welcome him, and invited him to lodge there, according to custom. But to their amazement he refused the welcome, and reproved them for their sins. "I come not, my countrymen," said he, "with any such intent as you judge; but I come lovingly to rebuke the great misorder of your lives, which I grieve to hear, and pity to behold. I come, likewise, to let your proud Antichrist under-

* Foxe, Acts and Monuments, *Appendix.*

stand that he doth offend the heavenly Majesty, rob God of his honour, and poisoneth the whole world with his abominable blasphemies, making them do homage to stocks and stones, and that filthy sacrament, which is nothing else but a foolish idol." Irritated by this plainness of speech, one Hugh Griffith, a Welchman, caused him to be put into the Inquisition, whence, by some unusual effort of charity, he was released in a few days. But Atkins had seriously gone to Rome to testify against the wickedness of Romanism, and was not to be daunted, nor put to silence. Meeting a procession with the host, he endeavoured to snatch it from the Priest, but failed; and the people, not understanding the reason of such a gesture, supposed that he was moved by a rapture of devotion to embrace the god, admired his fervour, and allowed him to pass on. But "a few days after, he came to St. Peter's church, where divers gentlemen and others were hearing mass, and the Priest at the elevation; he, using no reverence, stepped among the people to the altar, and threw down the chalice with the wine, striving likewise to have pulled the cake out of the Priest's hands, for which divers rose up and beat him with their fists, and one drew his rapier, and would have slain him, so that, in brief, he was carried to prison, where he was examined wherefore he had committed such a heinous offence: whereunto he answered, that he came purposely for that intent, to rebuke the Pope's wickedness, and their idolatry. Upon this he was condemned to be burned; which sentence, he said, he was right willing to suffer, and the rather, because the sum of his offence pertained to the glory of God." Many Englishmen came to him in prison, endeavouring to persuade him to recant; but he "confuted their dealings by divers places of Scripture, and willed them to be sorry for their wickedness, while God did permit them time; else they were in danger of everlasting damnation. These words made the Englishmen depart, for they could not abide to hear them." But they could abide the sight of a murdered countryman. Atkins, naked from the middle upwards, was mounted on an ass, and led through the city. Four English Priests walked by him, and preached "repentance;" and, to give emphasis to their addresses, or to instruct him in the nature of infernal torment, thrust at his naked body the burning torches which they carried. But he exhorted them to repent, and, "for Christ's sake, have regard to the saving of their souls;" and as the flaming brands were applied, bent forward to receive them, and even held the fire to his flesh, to show that God had delivered him from the terror of the hell they threatened. For about half a mile they carried him in this way, to St. Peter's, where faggots were made ready outside the church; and there, to give him space for recantation, they did not consume him quickly, but burnt off his legs first. "Not dismayed a whit," he endured the torment; and when some one would have put a crucifix into his hand, that he might embrace it, in token that he died a Christian, he put it away, telling them that they were "evil men, to trouble him with such paltry, when he was preparing himself to God, whom he beheld in majesty and mercy, ready to receive him into eternal rest." Then his tenderhearted countrymen, finding his faith invincible, walked away, crying,

"Let us leave him to the devil, whom he serves." The Romans understood not a word; but the crowd stood mute with wonder at the monstrous zeal of the Anglo-Catholics, in Rome, *their country*, and at the superhuman patience of the English martyr. Atkins was the first Englishman whom they had seen die for the sake of Christ; but Dr. Thomas Reynolds, a resident at Naples, had been carried prisoner to Rome about fifteen years before, and died in the hands of the tormentors in their secret chamber, refusing to depose anything against his fellow-prisoners, three Neapolitans.*

The word of God might not be printed for public use; but Roman literature was now enlarged by the issue of some important volumes, such as, a "Formulary of the Inquisition," a "Lantern of Inquisitors" (A.D. 1584); and, within twelve months after them, a "Directory for Inquisitors;" all tending to reduce their occupation to rules of science, and to a uniformity worthy of that Church which is always and everywhere the same. And, at length, Sixtus V. instituted fifteen congregations of Cardinals to manage the affairs of the city and the world, confiding to the *first* of these—matters of faith being indisputably most important—the care of the Inquisition. With undeviating assiduity that congregation still prosecutes its labours. The same Pontiff also deigned to take the literature of Europe under his paternal care; establishing, to that end, a congregation "for the Index of Prohibited Books;" restoring the library of the Vatican,† on a scale of great magnificence, that all books in Christendom might thenceforth be conformed to the standard and expurgated copies that should be found there; erecting a printing-office, in order that the typography of the Christian world might follow a normal institution; and cautiously ordaining that no printing-office should be permitted to exist in any place where Inquisitors were not resident, to watch over the exercise of that dangerous art. He also deemed it right to take the lead in the matter of Biblical translation, and actually printed an Italian Bible; but Catholic Christendom trembled at the announcement of such a work. His Holiness was taught that he had taken a false step: he retracted, and the vernacular edition is extinct.‡ But the Vatican library is now vulgarly regarded as a monument of Papal liberality, no less than munificence.

The Roman Inquisitors watched with keenest anxiety against the introduction of heresy from England. In 1595 an Englishman was burnt alive, together with a native of Silesia; the former having snatched the host from the hand of a Priest in procession, and the offending hand was cut off at the stake before the lighting of the faggots. Many Englishmen have been imprisoned; but who, or how many, have suffered violent death, it is impossible to conjecture. Inquisitorial privacy covers their memory with an impenetrable veil.

Atrocities which lay hidden under the secret in the larger continental Inquisitions, and only transpired now and then by voluntary

* Strype, Annals of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, chap. 48.

† Which had been destroyed by the Germans when they sacked Rome.

‡ Mendham, in his "Literary Policy of the Church of Rome," has collected much minute information concerning these proceedings, chap. 3.

disclosure of the persecutors, or in public *acts of faith*, and might be reported by strangers who had seen them, were utterly concealed in the remoter provinces, and in the islands. Of Sicily we have but indistinct and general reports. Malta, except as the Knights of St. John made that arid rock visible to the eye of Europe, was shrouded in its proper insignificance; and its rude inhabitants must have been almost impervious to rumours of religious change when wafted from the busier scenes of continental Christendom. Yet there were Inquisitors there, who watched over the orthodoxy of the Knights, the army, and the fleet, while the Bishop and his host contended for the utmost amount of spiritual jurisdiction; and the advances of civilization were as yet too feeble to dislodge the troglodytes from their dens. As for the Inquisition, it could not keep its prisons with the awfully severe discipline of Spain, or even of Rome; and it would seem that the Judaising or Islamising heretic was consigned to an almost promiscuous detention with common criminals. So much, at least, may be inferred from some passages of the following narration.*

About the year 1659, when that extraordinary religious movement, commonly called "Quakerism," was at its height in England, two pious women, Catherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, believed themselves commissioned by the Holy Spirit of God to leave their husbands and children, and preach the Gospel in Alexandria. Our business is not to discuss the propriety of their proceeding, nor to fix the limits within which it may please the great Head of the church to dispense his gifts. In the present volume we have to deal with facts; and perhaps there are few facts more worthy of remembrance than those which arose out of this Quaker mission. They do not appear to have suffered any contradiction at home: their husbands bowed with sincere submission to what they regarded as the sovereign will of God; supplied their wives with money, and saw them embark, in the port of London, in a vessel bound for Leghorn. "Many weeks" were they tossed about the Downs and Channel,—a perilous navigation,—took their departure from Plymouth, and reached Leghorn after a stormy passage of thirty-one days.—"Many trials and storms, both within and without; but the Lord delivered 'em out of them all." On reaching Leghorn they were welcomed by some Friends resident there, "went into the city in the living power of the Lord, and stayed there many days." Every day they met for worship; all sorts of people came to their meetings; no one attempted to molest them; but they were suffered to distribute some books, and one paper,—a written testimony, doubtless, against the prevalent idolatry. The Friends procured them a passage in a Dutch ship bound for Alexandria, by way of Cyprus; but, another vessel being in company, a usual precaution of merchantmen in the days of piracy, the two Captains agreed to put in at Malta. Catherine and Sarah, the first Protestant Missionaries to that island, stood on the Dutchman's deck as they sailed into the Grand Harbour, between the towering forts of Ricasoli and St. Elmo, and passed under the battlements of

* Borrowed from "A brief History of the Voyage of Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers to the Island of Malta," &c., London, 1715.

Valetta, crowded with so many people, who came to see the ships, that they fancied that the city was "in some commotion." A great burden weighed upon their spirits, and Catherine could not forbear from saying to her sister, that they had "a dreadful cup to drink at that place." But they remembered their mission; and, lifting up her eyes towards the outlandish multitude above them, Catherine said in her heart, "Shall ye destroy us? If we give up to the Lord, then he is sufficient to deliver us out of your hands; *but if we disobey our God, all of you cannot deliver us out of his hand.*" The fear of man could not dwell in bosoms fortified with such a principle. They went calmly to their cabin; the English Consul came on board, saw them not, but left a customary invitation for them to come to his house.

On the first day of the week, in the morning, they went on shore, met the Consul on the steep way up into the city, answered many questions, gave him some books and "a paper," were informed that there was an Inquisition in the place; but "he kindly entreated them to go to his house, and said that all that he had was at their service while they were there; sending them thither by his servant. So in the fear of the Lord they went; and, *as they passed along the street, they gave some books.*"* Lambs were they among wolves! Treated with good cheer at the consulate, they conversed freely with every visiter, Jesuits not excepted, to whom they gave books, which the fathers glanced over, and then threw down with disgust. However, they declared their message to them in the name of the Lord, having no fear of what they could do to them; neither did they dread the Inquisition, nor shrink from the consequence of publishing their testimony for God, against the superstition and idolatry of that place, by public preaching and dispersing of books. This aroused all the monkery of Malta. The Jesuits, too, were filled with indignation, and ran to the Grand Master,† and demanded punishment on the heretics; but he refused to trouble honest women. Failing with the noble Spaniard, they applied to the English Consul, and found him quite ready to favour them. On their next visit, therefore, he invited them to call upon a sister of his in one of the nunneries; where they were taken into the chapel, and desired to bow to the host, which they refused to do, and returned to the Consul's, much depressed. There they sat, "waiting to know the mind of the Lord; and it arose in them that they must give in the great paper which they had; and that, if they would go to save their lives, they should lose them." They were soon put to a severer test. First, they were summoned into the presence of the Lord Inquisitor, who came to the house, and noted every particular necessary to identify them in the process; and to his question, Wherefore they came into that country, they answered, "We are the servants of the living God, and are moved to come to call you to repentance." His Lordship dismissed them for the moment, and commanded the English representative to detain them there.

* Printed in Italian.

† "F. Martino de Redin, native of Aragon, from being Viceroy of Sicily was created Grand Master, in 1657, and died in 1660."—Malta Illustrata, p. 768.

They were detained accordingly for nearly fifteen weeks; the Consul's wife, also, keeping close watch on them, and the officers of the Inquisition subjecting them to frequent examinations. Was she a true Catholic? they asked Sarah. She told them that she was a true Christian, one who worshipped God in spirit and in truth. Would she take an oath on the crucifix?—She would speak the truth, but would not swear; for she understood that Christ had forbidden judicial oaths.* The Consul entreated her to be adjured, and said that no one should do her any harm; but she refused. Would she swear on a book?—She would not swear at all. What was George Fox?—A Minister. Why came she there?—To do the will of God. How did the Lord appear to her?—By his Spirit. How did she know that it was the Lord?—He had bidden her go, and promised that his living presence should go with her: and he who had promised was faithful, for she felt his living presence. Catherine was also required to swear, but refused to do so; and, after answering several questions, was asked whether she had seen the Lord. Her answer was, "God is a Spirit, and he is spiritually discerned." Their time passed heavily, and with forebodings of death; but the Consul daily assured them that they should suffer no harm. Meanwhile, a correspondence with Rome was going forward; and when, in consequence of the refusal of the Grand Master, Redin, to persecute them, the Pope, Alexander VII., had authorized my Lord Inquisitor to take the matter into his own hands, the Consul prepared the way for this action by telling them that the Inquisitor had sent for them, having received papers from Rome, and he hoped they would be free. But at that very moment they were preparing their cell. It is probable that the Grand Master, their only protector, had died since their arrival; and now the Vice-Chancellor of the Order of St. John, representing the temporal government, a man with a black rod, on part of the spiritual, and the Consul, to show the concurrence of England, —unauthorized as he was,—took them to the Inquisitor, who offered them the alternative of release, if they would change their minds, or punishment, if they persisted in heresy. "They answered, 'The will of the Lord be done.' So the Inquisitor arose up, and went his way with the Consul, and left them there. Then the man with the black rod, and the keeper, took them, and put them in an inner room in the Inquisition, which had but two little holes for light or air. And though they were shut up in darkness, they witnessed the inshinings of the light of the Lord."

There they remained for many days and nights, stung to fever with mosquitoes; even in sleep they were haunted with visions and dreams of sufferings more dreadful, and lay on their beds overwhelmed with trembling and amazement. As for the Consul, he, too, was wretched. He came to see them, weeping with remorse. He had asked them for a *sign* that God had sent them to Malta, and from their answer supposed that the sign had now begun, as perhaps it had. Already mental agitation blanched his cheeks; he was sickening, and, long

* She misunderstood the text, indeed, but nobly refused to act against her conscience.

before their release, he died a miserable death. Next came the Black Rod, two theologians, a Magistrate and Secretary, with the jailer; and then the two confessors underwent a formal examination on all the distinctive articles of Romanism, against each of which they pronounced an unequivocal testimony of condemnation. Next day they came again, bringing, as usual, a set of articles written, but made little use of it; and "then they asked them, How many friends of theirs were gone forth into the ministry, and into what parts?—And they acquainted them with what they did know. They said, All that came where the Pope had anything to do, should never go back again. But they answered, The Lord was as sufficient for them as he was for the three children in the fiery furnace, and their trust was in God. They said, They (the Friends) were but few, and had been but a little while; but they were many countries, and had stood many hundred years, and wrought many miracles, and they had none.—They answered, 'We have thousands at our meetings; but none of them dare speak a word, but as they are moved by the Spirit of the Lord. And we have miracles; for the blind receive their sight, the deaf do hear, and the dumb do speak, the poor do receive the Gospel, the lame do walk, and the dead are raised, *mystically*.' "

Catherine and Sarah betook themselves to fasting and prayer for twelve days, to the amazement of the Friars, who endeavoured to take advantage of their exhaustion; but God sustained their spiritual strength, and, at the expiration of the time, they ate and were refreshed, "and glorified God, who comforted them in the midst of their extremity." The heat of the prison then became insufferable, they lay on the ground, with their mouths at a chink in the door, "for air to fetch breath;" the hair fell from their heads, their skin became like parchment, often they fainted; by day they wished for night, by night they longed for day; "they sought death, but could not find it; they desired to die, but death fled from them." Hoping to raise a spark of pity, they wrote to the Inquisitor, again and again, begging to be removed to some other place, but yet more earnestly imploring him to accept God's truth, which they set forth with equal force and accuracy; but the only answer they received was a visit of a Friar, who took away their ink-horn, having already robbed them of their Bibles. But they bore this with meekness; and, after the Friar left the cell, the door was not again opened for five weeks. Then came some one with a physician, who found the place in such a state, that he declared it impossible for them to live in it; and the Inquisitor permitted them to be removed. Yet even then Sarah was threatened to be put in irons, for not adoring a crucifix. The irons were brought, but Sarah showed no fear; she bowed her head, and said, "Not only my feet, but my hands, and my neck also, for the testimony of Jesus." The Monk relented, and withdrew.

But this relenting was only for a moment: the companions were separated, because, as their persecutors said, they corrupted each other. Yet, God being their helper, they singly withstood every art and terror with as great firmness as when united; and Sarah even made use of her new cell in a manner that mortified the Clergy, but

may not have been unprofitable to some of them. This room was near the Chancery, where the Inquisitors held frequent sessions, and where government-business was transacted; "*and she had service among them daily.*" In the public hall, the palace, and the church, her shrill voice could be heard, and she raised it high, calling them to repentance, and exhorting them to turn from darkness to the true light, and from their wicked ways, works, and worship, to serve the living God. Some raged, vociferating, "Burn her! Burn her!" Some came stealthily to listen; and a prohibition from doing so, under penalty of imprisonment, was issued. After a separation of twelve months, the two sufferers were again permitted to occupy the same room, and their condition was also ameliorated by the removal of their chief tormentor, an English Friar, who had deprived them of provisions allowed by the Inquisitor himself, and wearied himself in vain with disputations which moved them not; and it is further remarkable that the Inquisitor, at last, became less cruel than the Friars, and even protected them from grosser outrage. Nothing, however, could subdue their freedom of speech. They exhorted the prisoners of all sorts that were brought to the prison; and when a fleet of twenty sail had come into the harbour, to join that of the Knights in an expedition against the Turks, "the dread of the Lord fell upon Sarah Cheevers, and commanded her to prophesy against those of Malta, and she cried out daily, saying, 'God is angry, God is angry, and you cannot prosper. Go not forth to murder, nor to kill one another. Christ came not to destroy life, but to save it.'" The night before the fleet set sail, she dreamt of blood overflowing into the water, and predicted that there would be great slaughter on the sea. And so it came to pass; for the fleet suffered severely in an engagement with the Turks, the Knights were beaten, and returned covered with confusion.

At last there dawned some hope of deliverance. Another Consul had been appointed to Malta, and, although he did not presume to demand their liberty, laboured to obtain it, and, at last, succeeded in engaging the Inquisitor to promise that they should be released on bail, if any one would be bound to pay three or four thousand dollars if they ever returned to the island. But they would not accept liberty on those terms; "for they could never desire any man to be engaged for them after that manner; because they knew that all decrees, laws, ties, bonds, chains, and precepts of men must be broken, through the righteous decree of the mighty Lord God." Neither could they assure themselves of safety, even after a release from prison. While they were suffering fresh cruelties, another Friend, Daniel Baker, came "to offer up body for body, life and all, for their liberty." He, too, had been moved to visit Italy as a messenger of the Gospel, with three companions, and had preached with great boldness, first at Leghorn, and then in Venice, Zante, and Smyrna. On returning to Leghorn, the sufferings of these devoted women, of whom he had heard before, were again brought to his attention; and, believing it to be his duty to interpose his efforts on their behalf, he embarked in a French ship for Malta. He was soon

in presence of the Lord Inquisitor, from whom he demanded the just liberty of his two countrywomen, and, in repeated interviews, resisted his condition of a bond to hinder their return. In the prison, also, he stood before the grating of their dungeon, and, in behalf of the whole body of God's elect, owned their testimony, and told them that they were a sweet savour to the Lord and to His people. Gladly did they once more listen to the voice of a Friend, and they all rejoiced together with sweet refreshment in the presence of the living God. This correspondence continued through twenty-four days, when the good man was compelled to leave Malta, carrying letters from them for their friends in England.

By the way, being wind-bound at Gibraltar, then under the Spanish crown, Daniel Baker went on shore, on Holy Thursday, 1662, proceeded to the mass-house, which he entered during mass; and having "stood some time viewing this idolatry, with indignation in his heart against it, he turned his back upon the Priest, his dead god and dumb idols at the high altar, and, in the commandment of life, set his face toward the people, and beheld the ignorant multitude upon their knees also, worshipping these dark inventions and imaginations of their sottish leaders and blind guides. After he had looked awhile, he spread forth his arms, stripped off his vesture, and rent the same from top to bottom in divers pieces, and cast them from him, and then took his hat and trampled it under foot, and, having done so, his sackcloth covering appeared to their astonishment, and then, with an exalted voice, he sounded 'repentance' in their ears three times, giving testimony, like the sound of a trumpet amongst them, that the life of Christ and his saints was arisen from the dead. And so he came away, as it were flying from the idolatrous temple, idolatry, and idolaters, preaching the words of the Lord's message through the streets, till he came to the sea-side, and there he was moved to kneel down and pray, and give thanks to the living God, who had so wonderfully preserved him in doing His pleasure and good will on earth, that no man offered to touch or do him harm."

The two confessors in the prison at Malta even excelled their brother in holy boldness; but, like him, with an eccentricity which those may take leave to despise who can equal them in triumphant patience and unconquerable faith. On Easter day, the Maltese, more glad to be released from the abstinence of Lent, than grateful for the work of redemption which our Lord had wrought when he burst the bands of death, gave loose to boisterous festivity, and the sound of trumpets and voices reverberated in the courts and dungeons of the prison. Catherine and Sarah felt horror at the idolatry of the people, pitied them for their ignorance, and resolved to bear a solemn testimony against them, by sitting on the ground bare-footed, bare-headed, thinly clad, with ashes on their heads, silent, and fasting. For three days and nights they remained, in the prison-yard, in that "humble and despicable posture," despite the raillery of some, and the amazement of all who saw them, and shivering in the cold wind, until the end of the third day, when, singing a hymn of praise to—

"————the only God,
A fountain pure and clear,
Whose crystal stream spreads all abroad,
And cleanseth far and near,"

they rose from the ground, shook off the ashes, walked to a fountain that played near them, quenched their thirst, and then satisfied their hunger. And, after all, a religious awe rested on all within the prison at this sign of Christian fidelity.

Daniel Baker, who had once been imprisoned in Worcester jail, was thrown into Newgate shortly after his return to England; but George Fox and Gilbert Latye bestirred themselves on behalf of Catherine and Sarah. Understanding that Lord D'Abaney, Lord Almoner of the Queen-Mother at Somerset-House, had influence in Malta, they laid their case before him, and, although he was a Priest in Romish orders, he received them kindly, and soon gave them the glad intelligence that he had succeeded in obtaining an order from the Pope for their deliverance. On the receipt of this order the Lord Inquisitor went to them, courteously dismissed them from the place where they had suffered with more than human constancy, defying the terrors of death, for four years; and "so they came away from the Inquisition in peace, according to the example of the holy men of God, kneeling down, and desiring their heavenly Father never to lay to their charge what they had done against them, by reason that they knew them not; for had they known them, they would not have persecuted them." Such was the charitable interpretation of the nefarious doings of the Holy Office by those simple-hearted women.

Eleven weeks elapsed before they could quit the island; and, in that interval, they continued their efforts to spread the knowledge of Christianity, in spite of Consul, Inquisitor, and Clergy, who renewed their vexations, until the frigate "Sapphire," Captain Samuel Titswell, under orders for Leghorn, dropped anchor in the road, and the Grand Master wrote him a request to take on board "twenty-four Knights, their servants, and two Quakers." Now, for the first time, could these *Chevaliers* converse with the late prisoners of the Church, with whom they had been forbidden correspondence; and while they heard them speak of "Christ Jesus, the light of the world, and the only way to the Father," many of them acknowledged that they were indeed his servants; and one, brother to the Inquisitor, requested the English Captain to provide everything necessary for their comfort on his account. After cruizing in the Mediterranean, the "Sapphire" returned to Tangier, which was then an English possession, where the Governor received these extraordinary women with the utmost courtesy, by a proclamation protected them from the disrespectful treatment of the profane and of the bigots, and sent them to England by the next ship of war returning. Once more they found themselves on English ground; and, after thanking God for his mercies, waited on the Lord Almoner, by whose interest at Rome they had been liberated, thanked him for his kindness, and offered him their service. "Whereupon this Lord replied, 'Good women, for what service or kindness I have done you, all that I shall desire

of you is, that when you pray to God, you will remember me in your prayers.' And so they parted." Two earnestly written tracts, composed in the Inquisition of Malta,—one by Catherine Evans, and the other by her companion,—were forthwith put to press;* and the example of the writers is yet on record to show how faith can overcome the world.

The confession of this faith having been revived among the Waldenses, the zeal of their persecutors was rekindled. Francis I. of France, and Paul III., required the Parliament of Turin to proceed against them in Piedmont; and their commands would have been thoroughly obeyed, if other cares had not prevented the French King from sending sufficiently numerous military reinforcements into that state. Instead of making open war, therefore, the civil and ecclesiastical magistracy laboured, in detail, to extirpate that ancient church. Many of its members suffered death; but we only find a general mention of their constancy, one name alone being preserved, that of Bartolommeo Ectore, who was burnt alive at Turin (A.D. 1555), in the castle-yard, before a multitude of spectators, of whom some wept, others murmured at the barbarity of the Clergy, and others spoke out in piercing invectives against the Inquisitors and Monks. But those popular expressions provoked the chiefs of Church and State to yet greater severity. The Parliament of Turin sent into the Valleys the President Giuliano, and a collateral, to summon the Waldenses to submission. As they went they published a royal edict, commanding all the inhabitants to go to mass within three days, under penalty of death in case of disobedience, not considering the folly of commanding when they had not the power to enforce; but soon found that the constancy of the Waldenses was invincible. A few, indeed, professed conformity; but they were miserably treated; and their weakness confirmed the general determination to "change the King's word." In the town of Pinerolo a large number of Waldenses were called into the presence of the Commissaries, and commanded to go to mass, and have their children baptized. One poor labourer came with his infant in his arms, and a Priest stood ready to perform the ceremony of anabaptism; but he earnestly requested permission to pray to God before giving them an answer. After lifting up his heart in prayer, the good man answered thus: "Mr. President, I am quite ready to allow you to re-baptize my child, but under the condition that you be pleased, by a writing under your own hand, to discharge me from the sin against God that you will cause me to commit, engaging, for yourself and for your children, to answer for it before God another day, and to suffer, in your body and in your soul, the punishment that you will cause me to deserve." The President, not daring so to carry out the Romish idea of substitution, and astonished at the intrepidity of the peasant, told him that he had sins

* The titles are, of the first,—"A brief Discovery of God's eternal Truth, and a Way opened to the Simple-hearted, whereby they may come to know Christ and his Ministers from Antichrist and his Ministers. With a Warning from the Lord to all People that do name the Name of Christ, to depart from Iniquity:" and of the second,—"To all People upon the Face of the Earth; a sweet Salutation and a clear Manifestation of the true Light which lighteth every one who cometh into the World."

enough of his own to answer for, bade him depart out of his presence, and never troubled him again. The two Commissaries could do no more than serve the edict on the inhabitants of two of the valleys; from whom they received a declaration of loyalty to the King, and readiness to obey his orders, by changing their religion, if it could be proved by the word of God that they had been in error.

With this reply they rode back to Turin, told it to the Parliament, obtained two Monks, gifted with fluency of speech, and, by them attended, revisited the scene of action. The Monks harangued, but the people were deaf as adders to their eloquence; they knelt before the crucifix, but knelt alone; and both Commissaries and Missionaries, on return to Turin, after a long and fruitless expedition, recited their failure in the Parliament. It was then agreed that the conversion of the Waldenses was a labour impracticable by subordinates, and only to be effected by the resistless powers of the King. One year elapsed before the resumption of their enterprise; and then, furnished with new orders from His Majesty, threatening death and confiscation to all who would not attend at mass, they went again. But the confessors gave them the same answer as before, that they must obey God rather than man; and besought them, for the love of God, that—seeing their constancy, fidelity, and obedience to the King, that their life was without reproach, and that, in fact of religion, they all worshipped the same Saviour, Jesus Christ, had the same law, the same baptism, and the same hope, as His Majesty and the President himself; and considering that Jews, Turks, open blasphemers, and sworn enemies of the Christian name, were suffered in Piedmont—they should be allowed to live according to their religion, which they affirmed to be that of Jesus Christ and the holy Apostles; but which they were ready to abandon, if they could be convinced of the contrary by the sacred Scriptures. Inflamed with rage, the Parliament recommenced persecution. All the Waldenses that could be detected in the towns of Piedmont were imprisoned; and one, at least, was brought to Turin, and burnt. This was Geoffreddo Varaglia, a Minister of the valley of Angrogna, who had once been a chief persecutor of this very people, and was employed to pervert them by preaching; but the more he laboured in debate the weaker he found his arguments, and, at length, won over by their prayers, he became a partaker of their faith, and sealed the confession of it with his blood. He sang hymns until the halter deprived him of life; and then the body was burnt (A.D. 1557). When interrogated, in his examination, concerning the number of his brethren, he answered that, in a single congregation at Geneva, he had seen twenty-four Ministers, almost all Waldenses; and wished that there might be so many that faggots would fail to burn them, rather than that teachers should be wanting. They and their converts, he said, multiplied from day to day. And, at the stake, he addressed the spectators with an affectionate earnestness that had seldom been excelled, acknowledged his guilt when a persecutor, and preached Christ, the only meritorious sacrifice and source of mercy. Nicholas Sartoris, returning from theological study at Geneva, where he had been maintained at public

expense, in preparation for ministerial labour in the Valleys, was seized, examined, threatened, and, being invincible by fear, was burnt alive, in the episcopal town of the valley of Aosta, notwithstanding the earnest intercession of the canton of Bern (May 4th, 1557).

Many thousand Waldenses were established in Calabria. Their forefathers, driven from Pragela two centuries before, had settled there; and they now chiefly possessed some villages, and even walled towns, in the neighbourhood of Cosenza. The revival of religion, too, had reached them, and, in the true spirit of Christianity, they were spreading their doctrine through the state. On them, therefore, the Inquisition fixed its eye, and determined that they should be extirpated. Ghislieri, then Cardinal Alessandrino, and afterwards Pius V., undertook to superintend the work of extirpation, and sent two subalterns, Valerio Malvicino and Alfonso Urbino, to carry the design into execution. The Monks presented themselves in one of the Waldensian towns, Santo Sisto, and, with an air of gentleness and profession of peaceable intentions, began their endeavours to pervert, and, after some conferences, they added exhortations to avoid the punishment denounced on those who obstinately persist in error. They then appointed a time for mass, and, using authority, required all to attend. But, instead of coming to mass, the inhabitants walked out of town, and left the Monks to officiate alone. Mortified at this desertion, they hastened to the next town, La Guardia, caused the gates to be shut, assembled the inhabitants, told them that their brethren of Santo Sisto had all conformed, and invited them to follow their example. The people of La Guardia, taken by surprise, and not uninfluenced by the threats of the Inquisitors, yielded to the demand; but ere the act of reconciliation could be consummated, they discovered the fraud, renounced their act, with prayers to God for pardon, and were proceeding, with indignation, alarm, and shame, to join their brethren of Santo Sisto in the woods, when a body of soldiers marched into the town. Whetting their appetite for carnage, they shouted, "Kill! Kill!" and, after butchering a great number, carried away Stefano Carlino, with sixty-nine others, to Montalto, to be examined by the Inquisitor Panza, a Spaniard, and therefore well instructed in the dreadful practice. They tortured him until his bowels gushed out; but he would not charge his innocent brethren with practices of which they never had been guilty. Another, Verminel, was kept on the *gehenna*, as they called it, for eight hours; but uttered not a syllable to sustain the calumny of having committed impurities in their religious assemblies. Another, Pietro Marzone, was stripped naked, beaten through the streets with iron rods, and then felled to the ground, and killed with blows of torches. Another, taken to the top of a tower, was offered the alternative of kissing a crucifix, or being instantly precipitated. Without hesitation he chose the latter. As they were leading away Bernardino Conte to the stake, some one forced a crucifix into his hand; but he flung it away; and the authorities, supposing that so scandalous an act should be visited with some extraordinary punishment, took him from Montalto to Cosenza, where they stripped him naked, covered him

with pitch, and burnt him to death before the people. The Inquisitor Panza, deeming the terror of his office to be yet incomplete, silenced every murmur in Montalto by help of common butchers, who slaughtered eighty-eight men as if they were sheep, and then cut the bodies into quarters, which were hung on stakes, erected at measured intervals along thirty miles of the way from Montalto to Castel Villaro, as trophies of the victory over Waldensian heresy. The *butchery* of those men was thus performed. The executioner brought them out one by one, covered the face of his victim with a napkin, made him kneel, cut his throat with a knife, left the body palpitating on the ground, and went for another, his arms dripping with blood. On his face he bound the same red napkin, and dispatched him in like manner. A hundred grown-up women were then tortured, and afterwards put to death. The total number of persons imprisoned in Calabria was stated by Ascano Carracioli to be one thousand six hundred, of whom it is not likely that any escaped; but had their throats cut, were sawn asunder, precipitated from towers and cliffs, strangled, burnt alive, or starved to death. Then it was that a Pastor was starved to death in prison at Cosenza, and another sent to Rome and burnt in the presence of the Pope and Cardinals (A.D. 1560).

Returning northward, we find Piedmont transferred from the rule of Francis I. to that of the Duke of Savoy, Emanuele Filiberto, who recovered his patrimony by a victory while General-in-chief of the army of Philip II. No sooner had he regained his dukedom than both Philip and the Pope engaged him to persecute the Waldenses, who had almost attained to a state of entire religious independence. One Tommaso Giacomello, a Dominican and Inquisitor, was sent to Nice, commissioned to keep alive the zeal of the new Duke, and incite him to imitate the example of "the Catholic King." The Nuncio aided the Inquisitor at court, and the Friars fanned up the flame of bigotry by their sermons to the populace. Emanuele did not yield readily to their solicitations; and his Duchess, who favoured the Reformation, might have employed some better influence, but not sufficient to counteract the power of the Church. The inhabitants of the Valleys,* after calling on Him who has the hearts of Kings in his hand, addressed petitions to their new Sovereign and to his Duchess, professing loyalty, declaring themselves innocent of the crimes vulgarly attributed to them, and asking for protection in the exercise of Christian liberty. The petitions were rejected. Even while their deputies were at Nice, imploring mercy, soldiers collected from the neighbouring towns, surprised the village of S. Germano at night, and drove out the inhabitants. The poor people fled to the mountains, a company of twenty-five excepted, who rallied from some scattered cottages, first fell on their knees, and sought strength in prayer, and then attacked the invaders so courageously that they

* "There is a certain valley in Piedmont, near Mount Visol, of about five or six leagues, called the Valley of Lucerna. With this joins a little valley called, from the Angrogna which waters it, the Valley of Angrogna. There are also contiguous two little valleys which take their names from Perosa and S. Martino."—Scipio Lentulus, transcribed by Leger, tom. ii., p. 34.

fancied themselves encountered by a great force, fled panic-struck, leaving many dead on the field, and in crossing a river lost many more. The little band, who had only expected to sell their lives dearly, were amazed at the event, and their Barbes quoted appropriate words of Jeremiah: "Peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall take our revenge on him. But the Lord is with me as a mighty terrible one: therefore my persecutors shall stumble, and they shall not prevail: they shall be greatly ashamed; for they shall not prosper: their everlasting confusion shall never be forgotten."

As if heretics were beneath the rights of humanity, the Duke gave general permission to invade their valleys, and destroy the inhabitants at discretion. Bigotry, thirst of blood, and lust of spoil, incessantly drew on them the incursions of brigands, and provided many a saint with opportunity for confessing Christ in martyrdom. Judges united their functions with marauders. Marcellin, a Frenchman by birth, and his wife Giovanna, were seized at Carignano, and, after a week's imprisonment, condemned to be burnt alive, and honourably underwent the ordeal of their faith. "Courage, my brother, good courage! we shall to-day enjoy the happiness of heaven together," said the good woman to her husband, as they were walking towards the spot where their earthly union was to be dissolved, and a higher relation to begin. Giovanni Cartignano followed them to glory three days afterwards, by the same fiery path. One Jean, a native of France, was dragged from S. Germano to a neighbouring abbey, and burnt alive. The Minister of a village called Meana was burnt at a slow fire in the town of Susa, remaining immovable and silent, looking up toward heaven, until he silently breathed out his happy soul. Innumerable robberies, murders, and burnings kept the Valleys in perpetual alarm; and, at length, contrary to the advice of many of their Ministers, the poor people resolved to take up arms in self-defence, trusting that by them, as by their brethren of S. Germano, God would defend the right; and in the first encounter sixty brigands fell under their weapons.

This was considered to be rebellion, and Duke Emanuele took the matter into his own hands. First, he sent two noblemen, Philip of Savoy, Lord of Racconigi, and Giorgio Costa, Count della Trinità, with a requisition to dismiss their Ministers, and acknowledge the Pope; but the people would not listen to so iniquitous an order. Wherefore the Prince marched into Piedmont from Nice (November 1st, 1560), took up his quarters at Vercelli, and sent La Trinità with four thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry, to lay the Valleys waste by fire and sword. The army entered the valley of Angrogna, confident that the peasants would disappear at the approach of an army; but a guard of fifty slingers defended a mountain-pass against twelve hundred soldiers, and, being reinforced by a few more, made them retreat with the loss of seventy. A second skirmish ended with similar success, and the invader found it necessary to change his measures. He, therefore, had recourse to intrigue, and employed certain false brethren to persuade them that, if they would but lay

down arms, and send deputies to the Prince, to promise obedience and beg pardon, they might, for sixteen thousand crowns, both redeem themselves from punishment of rebellion, and obtain liberty of worship. The simple peasantry, fancying that the interests of peace and religion might thus be assured, sent deputies to Vercelli, who were thence taken to a monastery and kept in custody for two months, as hostages for the payment of the money; and when half the sum was paid, they were compelled to kneel at the feet of Emanuele and the Pope's Legate, supplicate them to take pity on the people, and promise, as on their behalf, that they would be ready to do whatever the Prince and the Pontiff might command.

A command was forthwith given to receive the mass; but the Waldenses, who had not empowered their deputies to consent to any such terms, refused to act on them. Here, then, was a pretext for a second invasion; and a larger force, being soon collected, inundated those valleys. Every sort of outrage that a savage army could commit was perpetrated: the villages were deserted and burnt down, and the population driven to the mountains, without houses, provisions, or arms. But, after the shock had passed, they gathered fresh courage, blocked up the passes, intrenched themselves in munitions of rocks, and prepared to resist the enemy. The troops soon exhausted their ammunition, wasting it on impenetrable crags, behind which parties of slingers lay securely, and answered each discharge by a shower of stones that did certain execution; and after nearly a thousand of the soldiers of the Church had lost their lives in her hard service, their surviving comrades were withdrawn, and presented themselves, ragged, hungry, and discontented, before the Duke and Legate at Vercelli. Once more they were marched back to new slaughter; but the Waldenses, no longer blockaded among rocks, assembled in good strength, their Barbes offered prayer for victory, and, full of the confidence that is attendant on a righteous cause, they assailed the advancing columns, besieged a fortress which the army had erected at Villaro, hemmed up La Trinità and his host one whole day together in a position where they were helpless; defended themselves, at another time, against a body of seven thousand men, and levelled four hundred to the dust, besides several Colonels and Captains. Then La Trinità sent for artillery, and for Spanish troops;* but the dispirited and unwilling army was embarrassed by its multitude, and unequal to the strategy of such a warfare. God was against them. Five stout Waldenses could put a thousand of their enemies to flight, and broken columns might be seen reeling away from the deep ravines to find safety in the open country.

Then the Duchess resumed her influence over her vassalled husband; and the Waldenses, who had lately dealt with him on more than equal ground, sent an embassy to Turin, consisting of a few of their most trusty men, and Pastors, poorly clad in the worn garb of peasants. The courtiers received them scornfully at first; but their deportment, equally modest and assured, their knowledge of

* The King of France also furnished a contingent; and some volunteers from France came into the Alps to aid the persecuted.

affairs, and the dignity of their manners, silenced contempt and awakened deference in the palace, as their arms had cast terror on the camp. Chassincourt, Gentleman-Usher to the Duchess, disguising the emotion that he felt, accosted one of them in such a style as this: "With what face can you, miserable men, appear before your Prince? How can you dare to treat with him after taking arms against him? With what assurance can you presume to differ from his religion, a religion authorized throughout the world? You to contend with so great a Prince, whose councillors are Doctors! You, that are only poor Pastors, ignorant of everything, and that after all your follies have nothing to hope for but the gibbet!" The eldest of them answered: "Sir, we have confidence in appearing before our Prince, because his goodness invites us. Our resistance has been just, because it was compelled; and God has been pleased to approve it by his wonders. It was not because of the loss of all our goods that we made resistance, but because it was attempted to oppress our consciences, and extinguish the true service of God among us. We have seen our Prince execute with regret—as we charitably believe—the Pope's commands, acting on the motives of another rather than on his own; and not dispensing justice as a Sovereign, but as a lord having a Sovereign over him. Therefore, we have only derogated from that sovereign power and tyranny which the enemy of God usurps over our lord. It is God, the Supreme Power, who should be regarded as above all powers in the world; and our vows to Him dispense with every contrary obligation. As for the simplicity that you perceive in us, God blesses it, because, to effect great things, he does not make use of human grandeur: the meanest instruments have often been most agreeable to Him. Wise enough are the counsels that his Spirit dictates: bold enough the hearts that He warms: stout enough the arms that He strengthens. We are ignorant, and pretend to no other eloquence than prayer and faith. And as for the death with which they threaten us, the good faith of the Prince is worth more to him than our lives; and, at any rate, he who has the fear of God well at heart, has no fear of death." Chassincourt himself related this memorable conversation afterwards, and the effect of it appeared in his own conversion to the faith of the Reformed.

The result of their embassy, under the divine blessing, was an edict (June 5th, 1561), or articles of capitulation, to the following effect:—Pardon to the inhabitants of the Valleys, whom the Duke received under his *safeguard* and *protection:* establishment of evangelical worship, except in the neighbourhood of a ducal fort that was to be erected, and beyond specified boundaries: exemption from every penalty on account of their faith: equal freedom to fugitives in other provinces until they should have returned: restitution of confiscated property: restoration of franchise and liberties: equal participation in the benefits of justice: reservation of accustomed rights to the Prince, but with express limitations: permission to appoint their own Ministers, one only being excepted by name: toleration of the mass: remission of debt from the Valleys to His Highness: liberation of Waldensian prisoners of war: free commu-

nication with other parts of the duchy: an ordinance to protect them from infraction of these articles.

But the Duke never ratified them, nor were they legally registered. Racconigi, two Ministers, and two lay-deputies, signed the document; but the signature of subjects to what should have been regarded as a sovereign concession, rather than as a compact between equal parties, gave great offence; and although Emanuele concurred in the negotiation, he not unwillingly broke faith, under the pretext of informality in the engagement, and even after he had caused it to be observed for four years.

When Pius IV. heard of this concession, he was exceeding wroth. It seemed to him insufferable that an Italian Prince, and one whom he had assisted for the destruction of the Waldenses, should permit them to live, much more to live freely, in his state; and, above all, he feared that the example of tolerantism given by a lesser Prince would be imitated by greater. Bitterly did he complain in the Consistory, contrasting the weakness of the Duke of Savoy with the unsparing rigour of the Catholic King and his Ministers in Naples, who were slaughtering the Calabrian Waldenses at the same time that Count George was ineffectually attempting the same work in the Valleys. Peter had sent him up a Pastor to be burnt for his entertainment; but George, less zealous or less fortunate, had not transmitted a single trophy. From the Consistory he turned towards Turin, and commanded the Duke to justify himself at Rome; but the affair was hushed, to be resumed another day. In Piedmont the Friars were let loose, and succeeded in persuading the multitude that their Sovereign was himself a heretic, and ought to lose his head; until, at last, at the instance of the Pope, he published a new order (June 10th, 1565), by which "all the subjects of the Duke of Savoy who should not have declared, each one before a Magistrate, that he would go to mass, should be enjoined to quit the states within two months following." And the Magistrates were required to make "an exact list of all who did not obey this injunction, and to send it promptly to His Highness, in order to the execution of such punishment as he might think fit to impose." So glaring an act of perfidy aroused the indignation of the Protestant Princes in Germany, who wrote to the Duke on behalf of his persecuted subjects; and the Duke of Saxony, with the Elector Palatine, sent an envoy to Turin, bearing lively remonstrance, and urging the renewed observance of the articles of 1561. The Duke gave him good words and some promises. But the Inquisitor imprisoned his secretary. Castrocaro, Governor of the Valleys, after a brief relaxation of severity, put forth other oppressive orders, any breach of which was to be punished with death and confiscation; and for some years the Duke looked on while the rapacity and bigotry of Castrocaro crowded the prisons of his district, and depopulated the villages; and the good Duchess Margaret only now and then succeeded in effecting some slight mitigation of their sufferings.

Notwithstanding all this provocation, they did not commit any illegal act, but contented themselves with a mutual engagement to

passive resistance (A.D. 1571); and Charles IX. of France, being at that time engaged in the illusory system of liberality towards the Reformed, wrote to the Duke on behalf of the people of the Valleys, and procured some respite for them, until, on the intelligence of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and of the other massacres in the French provinces, fearing that a similar onslaught would be made on them, they fled again to the mountains, but were recalled by the assurances of His Highness, that they should suffer no harm; nor were they again molested until the death of Margaret. And even then their sufferings were light in comparison with those of former times. And Emanuele may have been influenced by a desire to turn away the current of persecution from his own territory when he solicited the Pope to establish the Order of the Knights of St. Maurice, incorporated with the remains of the ancient Order of St. Lazarus, the Dukes of Savoy being always the Grand Masters, and maintaining galleys for the defence of the Holy See against pirates, infidels, (or Mussulmans,) and other enemies of the Church (A.D. 1572).

In the marquisate of Saluzzo, southward of the Valleys, the Waldenses had many congregations, who shared in the reproach of Christ. But while the Dukes of Savoy were labouring to exterminate evangelical religion from their dominions, Saluzzo was subject to the crown of France, and, as a small and remote province, suffered less severely. A courier was, indeed, despatched thither by Charles IX., as well as into the other provinces, to command a massacre like that of St. Bartholomew; but the local authorities hesitated to fulfil so monstrous an order. He again sent a courier to countermand the execution, and the Christians of Saluzzo were spared. But when the Duke of Savoy received the marquisate in addition to Piedmont, he began a system of combined violence and persuasion that terminated in the utter extirpation of those churches, by a decree which banished every member who did not conform to the Roman religion, after two months' warning (September 23d, 1633).

The reader shall not be troubled with a tale of Romish politics, as they were exemplified in the proceedings of those Jesuit Missionaries and Priest-ridden Governors, who alternately endeavoured to subdue these oppressed people by perversion or banishment, from the dragonnades of 1560 to those of 1655, which drew towards them the compassion of Europe. To speak against the Missionaries, or even to dissuade their brethren from going to hear their sermons, was made a civil offence, punishable with death. Many were put to death on that account; and by an abuse of criminal jurisdiction, innocent persons, being Waldenses, were frequently sentenced to capital punishment by corrupt Judges. Yet there was an extraordinary abstinence from blood in the Inquisitors, who appear to have left the field to the Jesuits; and the name of but one victim, during all that period, is preserved by the historians. This was Sebastiano Bassano, of the valley of Lucerna, who, after suffering in a dungeon of the Inquisition through fifteen months, was burnt to death in the Duke's palace-yard in Turin, singing the praises of God to the last moment (November 23d, 1623).

Every event of politics or war, every incident, the most trifling not excepted,—the quarrels of Kings and the sports of children,—were taken account of and woven into a tissue of accusation to justify the vengeance that, either suddenly, or by premeditation, was poured on the population of the Valleys. Lying between France and Italy, containing those Alpine passes that had afforded entrance to the hosts of Hannibal, and were equally desired for purposes of invasion or defence, the territory was often claimed by hostile Princes, and the allegiance of the inhabitants divided. These passes were kept by the Waldenses during an insurrection of Piedmont against the Duke, and by this means a French army entered the duchy and restored the government. This rendered them more obnoxious than ever to the hatred of the Romanists who had taken part in that insurrection. Irritated by incessant persecutions, the villagers could not refrain from manifesting their contempt of Popery; and, amidst their rustic festivities, sometimes indulged in jests that might have been better avoided, but were too childish to be worthy of judicial visitation. Their most serious indiscretion was committed in the demolition of a Capuchin monastery in Villaro (March, 1653). The Monks had provoked this violence by the most tyrannical conduct, and many a neighbour had been sacrificed to their insolence; but when they appeared as fugitives at Turin, and related that their religious house and church were burnt, the dignitaries of the Church vowed vengeance. There was also at Turin, besides the Inquisition, a "Congregation for the Extirpation of Heretics," whose appliances were altogether political, and whose minute information enabled them to fabricate charges of political misconduct against the Barbes. Antonio Leger,* a man of great learning and talent, who had been Chaplain of the Dutch Ambassador at Constantinople, but had returned to his country after the greater part of the Pastors had been carried off by pestilence, to re-organize the churches exercised a kind of episcopal direction over them. Italian writers accuse him, especially, of meddling with state-affairs; but, even if it were so, he might have been compelled, by the necessity of his position, to interfere on behalf of his troubled brethren; and Jesuits are the last people in the world to bring such an accusation with good grace. The Priests, headed by the Pope, incessantly beset the government with solicitations to enforce edicts of banishment suggested, or even drawn up, by the Turin Congregation; and the objects of their persecution, on the other hand, made frequent applications at court for the rescinding of orders that were contrary to the Articles of 1561, and to repeated concessions made to them since that time. Those appeals were rejected; and their inevitable delays of departure, and refusal to attend at mass, were regarded as an intolerable contumacy. Their adversaries complained that, in spite of an edict of Carlo Emanuele I., dated from Turin, in February, 1602, they had presumed to purchase property of Catholics, preach, exercise the rites of their religion, build temples, even demolish those of the Catholics, and open schools beyond the prescribed limits, in the valleys of Lucerna, San Martino, and Perosa.

* Uncle of the historian, Jean Leger.

They complained that those rebels, when required to demolish the unlawful temples, had refused, and exhibited other signs of contumacy. Their honest opposition to the Jesuitical efforts at perversion, and their conduct towards unfaithful brethren, were called persecution; and they charged Leger with having refused the eucharist to one Giuseppe Gondino, who had, contrary to the Waldensian discipline, sold land to a Catholic. They affirmed, but could not satisfactorily prove, that, on Christmas-day, 1654, an ass had been led in procession in the village of La Torre, in derision of the Church that has often done the same thing, and still includes that humble brute amongst the blessed by means of her lustrations.

Possessed of the idea that the spirit of the Reformation was not patient and benevolent, as in reality it was, but seditious and profane, and that Leger was the incorrigible leader of insurgents, Carlo Emanuele resolved to make an end of him and them at once. He therefore sent one Dr. Andrea Gastaldo, Councillor, Auditor, and "General Conservator of the Holy Faith," to Lucerna, there to publish an order, that all householders of the Waldensian religion who resided or possessed property within the boundaries of Lucerna, San Giovanni, La Torre, Bibbiana, Fenile, Campiglione, Bricherasco, and San Secondo, should quit those places within three days, and go to the places "tolerated," which were Bobbio, Villaro, Angrogna, Rorà, and the country of the Bonetti. This he was to enforce by the penalties of death and confiscation, unless those heads of families would make it appear, within twenty days, that they had both embraced the Catholic religion, and sold their property to Catholics. Gastaldo further commanded mass to be celebrated in the places tolerated, forbade the Waldenses to trouble or insult the Missionary fathers or their servants; and threatened every one with death who should dare to interfere with others disposed to become Catholics. Every mind was to be left at perfect liberty! (January 25th, 1655.)

Regarding the decrees of the Duke of Savoy as laws, the last, however contrary to decrees preceding, became law, and the order of Gastaldo was therefore strictly legal, but barbarously severe. Midwinter was the season chosen, as usual, for the banishment of an entire population. Families, not excepting women, sick and aged persons, and young children, were to be driven from their hearths, within three days, to places which were almost uninhabitable through excessive cold. But the proscripts prepared to suffer. They left their dwellings. The stronger ones led or carried the infirm, the little children hung on the backs of weeping mothers, and the poor shivered with limbs uncovered to the blast, as they endeavoured to make a way over the untrodden snows. But the region was impassable: they returned, and sent deputies to Turin, to implore pity, and plead the grants and concessions often repeated and as often broken. The deputies were there challenged to show credentials which they did not possess; and, because not accredited, were dismissed without an answer. The proscripts had also sent messengers by post to Switzerland, and hoped for succours or intercession from the Protestant cantons. Four cantons wrote letters intercessory to the Duke; but

he replied that his subjects of the Protestant religion had, for many years, committed excesses that could not be pardoned,—abused favours, violated laws, treated the Catholic religion with indignity, and, finally, had aggravated their disobedience by seeking help from foreigners. The Swiss churches exhorted their brethren to bear persecution patiently, which, indeed, they wished to do, but foresaw the event, and, committing their cause to God, determined to unite their forces for defence. The Duke would not abate from the rigour of his commands; neither could they consent to surrender him their conscience. About three months after the order of Gastaldo, the Marquis of Pianezza marched five hundred regular infantry, some militia of the country, and about two hundred horse, into the valley of Lucerna. Heavy reinforcements immediately followed, and fifteen thousand men were soon under his command.

He first occupied San Giovanni, a town deserted by all the inhabitants, except eight or ten; and the fugitives, who had taken refuge in the mountain, saw them pillage, and then burn, the villages adjacent. Fortified in La Torre, they successfully withstood the first assault. The ducal troops then ravaged Angrogna; but the inhabitants had fled with the provisions, and the hungry soldiers grew doubly furious. The Waldenses occupied the heights, while the troops ranged the lowlands; and as Pianezza commanded the invaders, Janavel and Jayer headed the peasants in their strongholds on the mountain-crests of Bricherasco, San Giovanni, and Angrogna. The Marquis led his men to assault in all those places; and for three days the battle raged. The mountaineers surprised the veteran troops by their valour, and the Priests no less wondered at their patience; while old men, women, and children lay in the snows above them, and the dead and wounded covered the rocks around. To turn the balance of war, a body of French soldiers were sent to the help of Pianezza on the third day: for he had gained no advantage by two days' fighting, but lost hundreds of men. Still the combined army tugged for victory; and after a sanguinary battle in the plain of La Torre, routed the Waldenses. Yet their conquest was not complete. Janavel and Jayer rallied often, and recovered or dismantled posts which the enemy had won. Then they both fell, the former wounded, and the latter slain. Blood, famine, and desolation overflowed and wasted everywhere. The invaders gave no quarter; and the invaded only desired to die with a good conscience.

Savoyan, Spanish, and French soldiers, not satisfied with having beaten men, proceeded to murder women and children. They tore babes from their mothers' arms, and dashed them on the rocks, or quartered them with their swords. They dragged the aged and the sick out of their sheds, cut them to pieces, or flung them over precipices. Women were violated, or subjected to shameful torments that the pen refuses to name, much less to describe. Some were impaled, and their bodies thus exposed on the cross-ways to the horror of beholders; some were mutilated and killed by the explosion of gunpowder crammed into their mouths; soldiers amused themselves by tossing about limbs just severed from their trunks, and quivering

with half-extinguished life; pregnant women were ripped open, and babes that had never breathed were stuck on the points of halberts. Terrible and unutterable deaths were these of fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, husbands, wives, and infants perishing while yet unborn, in sight of wives, husbands, daughters, sons, mothers, and fathers, maddened or stupefied with horror. Then, like hounds, not yet sated with the chase, others hunted among the rocks, and tracked over the fields of snow that erewhile had not been trodden by foot of man, to find the more vigorous who had escaped from the brutality of their fellows, and brought back and murdered as many as they found. Nor did they spare the bodies of the dead; but, pressed with hunger, while mad with hate, it is attested that they cooked human flesh, gorged themselves therewith to nausea, and sickened with remorse. Flames of burning villages lit up the dells; and it seemed as if some strange volcanic fire had broken out of the earth. Priests and Monks baited the flames, and threw the carcases of the dead into the ashes of their former habitations, leaving not one cottage unconsumed in several of the communities. The Irish soldiers and those of Piedmont were, of all others, the most rabid; and Pianezza, raging like a master-fiend, galloped over the reeking soil to quicken their murderous diligence when wakening humanity began to plead within them. Some few, horrified at finding themselves engaged in such a service, deserted; and one of them, the Sieur du Petit Bourg, first Captain of the regiment of Grancey, made a written attestation of having surrendered his office in disgust.

The murderers might have thought that the obscurity of the situation, the meanness of the victims, and the confusion of those days of horror, would hide much of their abominations from the world. But the history of persecution is nowhere more minutely vivid. Jean Leger, Moderator of the churches, revisited the Valleys on the restoration of peace, went from community to community, and, everywhere detaining the people after public worship, caused sworn Notaries to receive the depositions of survivers, and preserved them, duly certified, to be made use of when required. "But why," he asks, "so great formality of depositions and of records? For if it is true that the blood of Abel cried to heaven against the cruelty of his brother, the blood of so many thousand innocents—with which we ourselves saw the land still red, immediately after the murderers had achieved their tasks, and had withdrawn—cries yet loud enough to be heard, even to the ends of the earth. Bodies of young females that we still found naked, impaled and exposed on the highways; quarters of children that we found scattered on the ground, and their brains yet sticking to the rocks; the carcases of men without legs, arms, noses, or ears; heads that were found cut off;* and those which we saw hanging on trees, with the chest laid open, and emptied of heart, liver, and lungs; the skins of persons who had been roasted alive, and that we saw stretched on the window-gratings of the palace of Lucerna:—in short, a thousand and a thousand dreadful objects,

* "Avec leur membres viril entre les dents."

such as * the shamefully mutilated bodies of women and children, and innumerable spectacles of the same kind, must be acknowledged as proofs sufficiently convincing. Let poor husbands who have just now lost their wives and children; let women and children who remain widowed and fatherless, be witnesses. Let the community of Rorà answer for the butchery committed there; for it is almost left without inhabitant. Let the village of Taillaret answer, where we saw the unburied bodies, or parts of bodies, of one hundred and fifty women or children putrefying on the ground."

By many times repeated and solemn acts, the entire population had confessed Christ, and chosen to suffer for his sake; but amidst the confusion of that military massacre opportunity was not afforded for the final testimony of martyrdom to be heard, with but two exceptions.

Jean Paillas,† a poor man of the community of La Torre, after having been beaten by some soldiers, and ill-treated by the Monks of the convent, who endeavoured to force him to their altar, was delivered to a hangman, by express order of the Marquis of Pianezza, and brought into his presence. There was a ladder set up against a tree, and he was required to renounce his heresy, with promise of pardon, exemption from imposts, the advancement of his children, the favour of Pianezza and their Royal Highnesses, and a handsome sum of money wherewith to begin life, or else to mount the ladder and be hung on the tree. They represented the torments that his wife and eleven children would have to undergo after his death, if he were obstinate. But, as for their offers, he told them that he counted the crown of life that he should receive in heaven to be far more precious than wealth and life; and as for his wife and children, he desired no greater grace for them than that they might all follow in his steps, and die together with him. The Monks were enraged, and helped the hangman to launch him into eternity; and he submitted himself to their hands with placid resignation. A few days after this martyrdom, Paulo Clemente di Rossani, Elder and Deacon of the church of La Torre, was seized by the same soldiers and Monks, and taken to the place where Paillas had suffered. The body was hanging on the tree; and, with that object in view, the Monks addressed him a long discourse, by every motive of hope and fear exhorting him to submit to Holy Church. But this man of God, whose unspotted life, with fervent piety and zeal, had gained him the reverence of all the people of the Valleys, after hearing all they had to say, answered thus: "To all your promises I reply, 'Get thee behind me, Satan!' And as for your menaces, I fear them not; for you can only kill my body. But I do fear Him who could send both my body and my soul to hell, but will surely receive me into His kingdom, and call you to account for the innocent blood shed by your false zeal."

Eighty-three years had passed away in general persecution from the massacre of the Huguenots in France on St. Bartholomew's day to that of the Waldenses, and, in spite of such manifestations of Romish

* "Les femmes et les filles qu'on trouvoit éventrées par la force de la poudre; les ventres qu'on trouvoit farcis des pierres; les corps que se trouvoient sans mammelles."

† This name is given in the French orthography of Leger.

power and fury, with the strenuous appliance of all the means of repression which that apostasy had at its disposal, the church of God had risen into a relative position of considerable power; and there were Protestant states and Princes whose indignation was more than the Duke of Savoy could venture to despise. It was on a Sunday (April 29th, 1655) that the tidings of this massacre reached Zurich; and the members of the Council instantly ran together to ask each other what it became their duty to do in so mournful an emergency. They resolved to appoint an early day for humiliation and prayer, to make a general collection for the relief of their fugitive and houseless brethren, and to communicate with the States-General of Protestant Switzerland, in order to further measures. The Council reminded their confederates of Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell, that besides praying for them to the Father of mercies, means ought to be employed for alleviating their sufferings by alms, and for "pacifying their Prince towards them, or, at least, for obtaining for them liberty of transmigration" to some other country. And so prompt was their action, that within five days more Gabriel Weiss, Captain-General of Bern, was on his way as their deputy to the Duke; and, on his arrival at Rivoli, where Carlo Emanuele held his court, obtained an audience, and presented a letter of intercession to His Royal Highness, carefully assuring him that the sufferers had made no complaint to themselves, but that communion of faith and Christian pity moved them to intercede, and to pray the Duke, as an ancient ally of Switzerland, to favour his subjects who were of their religion, and graciously to continue to them the concessions granted by his predecessors. The Duke, and *Madame Royale*, his mother, heard the verbal remonstrances of Weiss; and, at last, Madame condescended to say, "That although they were not obliged to give any account of their actions to any Prince in the world, yet, nevertheless, out of the respect they bare to that amity which they had contracted with his masters, the cantons, they had ordered the Marquis of Pianezza to acquaint him with the truth of these affairs." Pianezza, leader of the dragonnade, told a long tale, to criminate the sufferers, endeavoured to justify, or to deny, his proceedings in the Valleys, and protested, again and again, that he never had the least design to impose on the conscience of the Waldenses, or interfere with their religion, and that the reports of a massacre which had been circulated were a mere fabrication. This denial of so public a fact could not be sustained; but the efforts of the Swiss deputy during an anxious negotiation were utterly ineffectual to obtain any act of mercy.

Oliver Cromwell was at this time head of the Commonwealth of England, and, on receiving intelligence of the massacre, he put forth all his energy and influence on behalf of the remnant of the Waldenses. Samuel Morland, Esq., received orders (May 23d) to prepare himself to carry a message to the Duke of Savoy, to entreat him to recall the merciless edict of Gastaldo, and restore his distressed subjects to their liberties and habitations. And he was directed to apply to the King of France in his way through that country, and solicit his concurrence in intercession with the Duke. Mr. Morland

quitted London without delay, and, making the utmost possible speed, received from Louis XIV. a written disclaimer of any participation in the doings of Carlo Emanuele, although French soldiers had been employed in the deed of blood. He soon made his appearance at Rivoli, where the power of England, and the reputation of Cromwell, secured him the most courteous reception with which Savoy could honour an Ambassador, and Carlo Emanuele and his mother found themselves compelled to receive this most unwelcome visiter. Attended by the Master of Ceremonies, the English Envoy proceeded, in the Duke's own carriage, to Rivoli on the day appointed for the audience, and read their Highnesses, in presence of all the court, a stern lecture, in Latin, then the common language of courts, to the following effect:—"May it please Your Serene and Royal Highness: Oliver, the most Serene Lord Protector of the Republic of England, Scotland, and Ireland, has sent me to Your Royal Highness, to whom he desires hearty salutation, with long life and reign, and great prosperity, amidst the applauses and prayers of your people, &c., &c. As for myself, although I am a young man, and, as I confess, have not mature experience in affairs, yet it pleased my most serene and gracious master, being much devoted to Your Royal Highness, and a great lover of the Italian name, to send me to negotiate matters of great importance,—for so must those be called which involve the safety and the hope of so many distressed people. Their hope rests in this,—that by their entire fidelity, obedience, and most humble prayers, they may placate and soothe your spirit, which is irritated against them. In behalf of these afflicted people, whose cause pity itself may now appear to plead, even the most Serene Protector of England comes to be the intercessor, and, with the utmost earnestness, prays and beseeches Your Royal Highness, that you will deign to extend your mercy to these your poor and most outcast subjects: to those, I mean, who, inhabiting the skirts of the Alps and certain valleys within your dominions, have given their names to the religion of Protestants. For he has heard—may no man say that it was done at the pleasure of Your Royal Highness!—that those most miserable people, in part cruelly murdered by your forces, and in part violently expelled and driven from their hearths and from their country, are thus without home or shelter, stripped of everything, and destitute of all relief, wandering, with their wives and little ones, in wild and uninhabitable places, and perishing on the snowy mountains. And, in those dreadful days, what kind of cruelty did not your soldiers dare to perpetrate? Houses everywhere in flames! shattered limbs! the ground reeking with blood! violated and expiring virgins!* men, a hundred years of age, infirm and bedridden, burnt to ashes where they lay! babes dashed to pieces against the rocks, or their throats cut, or their brains taken out, and, with more than Cyclopean barbarism, boiled and eaten by the murderers! But enough of this. Much, very much more, might I say, but for horror I cannot. If all Neros of all times and ages could rise up from the dead again,—be it spoken without offence to Your Highness,

* "Virgines, post stupra differto lapillis ac ruderibus utero, miserè effiarunt animas."

for we cannot imagine that the blame of such deeds can be imputed to *you*,—this would put them to the blush. For they would find that they had invented nothing that, in comparison with these enormities, was not gentle and humane. Meanwhile the angels of heaven shudder. Men are amazed. Heaven itself seems to be stunned with the cries of the dying, while the soil visibly blushes with the blood of the innocent. O, thou most high God, exact not the vengeance due to such atrocious villanies! O Christ, may thy blood wash away the stains of this blood!" The Envoy paused, his auditors endeavoured to harden their faces against shame, and he concluded his address in a few brief sentences, referring them, for a more perfect understanding of his mission, to a letter from Cromwell, of which he was the bearer.

Carlo Emanuele then took the letter, and Madame, unable to hide her dissatisfaction, anticipated the answer by impatiently saying, that she could not but extremely applaud the singular charity and goodness of His Highness, the Lord Protector, towards their subjects, whose condition would seem to have been represented to him as so very lamentable. But she marvelled exceedingly that the malice of men should carry them so far as to represent in such horrid colours the parental and tender discipline which they had seen fit to exercise over their insolent and rebellious subjects, and to render them thereby odious to all neighbouring Princes and states, and especially to so great and powerful a Prince as the Lord Protector. She doubted not that, when perfectly informed, Cromwell would be so satisfied with the Duke's proceedings, that he would withdraw all countenance from his disobedient subjects: but, for His Highness' sake, they would freely pardon the rebels, and even accord them such privileges and graces as would give him sufficient evidence of the regard they had to his person and mediation. And the Duke afterwards wrote to Cromwell to the same effect.

No effort was spared to disguise the truth to Mr. Morland; but his investigations, both at Turin and in the Valleys, confirmed the worst reports, and his "History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemonte" is now the standard source of information on this subject in the English language. And the Protestants of England, not satisfied with intercession at the court of Turin, nor thinking that their duty was all done in the offering up of prayer to the God of heaven, sent over their alms to the destitute, who, on returning to their native valleys, found it necessary to build new houses and to begin their ordinary occupations as if they had been settlers in a desert country. Collections were made, under public authority, through England and Wales; and the first entry on the "Abbreviate of that Accompt" is in these words: "Given by His Highness in particular, £2,000." The total sum was £38,097. 7*s*. 3*d*., and Commissioners were appointed for its public and faithful distribution. This interference of England, together with the Protestant states of Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland, induced the Duke of Savoy to grant a patent of grace and pardon to the surviving Waldenses; but he did not choose to acknowledge that he had been

moved thereto by the intercession of heretics, and therefore attributed the honour of this involuntary clemency to the King of France and to his mother. Clemency, however, being thus forced, could not long endure. The fulfilment of the concessions of 1655 was both imperfect and brief. In less than eight years afterwards the evangelical inhabitants of the Valleys were again constrained to abandon their habitations, because threatened with a second massacre, and to take up arms in self-defence. Subjected to confiscation and to exile whenever their enemies could find any pretext for attack, they still maintained their ground, until 1686, when Louis XIV. of France, having revoked the edict of Nantes, banished the Ministers, torn down the temples, dispersed the schools, and suppressed the public worship of the Reformed, also required Vittorio Amedeo, Duke of Savoy, to expel them from Piedmont. He feared that the Protestants of the Delphinate, then fleeing from the prisons and galleys of France, would find an asylum in that state, and that thus a hostile people would multiply in his neighbourhood. The instances of so powerful a King were not to be resisted; the Ministers of Savoy feebly remonstrated that the peaceful and industrious Waldenses had given no offence to their Sovereign or their neighbours, and ventured to represent that an edict, already published, prohibiting the entrance of refugees from France into Piedmont should be enough to satisfy Louis. Vittorio thought himself obliged to comply with the barbarous requisition, and ordered that the Waldensian worship should be suppressed, the Barbes banished, and the churches taken down. The edict was enforced by the sword, and, after making an ineffectual, yet sanguinary, resistance, the entire population was driven into Switzerland. An intrepid band of eight hundred men did, indeed, re-enter Savoy sword in hand, after a banishment of three years, and recover a dwelling for themselves; but those Valleys were scarcely again heard to resound with the hymns which had been sung by elder generations. The united forces of France and Savoy had expelled eighteen thousand persons; and when a favourable edict (A.D. 1694) encouraged the persecuted race to rally around the graves of their fathers, no more than four thousand of them could be found there. From Oliver Cromwell to George III., the Sovereigns and people of England contributed some trifling alms towards the support of a few Ministers and schoolmasters; even Napoleon Buonaparte respected the remnant of so *brave* a people; and, in the year 1848, Charles Albert honoured them with permission to re-establish their simple worship in his dominions. There are still vestiges of that apostolic church subsisting in the Alps; but Rome has verified the description of an inspired writer in regard to them, by *wearing out the saints of the Most High.* No political intervention, no remittances of temporal bounty, no historic pride, no patriotic enthusiasm, will suffice to rear up again those altars, and to rekindle the fires of an extinct devotion. We, therefore, rejoice to know that prayer has been long offered up by British and other evangelical Christians for the children of those old confessors, and that the Gospel is again preached among them. The Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society takes part with

others in sending them living messengers, who bear glad tidings of peace, and whose ministry has not been left without a blessing. The Reformation was suppressed in Italy, as we have seen, excepting only those churches of the Alps, which were reduced thus low, but never could be extirpated. And although earnest and spiritual religion passed away from among them, as was to be expected after the public ministrations of the word of God and the watchful discipline of earlier times had ceased, there has been a constant deposit of the doctrine of evangelical Christianity and of right principles preserved, without doubt, to be revived for the benefit of coming generations.*

CHAPTER VIII.

The SLAVONIAN *Churches; chiefly those in Poland, Prussia, Bohemia, and Moravia, from the Date of the Augustan Confession to the Prostration of Evangelical Religion and civil Liberty in Poland by the Jesuits towards the Close of the eighteenth Century.*

BOHEMIA, Moravia, Poland, and a few lesser states, included under the general designation of Slavonia, with the neighbouring kingdom of Hungary, are now to be the field of our history.

It will be remembered that Zahera, administrator of the Calixtine Consistory at Prague, and persecutor of the Bohemian Brethren, whom once he had professed to favour, excited political disturbances, while pretending to persecute the "Picards," as the Brethren were called, was detected, banished by Ferdinand I., and, after a few years of ignominious wandering, died miserably in Franconia.† Perhaps the disgrace of Zahera was the immediate cause of the recall of the Brethren whom he had exiled; and the year of the Confession of Augsburg (A.D. 1530) was to them a year of partial restitution and religious freedom in Bohemia, notwithstanding the severity of Ferdinand to the Reformed everywhere else, as to them also, a few years afterwards. And that, at best, their respite from persecution can only be described as partial, appears from the fact that a nobleman, George the Hermit, was imprisoned for religion in the castle of Prague (A.D. 1532), whence he wrote letters of exhortation to his brethren, which were afterwards published. During that short respite they ventured to continue their correspondence with Luther and the Lutherans, and received marks of brotherly esteem from the leader of the German Reformation, who declared that, on examining their doctrine, and the discipline observed in their church, and hearing of their godly conversation, his mistrust had vanished, and that he acknowledged them as brethren. The Margrave George received a confession of their faith, which was published at Wittemberg (A.D.

* Dr. M'Crie, History of the Reformation in Italy; Gerdesii Specimen Italiæ Reformatæ; L'Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises, par Jean Leger; History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemonte, by Samuel Morland, Esq. These, with a multitude of incidental authorities, are the sources of information in this chapter.

† Page 108, *supra*.

1533), with a commendatory preface by Luther; and the correspondence between Bohemia and Saxony became frequent.

But the persecution which assailed all evangelical Christians, even when under legal toleration, pursued the Brethren in Bohemia, and constrained them to send another confession to their own Sovereign, attested by the signatures of twelve Barons and thirty-three Knights, and delivered into his hands at Vienna by Baron William Krzinezky and Dr. Henry Domausitz, who at the same time presented to His Majesty a petition for pity and protection. The Clergy, they complained, unjustly accused them of the errors vulgarly attributed to the Picards, thirsted for their blood, and taught the people that Picards ought not to go unpunished, and that it was less sinful to slaughter a Picard than to kill a dog. Yet their numbers multiplied, and they soon became better known and beloved throughout the younger churches of revived Christendom. Ferdinand, cruel and bigoted, could not spare them altogether from the persecution he inflicted on the Lutherans in Austria; and when he also oppressed the Utraquists, or Calixtines, with vexatious edicts,—one of which was addressed to the Council of Zittau (A.D. 1538), commanding the eucharist to be administered in one kind only,—he made no exception in their favour, and their petition lay unanswered.

In Poland the religious innovation, perhaps not yet amounting to evangelical reform, continued to advance; and in Bohemia one martyr, Catherine Zalaszowska, a woman eighty years of age, was burnt alive in Prague (A.D. 1539). Paul III., far more earnest in resisting the Gospel than in reforming his court,* sent a brief to the King and to the Prelates of Poland (June 24th, 1542), urging them to be more earnest in staying the progress of this hated doctrine. He reminded the Bishops that, in favour to the King, he had alleviated the burden of their tribute to the Apostolic See, and therefore expected an equivalent return in the extirpation of its enemies; and the Archbishop of Gnesen, as Primate of Poland, exhorted his brethren in provincial Synod to take measures for preventing further secessions from their Church, for the number of seceders had become formidable; the ignorance of the Clergy was acknowledged with shame, and the Synod lamented that, from the fewness of their number, many churches were forsaken. By that Synod, as by some that preceded and others that followed, severe measures of persecution were demanded of the King, or enjoined on the faithful; but the evangelical principle gained strength, as well amongst the clergy as the laity. While the Polish Priests were consulting for the maintenance of their order, John Augusta, Senior, or Bishop, of the Brethren, was in conference with Luther, at Wittemberg, concerning the kingdom of Christ, and, with his valediction (A.D. 1542), received this sentence of recognition and encouragement:—"You are the Apostle of the Slavonians, as I and my colleagues will be of the Germans." The Bohemian Seniors and their brethren well discharged the duties of that apostleship, and shared in the honour of suffering persecution for their Master's sake;

* He just afterwards commissioned two Cardinals to execute a decree for the reformation of the court of Rome (July 14th); but they never proceeded to the work.

for Ferdinand no longer contented himself with minatory edicts, but closed the churches and imprisoned the Ministers (A.D. 1544). He also banished several from Austria, and used his imperial authority to prevent them from finding refuge in the lesser states. A Synod of Hungarian Bishops followed up the malevolent exertions of their brethren in Poland and Bohemia with clamour for the banishment of heretics,—for in that measure the Church of Rome was universally agreed,—although it must be acknowledged, that the Prelates of Hungary displayed some participation in the national temper of independence, by complaining that their Austrian King had impoverished the Clergy, and by joining in the demand for an Œcumenical Council, to be assembled by Cæsar, if the Pope should fail to satisfy the general demand for ecclesiastical reformation (A.D. 1545).*

Yet the Church was not quite ready to accomplish her Slavonian crusade. The King of Poland, Sigismund I., notwithstanding the instances of the Pope, had not yet swept away every trace of heresy, and even the Clergy were taking an impression from the novel doctrine. Synods were not implicitly obeyed, nor were royal orders either pronounced or executed with sufficient vigour; and the hope of Rome, therefore, fell back on that body of reserve which she calls out when superior agencies have disappointed her expectation,—*the mob*. Gamrat, Archbishop of Gnesen and Bishop of Cracow, was a man of notoriously profligate habits, but liberal to the poor, even to profusion, and had once been greatly favoured by Queen Bona, a dissolute woman, of Spanish extraction, and entirely under the influence of the Spanish Court. As the Primate of Poland, and as a popular Ecclesiastic, he was the fit person to stir up the multitude, and by that means attempted to raise a tempest of fanaticism.†

On the eve of a festival, and before proceeding to church for evening prayers, Archbishop Gamrat was sitting alone in his chamber, when a nobleman, a former companion of his in lewd convivialities, but who had long been dead, came in and sat beside him. The Archbishop was horror-struck at this visitation from the dead, speechless and trembling, until the spectre somewhat diminished his alarm by beginning a familiar conversation. "Art thou alive, then?" said Gamrat. "I thought thou hadst been dead; but where is thy abode?" "I live," replied the ghost, "and I lead a far happier life than you do." "Can it be possible," rejoined the Prelate, "that thou who, to my knowledge, didst depart from this life laden with crimes, and a victim to thy vices, shouldest now be dwelling with the blessed? I cannot believe it." "But you may believe it," said the defunct: "just hearken. When quite a young man, I was in Germany, and fell in there with a person who, with sacrilegious lips, reviled the most holy mother of God. Impatient of such wickedness, I gave him a blow, and he, drawing his sword, challenged me to fight. I drew mine, we fought, the profane wretch fell, and I escaped without a wound. Fearing capital punishment for homicide, I fled, and soon forgot the matter altogether; but when my last hour came, and my soul was

* The Council of Trent held its first session on December 13th of the same year.

† Our authority is Raynaldus, an. 1545, no. 62.

just about to leave the body, infernal hosts beset me, ready to carry me away, and hope seemed to be utterly vanished. Then suddenly a new light dawned around me. The Queen of heaven, attended by companies of angels, hastened to my help, and the infernal monsters fled, howling and blaspheming as they went. She, with a kind countenance, fixed on me her eyes of mercy, and spake thus: 'My soldier, defender of my honour, shalt thou perish? O no!' Then, turning towards her Son, she said, 'Behold the womb that bare thee, and the paps that gave thee suck. In these arms that have often embraced thee, I will hold this my soldier, and do thou drop on him some of that blood which thou hast derived from me. Then will I cause him to shed fruitful tears, sufficiently abundant to wash away all his sins.' She had said; and I instantly felt within me a hatred of all my past life, I was agitated with sighs, tears gushed out of my eyes, I felt that I had offended my most excellent Father; and then, as my most holy Patroness inclined her head, I felt an intense love burning in my bosom, yet I could not give it utterance, for the disease had taken away my speech; and thus, the most chaste Virgin supporting me in my last moments, I expired. My soul was released from the body, and carried by angels into heaven; and there, not by my own merits,—for they are very slight, if any,—but through the divine mercy, procured for me by my Patroness, I have obtained eternal happiness, and live indeed. Thence I am now sent to thee, to warn thee of thy last moments. Thou wouldest have long ago deserved, because of ingratitude for so many benefits, to die a hard death, like the rich glutton; but thy bounties to the poor, those daily meals which thou hast given to beggars, those garments with which thou hast clad the naked members of Christ, forbid that after these merits the justice of God should rage against thee. But know that six months hence—so far the kind Father indulges thee—thou shalt die. Then be liberal, and consider what thou shouldest do meanwhile: for there is yet space for pardon, if, instructed by my example, thou dost not doubt." With these words he vanished. The Bishop burst into tears, and did not appear in public that day; but remained alone longer than usual, and did not, until late, disclose what he had seen to persons in whom he could confide. The six months he spent like a true penitent, expiated his sins by all the sacraments, and this year departed in good hope of everlasting life.

Of course this message from beyond the tomb was related from the pulpits; and although the Son of Mary had forbidden his disciples to draw the sword in his defence, the superior authority of his "most holy mother" was alleged to offer everlasting life to every ruffian who should enlist himself into the hosts of Mary, and murder heretics wherever he could find them. This doctrine, as we shall see, was, to some extent, received by the laity, yet never so cordially in Poland as in France and Belgium. Armies were marshalled in Germany under the blessings of the Church; and the Pope once more endeavoured to stimulate all his children by a Bull (July 15th, 1546), exhorting the faithful to prepare themselves by fasting, prayer, and sacraments, to receive the blessing of God on the war that was to be

waged on those rebels who obstinately despised all law, in order to defend His holy name, extirpate heresy, and restore peace to the Church.

From Bohemia Paul soon heard a response. The Bohemian Brethren were well-wishers of the league of Smalcald, a confederacy which the German Protestants were compelled to form in self-defence. The Council of Prague, therefore, and the administrators of both the Romish and Calixtine dioceses, unitedly appealed to Ferdinand for the extirpation of the "Picards." The Chapter of Prague, also, petitioned the King for a renewal of the former persecuting edicts, for the nomination of a more zealous Archbishop, who would enforce their execution, for suppression of the Romish college, wherein most of the Professors leant towards Lutheranism, for exclusion of Lutherans from the magistracy, for prohibition of Lutheran books, and for many similar measures. In compliance with these solicitations Ferdinand willingly issued a decree (October 4th) of the kind desired; and this decree was executed in a severe persecution of the Brethren. Many were forthwith driven out of the country, and their property confiscated. Many were imprisoned. Among the prisoners was John Augusta, their oldest Bishop. His daily allowance of bread and water was barely sufficient to sustain life: he was often scourged, and thrice tortured on the rack, to extort confession of guilt imputed to his brethren. His fortitude, however, was indomitable; and it is said that, in answer to his fervent prayers, even some of the tormentors relented, and became convinced of the truth of his religion. But he was confined for sixteen years, until the death of the King. George Israel, his successor in the episcopacy, was also imprisoned, and similarly treated, and a heavy ransom demanded for his freedom. He could not pay the ransom, nor would he consent to its payment by his flock, who offered to purchase his release. "It is enough for me to know," said he, "that I have been once and fully ransomed by the blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ: it is unnecessary to be ransomed a second time with silver or gold; therefore, keep your money, it will be of use to you in your approaching exile." However, he escaped without the payment of money, by dressing himself like a clerk, with a pen behind his ear and an ink-horn in his hand, and walking out of the castle of Prague in broad day-light, unnoticed by the guards. Protected by the gracious providence of God, he travelled safely into Prussia, and eventually became the Apostle of Poland.

Many of the churches of the Brethren, whose Ministers were either banished or in prison, were closed; and the circumstance that any remained open shows that their influence must have been powerful. Many Barons and other proprietors of land, having jurisdiction on their feudal estates, allowed them to live there unmolested; and not even the Romish Clergy were unanimous in persecution. One Priest, preaching in his village pulpit, referred to them in such terms as these:—"The words of Christ to his disciples, 'They shall put you out of the synagogues, and they will speak all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake,' must be fulfilled in these days also. Not in the Papists, who suffer nothing for the cause of Christ, but rather

persecute his real worshippers. Not in the Calixtines, who once, perhaps, suffered some little for his name. But these words must be understood of the Picards, brethren who are falsely so called, and have suffered severely for the truth." The authorities of his Church bade him recant next day; but he affirmed still that they were the true church, distinguished by their faith and charity, and no threatening could make him change. Some fled into Moravia, and others concealed themselves by day, and went out to meet their brethren at night. The common people were discouraged, and many of them complied with an edict which commanded them to return to the Romish Church, under penalty of banishment, within six weeks. A large body, however, conducted by their Bishop, Matthias Syon, whom they called "the leader of the people of God," emigrated to Poland, and were welcomed there by some of the nobility. But the Bishop of Posen, however, obtained a royal edict which expelled them thence after a sojourn of ten weeks. From Poland many of them travelled into Prussia, and found protection under Duke Albert, who appointed five Ministers to examine them, and was satisfied that they agreed, in all things essential, with the Confession of Augsburg. An edict (March 19th, 1549) empowered them to settle in the kingdom, with full civil rights, retaining their own ecclesiastical constitution; and they distributed themselves in the towns of Marienwerder, Neidenburg, Garden, Hohenstein, Gilgenburg, Soldau, and Konigsberg. On the death of Duke Albert, however, persecution revived, and the intolerance of Lutherans forced them to quit Prussia and retire to Moravia, whence comes their name "Moravians."

The fires had not yet been kindled in Poland; but the Primate and Clergy were violent in instigating the government, and stirring up the population, against heretics, and exhibited an encyclical letter of the Pope to animate the public zeal. And as many, even of the Bishops, were suspected of heresy, a set of interrogatories were prepared, to test the doubtful. They were such as these: "Dost thou believe in the efficacy of holy water, invocation of saints, and consecration of herbs? Dost thou believe in purgatory, Pope, mass, fastings, vows, and celibacy?" From Bohemia again another multitude of exiles sought refuge in strange lands, and among them went two hundred more Ministers, banished by the King (A.D. 1554).

And here we must linger, for a few moments, over a movement which gives its peculiar character to the history of that part of reformed Europe. It was an effort, not unsuccessful for the time, after evangelical unity, in order that the church of Christ, no longer weakened by divisions, might find new strength, in the union of charity, to resist the persecutor, or to evangelize the world. Three anti-Romish communions existed simultaneously in Poland,—the Lutheran, or Protestant; the Helvetian, or Reformed; and that of the Bohemian Brethren. The last of these, driven from their country under the decree of Ferdinand I., were many of them encouraged by the hospitality of the Poles to continue there; and others joined them, notwithstanding the royal decree which denied them refuge, and, being protected on the estates of some of the nobles, they estab-

lished congregations, and enjoyed some degree of prosperity. George Israel, although his life was in peril from assassins hired by the Bishop of Posen, laboured with apostolic diligence, and found powerful support. Far from aiming at ascendancy over brethren of any other name, he invited (A.D. 1553) Felix Cruciger, Superintendent of the Reformed Church in Little Poland, and another of their Ministers, named Stancari, to act conjointly with him, in order to effect a union of both churches. Their conferences did not suffice to effect the union; but they did tend to promote the principle on which such a union should repose. The Synod of Slomniki (November 25th, 1554) entertained the subject; that of Chrencice declared its judgment that the proposed union was possible (March 24th, 1555); and that of Gnievkof removed many obstacles which had hindered its accomplishment. Then the Synod of Kozminek spent a full week in comparing the doctrines and constitutions of their respective churches (from August 24th, to September 2d, 1555). The Bohemian Brethren next, by their representatives, presented a confession of faith, with the form of their hierarchy and discipline, to the Helvetian Church; and, after a careful scrutiny, it was pronounced strictly accordant with the Gospel and with the practice of the early church. The Helvetian and Bohemian churches thus entered into a spiritual communion, yet without confounding the hierarchy or disturbing the discipline of either, and reciprocally acknowledged each other's ordinations. This was the first achievement of catholicism in evangelical Christendom, that sank sectional denominations under the single name of Christ; and it was the result of antichristian persecution. Peter Martyr, Sturm, Pontanus, and other large-hearted Reformers, wrote letters of congratulation to the united churches.

The Lutherans variously regarded this event; some with admiration, and others with mistrust. A Synod of the united confessions at Wlodislaw (A.D. 1557) made them the first overture, by inviting them to a conference; but three years more passed away,—while persecution wasted the more western churches of Europe, and still hovered around them, watching to destroy,—before two Lutheran Pastors were deputed to attend a Synod of their brethren at Xions (A.D. 1560), and listen to arguments for peace. And, in the same year, a Bohemian Synod at Posen placed on record the following admirable declaration:—"While the ecclesiastical order which we adopt is as stated above, (in the acts,) yet, finding ourselves intermixed with other churches, we ought to cherish love towards them, although they possess not a similar order. If they only have the word of God, they are to be acknowledged as brethren: we should join with them in praising God, and should cultivate fraternal fellowship with them, even though there be some diversity, in case the *foundation* of salvation *is held intact*, and no idolatry is admitted." Bigoted Lutherans then joined Socinians in warring against unity,—for the advocates of a safe and Christian union had declared against that heresy which, beyond all others, would undermine, if it were possible, the foundation of our hope,—and the desired agreement was long deferred. The Bohemians were even accused of heresy and intolerance, and, at the Lutheran

Synod of Posen (A.D. 1567), submitted to answer a set of questions drawn up by their adversaries, with the intent to discredit their confession; but the divines of Wittemberg being appealed to as arbitrators in the cause, the Bohemian confession of faith was declared to be in harmony with that of Augsburg, and deputations of the Brethren were invited to attend at Lutheran Synods at Posen and at Vilna, to prepare for a more solemn conference at Sendomir, where the three confessions were to be fully represented (April 9th to 14th, 1570). After much debate, raised by the more rigid adherents of their respective forms, the long-desired object was attained in the "Agreement of Sendomir," an act of "mutual consent in the chief articles of the Christian religion, between the churches of Greater and Lesser Poland, Russia, Lithuania, and Samogitia." Each communion retaining its own confession, ritual, and discipline, the three confessions furnished a common ground of essential verities, broad enough to sustain the whole in a conventional union for the preservation of charity. "And, at the same time, they sacredly promised one another, that unanimously, and according to the word of God, they would defend this mutual consent in the true and pure religion of Christ against Papists, against sectarians, (chiefly Socinians,) and against all the enemies of the Gospel and of the truth." After overcoming some considerable difficulty as to the manner of speaking concerning the eucharist, wherein the Saxons and Bohemians chiefly differed, they agreed to "bury in deepest silence all quarrels, distractions, and disputes by which the course of the Gospel had been hindered, to the grief of good men, and to the dishonour of Christianity; obliging themselves to be careful for public peace and tranquillity, to render each other mutual charity, and to labour together for the edification of the church, and for the good of all the brethren. They further engaged to promote this union by inviting and persuading others to join therein, and, by frequent hearing of the word of God, participation of the sacraments, and other accustomed means, to promote vital piety. Finally, they obliged themselves to be unmindful of their private interests, as becomes true Ministers of God, and only to promote and spread the glory of Jesus Christ their Saviour, and the truth of the Gospel, both by word and deed." This was the celebrated *Consensus Sendomiriensis*, which endured through the shocks of twenty-five years, when the bitterness of theological disputation tarnished the honour of the new-born church of Christ, disunited brethren, and gave the enemies of Christianity a fatal advantage which they have not yet ceased to use.* The stern Lutherans became uneasy in the effort to exercise a charity they had not yet learned, and eventually receded from the compact; but, after a short interval, the members of the Helvetian confession in Poland, or many of them, again united with the Bohemians, and from the Synods of Ostrorog, in 1620 and 1629, the two communions became

* This must not be understood as an indiscriminate censure on the Lutherans. The habit of resistance acquired in struggling against Popery indisposed them from that liberality of mind which now needs, with many of ourselves, the check of a sterner jealousy for the truth.

one, under the designation which had sometimes been taken by the Bohemian fathers, *Unitas Fratrum.*

After the emigration from Bohemia in 1548, the force of persecution in that country appears to have abated; and as long as the nobles retained their liberties, the Brethren found protection on their estates. This refuge was eventually taken from them; and we shall have to mark the downfal of civil and religious liberty together, under the tyranny of the Emperor Ferdinand, King of Bohemia. But the stream of suffering now flows through Poland.* We cannot fathom it; but a few examples will serve as marks to show its progress.

The Governor and the Vicar of a town † in the province of Kurow united in teaching the inhabitants the truths of the Gospel, and gradually succeeded in abolishing the superstitious practices of Romanism. The Bishop of Cracow, on hearing of the moral revolution which had come to pass there, summoned them both to appear before himself at Lublin. The Governor did not obey the summons; but the Vicar, Nicholas, honoured the mandate of his diocesan, and presented himself to undergo examination. The Bishop employed both menaces and allurements, but Nicholas maintained his ground; and the sentence was not yet pronounced, when he had permission to occupy a pulpit and address the people, the Prelate hoping that he might use that opportunity to unsay his former teaching, and leave a triumph to the Church without being deterred by the shame of a penitential abjuration. Bishop, Priests, courtiers, citizens, and rustics were mingled in a densely crowded congregation, and he calmly exhorted them all to accept the religion of the Gospel, and renounce the Popish error and idolatry. From the pulpit he was conducted to a dungeon, not to be racked nor burned, but to die for want of nourishment. When life was nearly extinct, a servant of the keeper of the castle came into the cell, and, perceiving that he still breathed, killed him by the stroke of a bar. It was found that he had eaten a book which he had taken with him to beguile the solitude (A.D. 1533).

George Israel, a venerable Bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, had collected a congregation in Posen (Posnania) in the year 1551, which he visited frequently, coming over in disguise from Prussia. The assemblies were not very numerous; and that the sound of their hymns or the voice of the preacher might not be heard on the outside, they were used to stuff the windows with pillows, while faithful porters prevented the entrance of unknown persons at the door. The Bishop of Posen, Benedict Isbinski, aware of his visits to the city, employed a gang of forty men to waylay and murder him; but, although he knew the danger, fear hindered him not, and, trusting in divine Providence, he persevered in tending the flock which God had given him. Variously attired, he went from house to house; and sometimes appearing as a coachman, sometimes as a cook, or as a tradesman, he found admission, and was welcomed by the master of the dwelling as his Bishop: while the murderers in the street had

* Ancient Poland. The reader will find some places named as Polish which he is now accustomed to regard as altogether Russian or Prussian.

† *Zbansciorum*, Regenvolscius.

seen him enter without the least suspicion that it was George Israel. On the decease of Bishop Isbinski, Andrew Czarnkowski succeeded to the mitre, and, stimulated by his Canons, resolved to distinguish himself from his predecessor by some bolder deed. First, then, he summoned to his bar a citizen, George Gricer, in whose house a congregation met, and accused him of having forsaken the Roman Catholic faith which the kingdom of Poland had lately received,* adhered to a certain sect of Picards whom the Church condemned, and, refusing the lawful rites, followed abominable customs, and held conventicles in his own house and the houses of other citizens, in the city and out of it, by day and by night, partaken of the eucharist in both kinds, and persuaded others to partake of it, and sent his children to be taught by a certain Picard in his neighbourhood. Here was to be, at once, a trial of the question of liberty of conscience in Posen; and Gricer desired a week to consider of his answers. But the Bishop saw reason not to call him up again. Still he persisted in displaying authority, and ventured to convict of heresy James, a druggist, and Seraphine, a tailor, because they refused to acknowledge the Pope as head of the Church, and delivered them over to the civil Magistrate to be burnt. But when the druggist and the tailor were brought into the civil court, Luke, Count of Gorka, and Palatine of Posen, Stanislaus, Count of Ostrorog, and some other nobles, interfered, and discharged the prisoners, who were not troubled again on that account.

A short time afterwards, Czarnkowski made another effort to subdue heresy in Posen, in the person of Paul, a tailor, whom he cited into his presence, and proceeded to examine according to the technicalities of canon law. The tailor paid no regard to the formalities of language, but plainly confessed the true catholic faith; and protested that he would not renounce that faith until convinced otherwise by the word of God. After a long conversation the Bishop sent him to prison, but released him on bail at the end of ten days, not daring to deal with a layman as his brother of Kurow had dealt with the Priest. A term of fourteen days was set for his appearance in the Bishop's court again, when Count Ostrorog, and several other noblemen, and a strong party of servants, being in all upwards of a hundred, well mounted, rode into the village where the Prelate lived, and where the court was to be held. Czarnkowski, informed of the approaching cavalcade, wrote an edict against Paul, as if he had been a heretic already condemned, and this done, coolly walked out to meet the nobles, and invited them into his palace, with the utmost possible civility. Having accepted his invitation, they began to inquire concerning the case of Paul the tailor, and were surprised at being told that he had been summoned for a much earlier hour that day, and that his case was settled. They demanded a sight of the articles on which he had been convicted of heresy. The Bishop produced none. They expressed their indignation that a man had been condemned for heresy without proof. "Magnificent Lords!" said he, "I wonder exceedingly that you expostulate with me at this rate, as if I had

* Five or six hundred years before.

inflicted some injury on a person of your own order. Is it possible that you have undertaken to patronise a man that is a plebeian, and a tailor, too?" Count Ostrorog, unable to bridle his anger any longer, told the haughty Priest that the object of their concern was not Paul the tailor, but Paul the citizen; that what he then wished to perpetrate on a tailor he might, if suffered, perpetrate the next day on a nobleman; and that if such judgments were permitted, he alone being witness, prosecutor, and judge, and all this in a corner, not before the public, no one was safe, and the noblemen then standing at his side might be thrown into the fire without remedy. And if that tailor were a heretic, he, Ostrorog, according to the Bishop's judgment, would be a heretic also. "God forbid! my Lord Ostrorog," replied Czarnkowski, gently: "we know how it behoves us to conduct ourselves towards your Lordship: do not think so hardly of us." But Ostrorog was actually a member of the "Unity of Brethren;" and when the Bishop entreated him to wash his hands and be seated at table, he spurned the invitation. "If I were to eat bread with such a Judge, I should fear that it would poison me. I will not." And he left the room, entered his carriage, and rode home. The others followed him, and found that he had taken up Paul the tailor by the way, and seated him at his own table, where they all dined together. And forthwith the Count opened his house for the preaching of the Gospel (May 1st, 1553), not with padded windows, but with open doors, and made a public confession of the Gospel, the venerable George Israel being preacher. Yet once more Czarnkowski summoned the tailor, and formally condemned him as a heretic; but could proceed no further, it being impossible to withstand the indignation of the nobles (May 21st, 1554).

The nobles and the prelates of Poland were now in a state of hostility towards each other; and their quarrel gave rise to some most important events in the history of Poland. Affairs of religious discipline and civil jurisdiction were incessantly confounded; and, at last, the King had been compelled, with assent of the majority of the Diet, to declare that the cognizance of causes of religion, and decision concerning new doctrines, should pertain to the Bishops only: but that it should by no means belong to them to pass any sentence touching honour or life; and that from that time (A.D. 1552) the penal jurisdiction of Bishops in causes of innovation in religion had utterly ceased. The Bishops protested, but without avail: the doctrine of the Reformation found acceptance in all parts of Poland; and many Clergymen of all degrees, casting off the celibacy imposed on them, openly married, and were supported in so doing both by the nobles and the people. The Priests, therefore, besought the Pope to send a Legate into Poland, if haply he might confirm the wavering obedience to the Roman See; and further prayed him that the Legate might continue there in the character of Nuncio,* as in Spain, France, and elsewhere, constantly to watch over the interests of the

* A Legate, *Legatus à latere*, is an Envoy Plenipotentiary of the Pope. A Nuncio, *Nuntius*, is a resident representative, not invested with those full powers which His Holiness only grants for great emergencies.

Roman See. Paul IV. readily acceded to so welcome a request; and Lodovico Lippomano, Bishop of Verona, a learned Venetian, was the first Nuncio in Poland (A.D. 1556); and, on his arrival, convened a Synod to consider what could be done to save that kingdom from being drawn into the vortex which had absorbed a great part of Germany, and from which England seemed, but only seemed, to have been just recovered. For a moment, too, they appeared likely to have some success; for, by virtue of laws against heresy not yet repealed, they obtained authority to close the church at Ostrorog. That church, however, was soon re-opened; and then the Lutherans, taking fresh courage, erected one also for themselves. The King, hesitating between the opposing influences of clergy and laity, was appealed to by both. The latter claimed protection, and the former demanded fealty to the Church. This importunity was enforced by a brief from the Pontiff to the King of Poland, wherein he complained that in four of the chief cities of his dominions, Dantzic, Elbing, Thorn, and Marienburg, the communion had been publicly given to the people in both kinds, contrary to the practice of the Church; and that divine service had been performed there in the vulgar tongue, which ought to be so much the more severely punished, as it was done in contradiction to the order of the King himself, published in an assembly in presence of the Bishop of Verona, Apostolic Nuncio, and was injurious to royal majesty, as well as to the Holy See. He therefore exhorted, admonished, and prayed him to use his ordinary prudence to repress those disorders which tended to overthrow the Catholic religion in his kingdom, with utter destruction of his authority, and abolition of the holy customs of the Church. He called on him to proceed against all those evils before they should gather strength, and the scandal grow yet greater; to compel the observance of the laws he had himself established, and punish with the utmost severity those who broke them. Stanislaus Hosius, Bishop of Warmia, employed his pen in defence of the declining faith, a practical confession that force could no longer be trusted for its maintenance. Communion under both species, he endeavoured to demonstrate, was an innovation. Heretical impostors had deceived the people, promising to give them the blood of Christ in their communion, whereas that which they gave was no more than common wine; and the bread only such as was eaten at their tables; and the Church of Rome was slandered by those who said that the blood of the Saviour was not given to the faithful in the host, his true body, since the body and blood of Christ cannot be dissevered. But neither brief nor book could turn back the stream of innovation. The sons of Polish families, taught in German universities, returned to their country, imbued with the principles of the Reformation: but the Socini and Ochino from Italy, with others of the same caste, also disseminated their heresy, which was readily adopted by the multitudes whose Protestantism consisted rather in enmity against the priesthood than in regard to Christianity; and Socinianism, mingled with politics, spoiled the spirit of the Reformation in Poland. Yet the Bohemian Brethren shone as lights in a dark place, and upheld the standard of evangelical

religion when others were casting it away. And for the time, the Bishops were deprived of the power to inflict judicial penalties on nonconformists.

An intolerant priesthood is ingenious enough to persecute, even unto death, without very obvious violation of the law, and without instant detection; and the following note of Count Valerian Krasinski may be presumed to convey an intimation of facts that have no historic record: "Martinus Krowicki, whom we have mentioned as having been persecuted for his marriage, wrote the following Polish lines, replete with the most terrible accusation against the bloody persecutions of the Roman Clergy in Poland:" (the lines follow, and are translated thus:) "'If the dungeons of Cracow could speak, if the tortures of Lipowiec dared to talk, every body would know how people were starved, beaten, and tormented in a pagan manner. Ye shall have to answer to God for the death of the Priest Michel; but although you will burn all his books, you shall never destroy the divine truth, which proves that ye are Scribes, Pharisees, and condemned people.' It is impossible to know who was the Priest Michel alluded to in these lines, and what kind of death he suffered." *

Leaving Poland for the present, we find a Slavonian martyr in that remote region which is now marked on our maps as the northwest division of Russia in Europe. Three Monks, wearing the habit and observing the rites of the Greek Church, came to Vitebsk, which was even at that time a populous and noted city. Their names were Theodosius, Artemius, and Thomas. Possessing no other language than their vernacular, nor any greater learning than that of the humbler members of their order of "Black Monks," they called the inhabitants to repentance, condemned the worship of idols, caused images to be broken and removed, first from private houses, and then from the public edifices; and exhorted the multitude to pray to God alone, through the intercession of our Lord Jesus Christ, by aid of the Holy Spirit, and according to His word. Their fidelity and zeal provoked the Greek Priests, who incited the more superstitious of the people to assail them, and they were compelled to flee for life into Lithuania, where they could preach with greater freedom (A.D. 1551). Theodosius, being then eighty years of age, soon died. Artemius found refuge with a friendly nobleman. Thomas, the most eloquent of the three, and best instructed in the holy Scriptures, devoted himself to the ministry of the Gospel, casting off the Monkish habit; and after a few years, when the Gospel began to spread in Polozk, a town near Vitebsk, he went thither to instruct the inquirers and form them into a church. After he had spent several years in this important service, Polozk was attacked by John Basilides, Grand Duke of Muscovy (February 13th, 1563), who took the place, and treated the inhabitants with great severity. The Reformed Pastor, Thomas, became the object of his bitterest hatred; for he was known to have renounced the Duke's religion, and had become eminent for persevering diligence in bringing over multitudes to faith in Christ. The Don being then frozen, he had him taken on the ice and killed by blows of a

* Sketch of the Reformation in Poland, vol. i., p. 177.

cudgel on his head, and caused his body to be thrown into the river through an opening broken in the ice. But his works followed him into the realms of glory. The men of Vitebsk never forgot the sermons of the three Monks; but, weary of idolatry, invited Ministers of the word of God from Lithuania and Poland, who went at their request, preached Christ without hinderance, and erected a church in one of the chief places of the city, where a numerous congregation regularly assembled to hear the word of life, and unite in all the solemnities of worship. And from that time Polozk, a royal city, gave welcome to the Gospel of Christ, and became the home of a truly evangelical church.

In Bohemia, meanwhile, the same good work flourished with the United Brethren, whom, therefore, the world hated; and again the cloud of persecution lowered. The Emperor Maximilian II. had given them permission to open their churches for public worship, and they were rejoicing in the privilege, when Joachim von Neuhaus, Chancellor of Bohemia, instigated by the Priests, set out from Prague to Vienna with the draft of an edict for closing them again, and renewing the severest measures of repression. Maximilian allowed himself to be persuaded that the public peace required such an edict, and with considerable reluctance gave it the imperial signature. Elated with success, Joachim mounted his chariot to return with the instrument of tyranny, and was crossing the Danube with it, when the frail bridge gave way under the weight of his equipage, and he and a great part of his train were drowned. A young nobleman, swimming his horse across the river, saw the Chancellor rise to the surface, caught him by his gold chain, and kept the body from sinking, until some fishermen rowed to the spot, and took it into their boat. But life was extinct. The box containing the edict which, if executed, would have caused the violent death of many thousands, was never found. The Emperor refused to renew the document which Heaven had cancelled; and the nobleman, sharing in the conviction, but more deeply, that the hand of God had smitten the persecutor of His people, forthwith joined the Unity of Brethren (A.D. 1565). Their enemies were more successful in Prussia, where, after the death of Duke Albert and his Duchess on the same day (March 20th, 1568), they obtained from the new Duke a prohibition to the Brethren there from hearing Bohemian preachers, and a command to subscribe a set of Romanized articles of faith. Unable to submit, most of them went to Poland (A.D. 1574); but a few remained, and held communion secretly.

The affairs of the Brethren and other Protestants in Poland now demand our mournful attention.

Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, died on the 7th of July, 1572, without issue. The Polish monarchy was elective; but, as it had become usual to confer the crown on the heir of the deceased Sovereign, the nation seldom exercised its right uninfluenced by the consideration of inheritance. It now became necessary to do so, and there were no fewer than five candidates for the throne, or, at least, five proposals. The Papal Nuncio, Cardinal Commendone, most strenuously laboured by all methods, open and secret, honest and dis-

honest, to obtain a zealot or a creature of the Church; or, by dividing the Protestants, prevent the election of one who would be likely to show them favour. However, after negotiation with the court of Paris, whence a splendid embassy was sent into Poland, the Diet of election chose Henry de Valois, Duke of Anjou.

Previously to this election, the states of Poland assembled at Warsaw passed (January 6th, 1573) an "act of confederation," which gave perfect equality of rights and privileges to persons of all Christian denominations in the kingdom. It went even beyond the establishment of civil equality, by abolishing the obligation of patrons to bestow benefices exclusively on Clerks of the Church of Rome. The act, however, was disfigured by an article which gave land-owners full authority over their subjects in matters of religion; but allowance must be made in estimating such enactments for the strength of feudalism in Polish society, and for the imperfect notions of the time in regard to personal freedom and responsibility. The Priests themselves, be it observed, proposed this measure, finding it expedient, at that juncture, to make an extraordinary show of liberality, thereby to disarm the opposition of their inveterate antagonists,—the nobles,—and provide themselves with a larger share of present influence in the election and management of a King. Karnkowski, Bishop of Cujavia, drew up the equitable articles, and Krasinski, Bishop of Cracow and Vice-Chancellor of Poland, gave his signature; but the Cardinal Commendone feared the consequences of even a temporary concession, and opposed it from the first. The majority of the Bishops followed him, and withheld their signatures. Before the death of Sigismund, the Duke of Anjou had been privately mentioned as a future candidate for the crown; and non-official correspondence between the royal family of France and the nobles of Poland had begun. At that time the Reformed were thought to be in power at Paris; and the Duke, with his accomplices in the scheme that found its consummation on St. Bartholomew's day, was regarded as their friend. Their Polish brethren, under this illusion, favoured his election to the throne; but the intelligence of that massacre taught them the necessity of the most lively caution; and when the day for election came, they would have voted for a native Pole, could one have been found willing to face the opposition of party jealousies. On an early day, the Nuncio Commendone presumed to present himself in the assemblage at Warsaw, and advise the rejection of any candidate not a member of the Church of Rome. But this effrontery called forth severe rebuke; and, in spite of all his tenacity, he was ordered to leave Warsaw, with other foreign Ambassadors, before the day of election. The Protestants, finding themselves obliged to consent to the choice of the French Duke, resolved to exact ample security for their religious rights, and proposed conditions favourable, not only to themselves at home, but to the remnant of their brethren in France; and the French Ambassadors, Montluc and Lansac, rather than see their master rejected at the last hour, consented to the inclusion of those conditions in the treaty, and signed them on his behalf. "By these conditions, signed at Plock on the 4th of May, 1573, the King of France was to grant a

complete amnesty to the Protestants of that country, as well as perfect liberty of religious exercise. All who wished to leave the country were at liberty to sell their properties, or to receive their incomes, provided they did not retire into the dominions of the enemies of France; whilst those who had emigrated could return to their homes. All proceedings against persons accused of the conspiracy of Paris were to be cancelled. Those who had been condemned were to be restored to honour and property; and a compensation was to be given to the children of those who had been murdered. Every Protestant who was condemned to exile, or obliged to flee, was to be restored to his properties, dignities, &c. The King was to assign, in every province, towns where the Protestants might freely exercise their religion." To us who can review the course of deceit habitually pursued by the court of Paris, it will not appear strange that the Ambassadors accepted a stipulation which they could not have believed the Duke of Anjou would fulfil.

Now began the labours of the Romanists to nullify this compact. The Archbishop of Gnesen, who, as Primate, in pursuance of an ancient custom, governed Poland during the interregnum, proclaimed Henry King-elect (May 9th); but in his proclamation omitted all mention of religious and political liberty; and the Protestants, therefore, assembled at Grochow, a place about two miles from Warsaw, with a considerable armed force, and proclaimed their opposition to the newly-elected Monarch until the constitutional liberties of Poland should be secured. By this timely demonstration the Cardinal and his party were induced to give way, and with a portentous facility agreed to the demand of the Protestants, who further stipulated with the representatives of Henry, that, should he break those promises, his right to occupy the throne would cease. An embassy of noblemen then went to Paris to salute Anjou as King of Poland. They astonished the Parisians by the magnificence of their trains, and each Ambassador outshone his retinue by brilliancy of diplomatic qualifications. There was not one of the twelve who could not speak Latin, so efficient had been their education in Germany as well as in their own country. Many spoke German and Italian also; and some conversed in French with so great purity that they might have been taken for natives. Thuanus, who was present, acknowledged that the French courtiers were shamefully insignificant in comparison with the accomplished strangers.

At their approach the military persecution of the Protestants had been relaxed, and no pains were spared to persuade them that a day of mercy was at hand. But the conditions accepted at Warsaw were not ratified in the Louvre; and the Protestant members of the embassy found themselves deserted by their colleagues, and unable to obtain anything for the French Reformed beyond formal and evasive promises. They told Charles IX. plainly, that they would not have offered the crown to his brother unless they had been induced to hope that, in consideration of the gift, he would have ceased from making war upon his subjects on account of their religion. "With us," said they, "public peace and common tranquillity have been preserved,

because our Kings have given every one liberty of conscience. We have drawn up articles containing easy measures of pacification already sworn by express words in the name and on the faith of your Majesty. But with extreme regret we see that the promises and articles that were sworn to, have not been kept towards those of our religion." *

But while Charles heard these and many such remonstrances, other counsels were laid up in his bosom. Hosius, the Legate in Poland, had pronounced the act of confederation a criminal conspiracy against God, and declared that it ought to be abolished by the new King. He earnestly advised the Archbishop of Gnesen, and others, to prevent Henry from confirming by his coronation-oath the religious liberties of Poland. And after Henry had taken the oath, he recommended him to break it; and maintained, that for breaking an oath given to heretics not even absolution was required. And while Henry was on his way to take possession of the throne, he sent a confidential messenger to meet him with a letter (October 19th, 1573), in which he advised him not to "follow the example of Herod, but rather that of David, who, to his greatest praise, kept not what he had thoughtlessly sworn. It mattered not in the present case about a single Nabal, but about thousands of souls who would be delivered into the power of the devil." † His Confessor was directed to instruct him in his duty to break his engagement and renounce his oath; and the Polish Priests, despite their former acquiescence in the act of confederation, were heard declaiming against it in the churches, and foretelling that it would be a cause of revolts in Poland like those of the peasants in Westphalia. The Popish nobles of one palatinate were so enraged, that they sent a delegate to France to pray their new King not to confirm the grant of liberty of conscience. One Bishop Solikowski interposed a counsel which, if not less guilty, was more cunning. He advised Henry to submit to the necessity of the occasion, to promise and swear whatever was demanded, so as to prevent a civil war; but, when once possessed of the throne, to use every means to crush heresy, which his absolute power might enable him to do without any very violent effort. Henry was wise enough to refuse an audience to the delegate, and deny the validity of a protest sent him by the Archbishop.

Konarski, representing the Archbishop, persisted in his intention to present the protest of his principal, which he did when Henry was surrounded by the embassy and the French court, to receive the diploma of election in the church of Nôtre Dame (September 10th). This roused Zborowski, one of the Protestant Ambassadors, who said aloud to Montluc, "Had you not accepted, in the name of the Duke, the conditions of religious liberty, our opposition would have prevented this Duke from being elected our Monarch." Henry seemed astonished; and therefore he repeated the declaration, and added: "If you do not confirm these conditions, you will not be King." But he would not miss the crown, and therefore gave the oath; but after having sworn, he granted the Bishop a written testimony to his

* Krasinski, vol. ii., p. 30. † Ibid., p. 31.

protestation, that liberty of religious confessions was not to injure the authority of the Church of Rome.

This ceremony having been performed, Henry left Paris, and travelled slowly towards his future kingdom. Graziani, Secretary of Cardinal Commendone, met him in Saxony, and hastened to instruct him concerning his duty towards his new subjects. He told him that the Kings of Poland were absolute masters of the life and death of all their subjects: that to them alone all appeals were made by Magistrates of towns and provinces: that they alone interpreted the laws and the constitution: that the Senate could do no more than advise, the royal decisions being absolute. From them alone, he said, wealth, dignity, and honours flowed. Affairs of state and arrangements of finance depended entirely on their sovereign pleasure. The choice of Magistrates would, therefore, be wholly with Henry; yet in making it great caution would be necessary, as fidelity could only be expected from Catholics. Some would advise him to conciliate heretics by favours and rewards; but that advice was neither safe nor faithful, since nations must deserve favours by submission, not wrest them from Kings by compulsion. As for those heretics, he needed not to fear their resentment; for they were weak, without leaders, and without forces; and if they saw that Catholicism was the only path to royal favour, they would surely take it. After this tenor, and at great length, Graziani undertook to teach his young King; and he also tells us that he advised him to keep up the martial spirit of the nation by engaging in a war with the Czar of Muscovy, not so much, as he acknowledges, from any motive of national utility, as because a state of war would be less favourable to the indulgence of speculations on the mysteries of religion. So elevated was the devotion of this officious Priest!

On the arrival of Henry in Poland (January 25th, 1574), the country was agitated with fear. The perfidious notions of Hosius, the Archbishop, and the higher Clergy, now adopted by the body of the priesthood, were known to every one; and not only the Protestants, but every true Pole, dreaded the reign of a King who had already participated in the French massacres, and now appeared to be given over to Romish influences. The hour of coronation drew near, but the form of the coronation-oath was not yet settled. A few Protestant grandees, therefore, went to his closet on the morning of that solemnity, and besought him to confirm what he had sworn in Paris. Henry gave them no more than a vague assurance that he would guarantee the honour and properties of the Protestants. Thence they proceeded to the church. The ceremonial of benediction and coronation advanced, but no oath to Protestants was taken; and just when the crown was about to be placed upon the head of the stranger, Firley, Grand Marshal of Poland, interrupted his coronation, by declaring that unless the oath already taken was again pronounced, he would not permit it to proceed. Dembinski, the Grand Chancellor, also a Protestant, joined the Marshal, and they approached the Duke who was kneeling on the steps of the altar, and presented him a scroll containing the oath he had sworn in Paris. The Duke arose, terrified; the

by-standers, too, were mute; and Firley, taking the crown of Poland in his hand, said in a loud voice, "*Si non jurabis, non regnabis.*" "If thou wilt not swear, thou shalt not be King." Patriotism, religion, honour, and conscience, ranged on the same side, were not to be resisted; and, after some hurried parley, the Duke of Anjou reluctantly swore that the Protestants of Poland should be free. Then he became their Sovereign.

But it could not be expected that an oath so extorted would be kept. The influence of the leading Protestants thenceforth visibly declined at court; and the noble-hearted Chancellor soon died, not without suspicion of poison. As for King Henry, he found that in the anointing of that day there had been no blessing. His miserable brother Charles IX. died, and, on receiving tidings of the vacation of the hereditary throne, he precipitately returned to France (June, 1574), leaving his alien subjects disgusted with his profligacy, which had become unbounded. A national Diet assembled at Stenzyca afterwards declared the throne of Poland vacant (May 22d, 1575), and confirmed the religious liberties of all communions, the Socinian excepted, according to the act of confederation.

Stephen Battory, Duke of Transylvania, a native of Hungary, was eventually elected to the throne. He was a Protestant, and the hopes of the Protestants ran high when his election was assured. But with the deputation who announced to him his almost unexpected elevation, and who were almost all anti-Romanists, the Priest Solikowski also proceeded to his residence, and, in spite of their vigilance, obtained a secret interview with him at night, and persuaded him that it would be impossible to retain his newly-acquired royalty, of which one condition was marriage with a bigoted Princess, Anna, sister of Sigismund Augustus, unless he would conform to Rome. He suffered himself to be persuaded; and the next day astonished and disappointed his friends by going to mass. And the event showed them that whatever may be introduced into a country, or established there, by political means, the Gospel cannot. In deference to the powerful party who demanded religious liberty, Stephen Battory professedly upheld the law which gave it; but he patronized the Jesuits, and thus nullified whatever benefits might have resulted from his heartless impartiality.

The Romish Clergy and the nobility of Poland were consequently thrown into real, if not formal, hostility to each other; and the multitude was divided in adherence to the adverse parties. Wherever the Jesuits were established, they ruled the mob, and, notwithstanding law, the Protestants were sufferers.

Those tumultuary persecutions began at Cracow, during the interregnum between Henry and Stephen Battory. The preachers had inculcated the maxim of Constance, recently avowed by Hosius, and applauded by the Court of Rome, that no faith was to be kept with heretics. On a Sunday, while the members of the Reformed Church were assembled at worship, a mob, headed by students from the University, surrounded the sacred edifice, and attacked it on all sides. The men within repelled the assailants, and they retired for the time.

But on the Tuesday following (October 12th, 1574), they again collected in greater force, broke into the building, which they ransacked, and carried off money and valuables belonging to the church, and other treasure deposited there by the nobles, to the amount of fifty thousand ducats. The Romanists were not strong enough to obtain complete impunity, and five of their agents from among the lowest populace suffered capital punishment; but the leaders of the outrage escaped. A few months afterwards the mob went to the Protestant burial-ground, tore down the wall surrounding it, opened the more recent graves, exhumed the bodies and treated them with savage indignity. The corpse of Myszkowski, late Palatine of Cracow, was an object of peculiar insult; but the outrage passed without notice by the magistracy of the city. While these things took place at Cracow, Hosius held a Synod at Warmia, and there heretics were declared unfit to possess landed property. The Synod prohibited mixed marriages, sponsorship of Romanists at Protestant baptisms, the use of books not confirmed by ecclesiastical authority, and even familiar salutations between Priests and evangelical Ministers. They also devised methods for the recovery of tithes from Protestant land-owners, and for the seizure of churches which had passed over to Protestantism, together with the converts. A few law-suits were decided in their favour: but by the reaction of better principle, the course of legislation became adverse to their demands; a national Diet (A.D. 1577) deprived the Clergy of their jurisdiction and unconstitutional immunities; and other Diets reversed those judgments of tribunals which had been given in their favour.

Glorying in insubordination to legal authorities, the Jesuits repeated their excesses at Cracow. At one time they attacked several Protestant Clergymen; at another they broke again into the burial-ground, and destroyed many monuments. Then the rabble rushed into the houses of unoffending citizens in the suburb of Kleparz, and treated them with brutal indignity. A mandate from Stephen Battory required the authorities to repress such outbreaks; but the Jesuits laughed at King and Magistrates, and took the next occasion to display their zeal. The funeral of a Protestant matron was on its way towards the place of interment. A party of Jesuit students and their followers, that were ready awaiting at the church of All Saints, rushed on the procession, pulled the corpse out of the coffin, stripped it naked, stabbed it with knives until the blood flowed as from a living body, dragged it through the streets with cords, and threw it into the Vistula. Notwithstanding the recent decree, no one interfered, nor did any one enforce punishment afterwards.

Terror-stricken and unprotected, the worshippers of God in Cracow seem to have held communion and offered prayer with fear, lest any outward manifestation should have exposed them to the fury of the Jesuits; and the government endeavoured to preserve peace by means of a strong garrison in the castle. In Vilna the churches of the Helvetian and Augustan confessions were both subjected to similar barbarities. First of all, an attack was made on the press. By command of the Bishop, an entire stock of books was taken by force from

the house of the printer; and then, to prevent him from producing others, the Jesuits bribed his servant to steal the type and bring it to them. That service being rendered to the Church, and the heretical printer ruined, he left the city, and the press troubled Jesuitry no more. Protestant funerals were forbidden to pass through the principal streets; and, even when taking obscure ways, the mourners were hooted and pelted by the mob. And two Ministers returning from an interment were nearly stoned to death (A.D. 1581). The King endeavoured to protect his persecuted subjects by an edict addressed to the Governor of Vilna; but that show of authority produced no effect: the multitude obeyed the Jesuits rather than the laws, and the same state of things continued without mitigation.

We do not read that these proceedings were ever disowned or discouraged by the dignitaries of the Church; but just the contrary. A Synod at Gnesen in 1589 condemned the confederation of 1573, and presumed to pass a resolution to prohibit the opening of Protestant churches and schools. And passing beyond little domestic regulations, they undertook to require that only zealous adherents to the See of Rome should be elected to the throne of Poland; and that Archbishops should not dare to proclaim the election of a candidate whose devotion to that See might be doubtful. There can be no doubt that the Legate Cardinal Aldobrandino, then in Poland, busily negotiating with the King, Sigismund III., and the Emperor, stimulated the Synod to these conclusions: and on his return to Rome, Sixtus V. confirmed them by a Bull which declared the supporters of a heretic Monarch excommunicate, and incapable, as well as their descendants, of ecclesiastical dignities; prohibited Bishops from showing any favour to heretics, even in worldly relations; and decreed excommunication of all who should have participated in any act contrary to the authority of the Church and of the Pope. Such a warrant was never issued without effect; and accordingly the Cracow Jesuits again bestirred themselves, collected a mob, as usual, attacked the same church which they had formerly pillaged, and burnt it to the ground. Sigismund permitted a deputation of Protestants to lay their complaint at his feet, but reproved them for having dared to meet together in order to solicit legal protection, and concert measures of constitutional defence; and, although he gave them permission to rebuild the church, allowed the Jesuits to pursue a course of intimidation which prevented that being done, and forced the worshippers to congregate in the neighbouring village of Alexandrowitze. From the building the fury of the assailants reached the members of the congregation; and the house of one of them, John Kolay, a principal citizen, was broken into and plundered (May 7th, 1593). The municipality itself now appealed to the King; but Sigismund did not condescend to answer them; and the rioters escaped, boasting of the tacit approbation of their Sovereign. At Posen, the Jesuits sent students to burn down the church of the Bohemian Brethren; but the mob refused to help them; and the Diet of Warsaw, foreseeing greater disturbances, enacted a law which secured peace to the Brethren for a few years. Yet no force of law nor sense of decency could restrain the Jesuits

of Cracow. Again they broke into the cemetery under cover of darkness, exhumed the body of Sophia Morovna, a young lady who had died just before the day fixed for her marriage, stripped it naked, and hung it by its heels on the wall. But these are only specimens of the general conduct of the Jesuits in Poland, and of the slow and wearisome persecution which refrained from murder, but often made life burdensome, if the sufferer were not sustained by that powerful faith which overcomes the world. About the same time that Sophia Morovna died, the Dominicans of Lublin starved to death in prison a Protestant Pastor, named Martin, who had fallen into their hands.

During these persecutions in Poland, there were many instances of banishment for Christ's sake in Moravia, and compulsory recantations and penances without number. In Bohemia, under the protection of the Emperors Maximilian and Rudolph, the churches of the Brethren had rest, with some brief interruptions, until at length a succession of vexations provoked them to rebellion. Twenty-seven Protestant noblemen were then executed, and a general persecution followed (A.D. 1624). The Ministers were banished; and, having found a miserable abode in caves and dens in the mountains, visited their congregations at night. Some of these, being detected, were put to death. Many thousands of sincerely pious persons followed their Ministers into exile.

The strategy of this military Church of Rome mainly consists in observing the political constitution and social state of every country, with the relative position of domestic parties, or factions, and its foreign relations, following them through all their changes, and adapting her own agencies and movements to every variety of circumstance. Thus, in Poland, she did not employ crusade, as in the old Albigensian provinces of France, because there was not a populace at hand ready to obey the impulse of pure fanaticism, nor Princes like Simon de Montfort, almost as ignorant as their subjects, and no less fanatical. She did not use the Inquisition, as in Spain, because experience had shown the Inquisition to be impracticable, except where the spirit of a people is broken, or where those in authority are entirely subservient to the priesthood. Such were not the grandees of Poland. She did not employ judicial forms, as in England, where lordly Prelates and ignoble county Sheriffs commanded and obeyed. There was no such apparatus at hand amongst the Slavonians, except in a few towns. She did not at once send a regular army to enforce obedience, as in the Netherlands, because the field was too wide, and the opposition too powerful, as yet; but she took part in the politics of Germany and Europe, and prepared the Thirty Years' War, which we must notice presently. She did not attempt to dragoon the population of Poland, nor even the evangelical portion of it; for the Polish Christians were not unarmed, like the Waldensians of the sub-alpine valleys; but, finding an elective monarchy, she meddled in the choice of King,—the Kings of her party possessing foreign strength for the coercion of their subjects,—and then she sent them wicked counsellors to allure them into a more intense despotism, and, by means of Nuncios, Bishops,

and Jesuits, made up a strong political party in the state, which threw its weight into the scale whenever a preponderating force was needed to bring low the advocates of civil and religious liberty. The followers of Domingo de Guzman were the chosen corps when heretics were to be killed, for they were just the men to execute a *razzia;* but the family of Ignacio de Loyola were most fit for service when Protestants were to be perverted, outwitted, or betrayed. If the reader can recall these facts, and verify them by the evidence of history, he may advance a step further, and mark the inflexible unity of purpose displayed by Rome in attempting the "conquest" of England, after centuries of humiliation; but we must now return to the affairs of Poland.

It was not practicable to proceed judicially, except in some rare case: a layman could not be imprisoned for adherence to one of the three confessions, although now and then a Priest might be starved to death in an episcopal dungeon, for the terror of wavering brethren, and there was a formidable party in every part of the kingdom that would have resisted any attempt to burn one of their countrymen in public. Under one pretext, however, life might be taken, and that would occur if any open contempt were shown to the Roman idolatry. Perhaps the political temper of the Polish Protestants prevented those generous bursts of holy zeal which so frequently appeared elsewhere. But we have one instance of the kind, in a foreigner.

Francesco di Franco, born and educated in Italy, accompanied his father into Poland while yet a youth. His father, although an Italian, became Governor of a Polish town, and the family was remarkable for devotion to the ancient superstition. Francesco had heard so many horrid reports of heretics while in Italy, that he fancied them to be monsters; but in visiting Cracow he observed that the manners of the Evangelicals were altogether different from the descriptions he had received, and nearer observation served to convince him of the integrity of their principles, and the excellence of their doctrine. Then he detected the errors of his early teachers, and became converted to the faith of Christ. Having undergone this change of heart, he went back to Italy, and, being unable to conceal the heavenly gift which God had made him, was accused of heresy, and thrown into a common prison. Some fellow-prisoners managed to open a way of egress for themselves; he followed, eluded pursuit, and returned to Poland, eventually settled in Vilna, and was there employed as agent or attorney for some Lithuanian noblemen. In that city he soon became conspicuous, not only for constant attendance at divine worship, but for uprightness, zeal, and sanctity of life, labouring to bring others to knowledge of the truth, and devoting himself, with singular earnestness, to the conversion of Italians. From such a description of the man we might suppose that his enjoyment of religion should have been undisturbed; but some unrecorded circumstance led him to reflect on his flight from the Italian prison, and to fear that he had sinned in not submitting to suffer bonds, or death, for Christ's sake. With a deepening conviction that he ought so to suffer, he thought himself obliged to undergo some affliction, or

even to offer himself for martyrdom, in testimony of his faithfulness to Christ. Often, in conversation with his brethren, he would say, "I must go and suffer in the name of God." And the presage was soon fulfilled. For on the feast of Corpus Christi (A.D. 1611), as the Evangelicals assembled to offer up their purer worship, and the Minister, after prayers, addressed the congregation on the story of the golden image of the King of Babylon, as recorded in the book of Daniel, it appeared to him that an equally clear testimony should be brought against the modern Babylon. On his way homeward, after sermon, he found Vilna in a state of holiday confusion; the streets were crowded with people, waiting to see the accustomed procession of the host; but several of his Italian brethren with whom he chiefly associated listened attentively to his fervent exhortations to withdraw themselves from taking any part in that idolatry. The procession was slowly moving through the city, and the people were kneeling in the attitude of prayer as it passed between their ranks towards a spacious theatre, fitted up in an open space for the Bishop to say mass in the presence of a multitude many times greater than the cathedral could contain. Into this theatre, or circus, Francesco ran, and, ascending the elevation prepared for a far different use, raised his voice, and summoned the attention of the crowd. "What are you going to do? Do you fancy that you can thus render worship to Almighty God? Nay! You are committing gross and horrible idolatry. That bread which they are carrying about is not God, as they falsely tell you, but a mere idol, which cannot move out of its place unless it be carried. Christ our God is to be sought in heaven, where he is now sitting at the right hand of God the Father." The zealots of the day rushed on him, overwhelmed him with blows, and dragged him away to prison. The amusements of the festival proceeded: a few days elapsed, and he was brought before the Bishop, with some chief men of the city, and interrogated as to his intention. Had he been employed by the heretics, they asked, to commit that crime? Did he intend to kill the Queen?—the Prince royal?—the Bishop? To all these questions he answered boldly. No one, he replied, had employed him: but he had been moved by a godly zeal and an urgent conscience; for he could no longer bear to see the honour due to our Saviour given to a dumb idol. And as for wishing to kill any one, he told them that it became not those who professed themselves Christians to shed the blood of any man, much less of Magistrates. Blood, however, had been shed abundantly by Papists in France, England, the Netherlands, and many other countries, as he had learned from history. After answering their questions, he exhorted the Bishop to renounce idolatry, to encourage the preaching of the pure word of God, and no longer to suffer the poor people to be deluded by human inventions. And then he made confession of Gospel doctrine with so great zeal and constancy, that the Bishop commanded his servants and the spectators to withdraw. These, when they had left the place, went about Vilna declaring that they had never before heard a man speak out of the holy Scriptures with such clearness and confidence concerning the things of God.

After another interval of a few days he was again brought into the presence of the same Judges, and examined by torture. But amidst the horrible agonies of torture he held fast the faith, and professed it with a sublimity of language which bespoke an inspiration of wisdom and strength from God. "The sufferings of this present time," said he, "are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us." Many Evangelical noblemen interceded for his deliverance; but the Bishop would not miss the opportunity for vengeance afforded by so notorious an overt act. On the other hand, the Priests plied him with offers of mercy, if he would recant; but he told them that he was ready to testify to the heavenly truth, and, if necessary, seal his witness with his life. One thing only he asked, that he might be put to death in public, and by day-light. The nobles, also, when it became evident that he could not be saved from martyrdom, made the same request. But the petition was rejected. He was executed privately at night, within the castle (June 30th, 1611). When brought thither he only pronounced a prayer: "O Lord, to thee I commit my soul, my body to whom thou wilt." Lacerated as he was with the torture, the hangman stripped him, bound him on a board with cords, made an incision under his lower jaw, and rooted out his tongue, then killed him by breaking his neck, and quartered the body. The quarters were exhibited on stakes outside the city for one day, and then buried by a pious nobleman. But this nobleman was compelled to have them dug up again; and they were again exposed outside the gates. At last he directed some of his servants to remove them secretly, and bury them in the depth of a forest, where the persecutors could not find them.

Not satisfied with a single victim, the young Jesuits were let loose on the day following the martyrdom of Francesco. Meeting in the town of Troki, three miles from Vilna, under some pretext of devotion, they formed their plan; and, returning to the city, attacked the house of a nobleman, whom they hated for his piety, and, after spending an hour ineffectually in attempting to break into it, went to a Reformed church, and there effected an entrance by breaking through the wall. One Minister, Balthasar Crosnieviski, a Doctor of Divinity, they carried to the top of the building, threw him to the ground, and killed him. Another, Martin Tertullian, they killed in the same manner. A third, Joachim Vendland, Minister of the German church, they almost beat to death, and were throwing him into a fire, when his wife saved him by a convulsive effort, and the wretches, disturbed also by the piercing cries of one of his children, walked away. The libraries of the church and of the Ministers, altogether a splendid collection, they partly burnt, and partly carried off. Not yet content, they broke up all the furniture, and finished their day's work by burning down the church, the school, and the houses of the Ministers and teachers. The Jesuit fathers, more than half afraid that their pupils had gone too far, published their own account of the affair; endeavouring to make it appear that the rabble of the city had been the aggressors, but that the Evangelicals were chiefly to blame for provocation given, and that they should be

restrained by the supreme Magistrate, and prohibited from the exercise of their religion; since it was less dangerous, they said, to live with Jews or Tartars than with them, who did greater damage to the Church of Rome than the Moslem or the Jew, although denying Christ, could possibly inflict. But their paper excited such disgust, that they thought it prudent to stop the issue, and recall the copies that had been put into circulation. Jesuit outrages incessantly occurred from this time until Protestantism was corrupted by the Socinian heresy, or worn away by intrigue and persecution. Those outrages have been sufficiently described.

We cannot follow the progress of the thirty years' religious war; but it falls within the scope of this work to describe its rise. The Emperor Rudolph II. granted letters patent to the Evangelical communions in Bohemia for the free exercise of their religion. No document could be more explicit than this imperial charter (A.D. 1609). The three states, or communions, Helvetian, German, and Bohemian, agreeing in one confession which had been presented to Maximilian II., and was now again recognised as an authentic definition of their common Christian faith, were to be permitted, without hinderance or oppression, to exercise their religion. They were declared by the Emperor to be, as they always had been, faithful and obedient subjects, worthy to be taken under his gracious protection, as King of Bohemia, and to participate in all regulations, rights, and liberties of the kingdom. The states *sub unâ* were to live in peace with the states *sub utrâque*,—the communicants in one kind with the communicants in both,—not oppressing nor despising one another, but were bound to the observance of mutual peace and justice by penalties prescribed in the established law of the land; and the Evangelicals were expressly released from the restrictions of the compactates, as well as from those of every other intolerant enactment which was annulled by this charter. And with regard to the erection of churches, their freedom was to be complete. In view of subsequent events we must mark the very words: "Moreover, if either of the united states of this kingdom *sub utrâque* desire to build other churches or places of worship in cities, boroughs, and villages, or even schools for the education of the young, besides those churches or places of worship which they already possess, and which were heretofore granted to them, in which they are to continue in peace and quiet possession; they shall at all times and in every way be permitted to do so, whether Lords or Knights, whether the inhabitants of Prague, or those of the mining-towns and other places, collectively or individually, without hinderance from any man." "And no party shall prescribe to the other in matters of religion, nor forbid the burial of the dead in churches or churchyards, or the ringing of bells." The charter also prohibited compulsory proselytism from one church to another, either by force or subtlety, by clerical or lay persons. No decrees of a contrary kind were at any time to be issued by succeeding Sovereigns, or, if issued, were to be of no force, and not to be obeyed. "And if any one, whoever he be, whether clerical or secular, shall dare to violate this charter, we, with our heirs

and future Kings of Bohemia, as also with the states of the kingdom, hold such an one as a violator of the welfare, and a breaker of the peace, of the community, and deem it our duty to protect and defend the states against him, as it is definitely laid down in the article on the protection of the country, its orders and rights." And to guarantee the exact fulfilment of this grant of religious liberty, the three states were empowered to nominate *Defenders*, chosen in equal number from each state; and the Emperor engaged,* for himself and his successors, to appoint the Defenders so nominated within two weeks from the receipt of the lists. Or, failing the royal appointment, they were to act as defenders and protectors, nevertheless, and receive their instructions from the states alone. Thus stood the law of Bohemia from that time; and, according to the spirit of legislation then prevalent, the obligation to obey the Sovereign would be set aside by any abuse of royal power.

The object of the Church of Rome, thenceforth, was to annul that law.

From Rudolph the empire passed to Matthias,—and Bohemia with it; and Matthias, adopting Duke Ferdinand of Styria as his successor, called on the Bohemians to *receive* Ferdinand as their King. According to the constitution of Bohemia, the King should have been freely *elected*, not received; and although the *sub unâ*, or Romanists, joyfully received him, the *sub utráque*, or Evangelicals, at first resisted. However, their repugnance was artfully overcome; and Ferdinand not only promised them that he would preserve the religious liberties granted by Rudolph, but swore to do so at his coronation, secretly swearing to the Jesuits in the sacristy that he would not keep the oath with heretics. He was a mere pupil of the Jesuits. They had taught him that no Catholic authority could conscientiously leave heretics unmolested; that banishment, confiscation, and death were praiseworthy when inflicted on enemies of the Church; that free choice in religion was a sin against God, and the root of all evil. In his boyhood the Jesuit masters had taught him that Lutherans and Calvinists ought to be killed with the sword, banished and oppressed, burnt with fire, sulphur, and pitch, drowned in water, impoverished, exhausted, hunted down, deprived of their estates, annihilated, rooted out, and persecuted to death by every imaginable kind of excessive torture and pain. He was abettor, if not member, of a league, a holy league, a daily increasing league, at one time consisting of more than eighty thousand Jesuits, to spare neither pains, trouble, nor artifice, as long as one of them should remain, to destroy the religion, people, and country of the Reformed. They had vowed that no power, not even that of angels from heaven, should prevent them.

As for Ferdinand himself, when only twenty years of age, on ascending the throne of Styria, he made pilgrimage to Loretto, and there vowed to God and the Virgin Mary that he would expel all sects and their doctrine from Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, were it even at the hazard of his life. And that promise he kept, as far as in him lay. That vow he repeated when in his forty-third year, being then Emperor, and King of Bohemia and Hungary; and such vows he

* Not as Emperor, but as King of Bohemia.

frequently repeated. Ten years before his accession to the throne of Bohemia he had issued an edict against all schismatic leaders, preachers, writers, and schoolmasters, that were found in all places of his hereditary principality, and declared his firm decision to allow none other than the Catholic faith to be professed in states committed to his care by God, and to "overturn and abolish everything else contrary to it with his utmost power:"—substantially, and almost to a letter, the oath now taken by every Popish Bishop.* He had offered, and no doubt had given, large rewards in money for the apprehension of Christians, as if they had been felons.

The Archbishop Lohelius crowned him at Prague, where he made the two conflicting oaths; and as soon as he had left that city to be proclaimed in Moravia, the Archbishop with his Clergy began to concert measures for the annihilation of religious liberty. Their brethren in Moravia did the same. But at Prague they made their bolder and earlier efforts. There it was that the Jesuits declaimed from the pulpits against the Evangelicals in insolent and irritating language. They even spoke contemptuously of the deceased Emperor, Rudolph, and threatened that matters should not long continue in the state in which he had left them. A severe censorship silenced the Evangelical press; but the Jesuits printed and circulated whatever they pleased, without the slightest restriction. They also endeavoured to corrupt the Evangelical Clergy, and to get Papists appointed as churchwardens; but those attempts were generally frustrated. The church of John Huss had been restored to the Bohemian Brethren in 1609; but, the Minister dying in 1617, the Papists endeavoured to get possession of the building. Against this demand the Professors of the University interposed their legal claim, and prevented the robbery from taking place. Public offices were transferred into the hands of Papists, always with preference of the most zealous; and these persons followed a system of vexatious persecution, hindering baptisms and burials, and instituting frivolous and oppressive prosecutions under the most trifling pretences.

Their right to erect churches was also disputed; but the states of the Bohemian confession justly contended that they were as free as the Romanists to provide themselves with edifices wherein to worship God. The inhabitants of Klostergrab, a town subject to the Archbishop, had built a church; but the Archbishop procured a prohibitory edict from the aged and weak Emperor, Matthias, and then took workmen, and saw them break the building down. The Evangelicals of Braunau also built a church. The Archbishop of that place, an inveterate persecutor, had forbidden the erection; but the walls rose in spite of him. He, too, appealed to Matthias, who interdicted the work, saying that no permission to build churches was contained in the charter of Rudolph, a document which it was then found convenient to conceal. The men of Braunau appealed to their *Defenders*, the officers appointed by virtue of that charter, to know

* This has lately been denied in England; but the author does not believe the denial; nor would the most solemn asseveration induce him to believe it, unless the Pontifical were universally re-edited without it, and scarcely even then.

whether they ought to desist from building, in obedience to the Emperor's illegal command. The Defenders answered, that they were not under any obligation to submit, and the church was finished. The Emperor was then induced to demand the keys, which they refused to surrender, and the Defenders very properly summoned a meeting of the states to consider what should be done; and, regarding this matter politically, we should say not only that it was one of religion, but that a struggle had begun between constitutional right and arbitrary power, which was violating laws and breaking oaths.

The Utraquistic states proceeded to consult on measures of defence, according to the provisions of the law as above quoted; but the Emperor declared that any conferences with the Defenders should be treated as criminal, that he was the only defender, and would not acknowledge any other. This contempt of the charter of religious freedom more than justified the states in carrying their purpose into execution; and, after holding several meetings in Prague, they caused a proclamation to be read from the pulpits (May 20th, 1618), briefly and temperately informing the congregations of the actual position of affairs, and announcing the intention of the states to meet in the college of Charles IV. to deliberate thereon, and to petition His Imperial Majesty for protection. They also requested the people to address themselves to God with filial confidence, and to call upon his Divine Majesty in a fervent spirit, and with a truly penitent heart, praying that for the glory of his holy name and the salvation and blessing of all their souls, he would incline the heart of the Emperor, their most gracious King, towards his subjects. They also desired prayer to be offered for their own guidance in bringing all things to a happy issue. On that Sunday, therefore, earnest supplications were offered up in all the churches of Prague, and every one awaited the proceedings of the days following with extreme anxiety. And that was indeed an eventful week. On the Tuesday, four of ten Governors, charged with an imperial commission, summoned the states to meet them in the palace and hear the Emperor's mandate. The other six commissioners were either sick or absent; but these four, Sternberg, Slawata, Martinitz, and Lobkowitz, representing the crown, read a declaration that Matthias, as King of Bohemia, had sanctioned the demolition of one church and the seizure of the other; and threatened them with punishment if they dared to resist his pleasure. The states received copies of the document, and were desired to return the next day with their answer.

They came with a numerous attendance; and, leaving their servants on the outside, went into the hall previously occupied for their deliberations, and consulted as to what should be done with the commissioners who had brought them the illegal and oppressive mandate. Perhaps they ought to have considered the act as that of the Emperor, and excused his messengers; but two of them were also his Privy Councillors, and had not only taken the lead in persecution, driving their own vassals of the Evangelical confessions to mass with dogs and scourges, causing their mouths to be wrenched open and the wafer thrust down their throats, and denying them marriages,

baptisms, and funerals; but they had advised the very acts of oppression which they were come to Prague to enforce. What was to be done with these two, Slawata and Martinitz? They were undoubtedly traitors; and the Defenders of the people whom they had wronged, being the authorities legally appointed to redress those wrongs, were there by virtue of their office to proceed against the guilty. The feeble Emperor had been by them persuaded to trample on the liberties, the property, and the religion of his subjects, so that, repeated applications to him having been rejected, the way of appeal was evidently closed. Nothing now remained but to execute justice; and although they had been declared incompetent to discharge their office, and threatened with the penalty of rebellion if they did so, the declaration and the threat were contrary to the constitution of the kingdom, and they resolved to hazard everything rather than lose that opportunity of self-defence. According to the barbarian common law of Bohemia, traitors were liable to *defenestration*, or ejection through the window; and the states determined to inflict this punishment summarily on those two Governors, as being of all traitors the most guilty. They then proceeded in a body to the hall where the Governors were sitting, first led out the other two, and then precipitated Slawata, Martinitz, and their Secretary, who was also implicated in the guilt. They fell on a heap of earth, or some other soft substance, and escaped without a broken bone. But the act was treated as rebellious. The Utraquists, comprehending Brethren, Lutherans, and Reformed, united for common defence; and, three days afterwards, Prague was in their hands: the Bishop, other dignitaries, and the Jesuits were quickly banished. Nor were they banished without reason: for a vast store of ammunition was found in the possession of those "religious," thirty tons of gunpowder included, to be employed against the city. The "fathers and brethren" departed in procession as mourners at a funeral, but suffered no violence. Imperial troops now marched into Bohemia. The confederates levied troops to meet them, and elected a new King, the Elector Frederic, a Protestant; but he was one unfit to assume the crown at such a juncture; and a battle in the neighbourhood of Prague, on White-Hill, fatally decided the ruin of the Evangelicals. Their army of twenty thousand men was beaten. The imperial troops were let loose upon the country, and devastated and burnt three thousand towns, villages, market-places, farms, castles, and estates. No enumeration was ever made of the women and children slaughtered; nor of thousands that perished from cold and hunger in the woods. A course of oppression then followed which almost reduced Bohemia to a desert; while the Court of Rome exulted in the zeal and in the triumphs of Ferdinand, and prepared to employ a new system of action in that country, in order to give greater stability to their Church in future. They resolved no more to put heretics to death ostensibly for heresy, and thus give them the honour of martyrdom; but, having cut off the more eminent, to employ a scheme of *Reformation*, a name less odious and a method more sure than that of *Inquisition*. The Jesuits would render most efficient service under this new plan; and their proceedings well deserve

to be narrated for the information of Protestants. We must therefore give some account of one great martyrdom, sequel of the calamitous battle of White-Hill in 1620.

When the imperial Generals first occupied Prague, they promised to employ their influence in favour of the city, and for some time kept up a general expectation of royal mercy. This expectation was so strong that many who had left Bohemia returned; and no small number of patrons and Ministers were again in Prague, and had ceased to apprehend any further danger. The soldiery had been sated with blood, and rewarded with plunder: the Romish Clergy again waited at their altars, and resumed possession of their wealth: Ferdinand, the King elect, had already received the allegiance of Bohemia: and Frederic had fled back to Germany. Every one thought that the Emperor would use the generous forbearance which becomes a Sovereign when victorious over a once-revolted nation; and that the legal resistance of his oppressed subjects, now punished as insurrection, would be forgotten in a general amnesty. But they were all mistaken.

On one evening (February 20th, 1621), as many of the Lords, Knights, and Clergy as could be found in Prague, with several artisans and mechanics, were simultaneously visited by the Captains of the city, the Judges, or other officers, seized, and imprisoned in the castle or in other places. Those who had not ventured to return were summoned by proclamation to appear within six weeks, under pain of confiscation, infamy, and death. Their names were then affixed to the gallows, and their wealth was transferred to the exchequer. The prisoners, although treated as political offenders, were known to be victims of the Church rather than of the empire; and the interrogatories of civil Judges were alternated with solicitations of Jesuits during four months of imprisonment. They failed to satisfy the former by any confession of crimes not committed; and they all refused to surrender their conscience to the latter. Passing by the routine of courts and the correspondence of authorities on their several cases, we come to the final confession and suffering of a few of them.

Seven squadrons of Saxon cavalry marched into Prague (June 17th) to keep the population in order, and were quartered in the three cities, the old town, the new town, and the Kleinseite. A platform, twenty-two paces square, was erected (June 18th) outside the Town-Hall in the old town. Thirteen prisoners from the new town, ten from the old, and twenty-seven noblemen and knights, patrons of the Evangelical confessions, from the White-Tower of the castle, were brought to the judgment-hall (June 19th), one by one, and each heard his sentence of banishment, imprisonment for life, or death. Most of them were to die. Sentences having been pronounced on all, the guards took them back to prison; and their wives, children, and friends received permission to pay them a last visit. The same indulgence was offered to Jesuits, Capuchin Monks, or Lutheran Clergymen; but the Clergy of the Bohemian Brethren were expressly forbidden to go near, although about half the number of the condemned were of that communion, but of all most hated on account of their

superior piety. The Jesuits and Monks flocked to the prisons, although uncalled for, and prosecuted their wonted vocation of troubling the last hours of good men; but gained not a single pervert. The Minister of St. Nicholas in the Kleinseite, John Rosak Horschowsky, by special permission of Prince Charles of Lichtenstein, Governor of the kingdom, went to visit them; but as it was impossible that he alone could attend to the inmates of all three prisons, a similar permission was doled out to four others. That night, the day following, which was Sunday, and the succeeding night, were spent in prayer, conversation, praise, and the holy communion, with slight intervals of repose. On the morning of the Lord's day, a large company of the wives and children of the condemned, with other near relatives, assembled at the palace-gate of Prince Lichtenstein, wailing and imploring admission to beg for the lives of their husbands, fathers, and brothers. But as the blessing of men ready to perish could only be purchased by incurring the frown or the anathema of Rome, whatever the Prince might have desired, he shut his ears to the cry of those broken-hearted supplicants, and commanded them to be sent away. Within the prisons there was less appearance of sorrow; for God sustained his servants in the hours of severest trial. In one of the Town-Halls they united in a solemn meal, their last on earth, rejoicing in the prospect of so soon eating at the table of their Lord in heaven,—a hope which the Romish Governor derided; and hearing that their brethren, the Lords and Barons, were coming from the castle, in order to be ready for execution the next morning, they ran to the windows, and welcomed them by singing the forty-fourth Psalm. The people on the outside also received them with a sincere solemnity of tears. One of the Brethren, John Kutnauer, repeated the last verse of the eighty-sixth Psalm, which they had been singing. The words are, "Show me a token for good, that they which hate me may see it, and be ashamed; because thou, Lord, hast holpen me, and comforted me." He prayed that a token might be given of their innocence, a sign from heaven, that the people might accept it as from God; and so prayed the others. The Minister, on the contrary, exhorted them to be satisfied with the testimony of a good conscience; but Kutnauer could not cease from praying for a signal that might be seen by others. A sign was indeed given; for at sun-rise they saw through the windows of the prison a splendid rainbow. Falling on their knees, they thanked God for it. The same Minister, Werbenius, then descanted on the sign which God had set in the cloud, and recited many appropriate promises; while the multitude in the city, who had heard of the singular petition, gazed on the rainbow with amazement. That sign had passed away, and a very different signal was given, by the discharge of a gun, for their execution.

All the prisoners were assembled in the court, thence to ascend the scaffold, which was guarded by several companies of infantry, and, beyond these, an array of cavalry, to keep off the people. Rosak, however, attended the sufferers, and noted their words. The Imperial Judges and Counsellors sat round the platform, and Prince Lichten-

stein occupied a chair of state beneath a canopy. The condemned came one by one, as called by name. On leaving his brethren, each pronounced a short sentence or two: such as, "Farewell, dear friends! May God give you the consolation of his Spirit, patience and firmness, to persevere in that which you have hitherto acknowledged with your heart, mouth, and hand." Or, "I go before you to behold the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. Follow me, that we may together behold the Father's face." And they answered him by, "God help thy departure, and send thee a happy passage from this vale of tears into the heavenly country." Or, "May the Lord Jesus send his holy angels to meet thee." Or, "Hasten before us, dear brother, into the house of our Father: we follow thee." A Clergyman attended each, conversing with him in words chiefly taken from the word of God, which the guards and Judges within hearing could not but hear with reverence; while the beating of drums and clang of trumpets prevented all others from catching a syllable. So the company in the court-yard diminished; and as the Clergymen returned with intelligence of the constancy with which each met death, they praised God, and prayed for equal strength.

The *first* who appeared on the scaffold was Joachim Andreas Schlik, Count of Passau and Elbogen. A man fifty years of age, "spirited, virtuous, and heroic; but also modest, pious, active, and peaceful." Dressed in black silk, unbound, and with a Prayer-book in his hand, he walked firmly through the court, attended by the four Ministers. Two Jesuits accosted him in passing. One of them, Father Ledetius, bade him "consider well." But he replied, "Leave me alone," and went forward. Stepping on the scaffold, he saw the sun shining brightly, and, looking upwards, said, "Sun of righteousness, Jesus Christ, grant that I may come to thy light through the shadow of death," and walked to and fro a few times, pensively, but with so much dignity, that some of the Judges wept. He then prayed, undressed himself, and, with the assistance of his page, knelt on a black cloth spread for the purpose, and received the deadly stroke. His right hand was taken off, stuck on one lance and carried away, and the head on another, to be exposed in a public place. Six men in black masks carried away the body; others removed the cloth soaked with blood, and spread another cloth, that the person who came next might not see the gore. The same took place at each execution.

Next came the Baron Wenzel Budowecz of Budowa, seventy-four years of age. After a good education in Bohemia, he had studied, as well as travelled, in France, England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy. He had accompanied the Ambassador of Rudolph II. to the court of Constantinople, and there added to his knowledge of European languages, familiarity with Turkish and Arabic. A refutation of the Koran was extant from his pen in the Bohemian language; and he had won back many renegades to Christianity. Rudolph had raised him to the office of Court Councillor; and in other places of trust he had honourably served his country. He possessed a princely patrimony, and was a Bohemian Brother; and these were the two reasons why he should die upon a scaffold. Every Sunday he had been

accustomed to address a congregation, using that freedom to prophesy which spiritual churches have generally acknowledged for the laity.* Nor did he only teach from pulpits. In deliberations on public affairs he generally took the lead. Having opened the meeting by prayer, he was used to give out a hymn, and deliver an address, often with so great power of sacred eloquence, that the hearers were moved to tears, and would conclude the meeting in the same manner. He was a Bohemian of the old cast, serious, reflecting, and inflexible. When advised to crave the clemency of Ferdinand II., he answered that he would rather die than see the ruin of his country. He was not one of those who fled on the fall of Prague; for, having removed his family, he returned to his house, found it emptied of everything, and had not been in it long when he was made prisoner. His heart, he said, had impelled him to return; his conscience forbade him to forsake his country and the cause of God, even though all were to be sealed with his blood. "My God," he exclaimed, "here am I: do with thy servant as it seems good in thy sight. I have enough of life: take my spirit from me, that I may not see the misery which will now befall my country." An official person, hearing him speak thus, told him of a report that he had died of grief. "I?" he asked, "I? I have seldom had more joyful hours. See my paradise,"—holding up a Bible in his hand,—"it has never offered me such heavenly food as now. I am yet alive, and shall live as long as it pleases God; and I hope no one will live to see the day when it may be said, Budowa died of grief." Before the officers of the Inquisition he calmly and fully defended the truth of Christ; and, after sentence was passed, said to his Judges, "You have long thirsted after our blood, and now you may have it. But know that the judgment of God, for whose cause we suffer, will come upon you for the innocent blood that will be shed." Meditating in the law of his God day and night, even his dreams were heavenly. A few nights before the sentence, he dreamt that he was walking in pleasant fields, and that some one put a book into his hand with silken leaves, white as snow, and nothing written on them except one verse: "Trust in the Lord, and do good; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed." (Psalm xxxvii. 3.) While pondering over it, another came, and put a white garment on him. He related the dream to his servant; and, when on the scaffold, again said to him, "Now I shall wear the garment of righteousness. Thus I shall shine before God in whom I have trusted." Then it was that, stroking his white locks and grey beard, he said, as in an ecstasy, "Soon, my grey beard, wilt thou be brought to glory; for the martyr-crown will adorn thee."

The *third* was Christopher Harant, sixty-one years of age, who had travelled far, seen much military service, and risen to the dignity of Privy Councillor and Chamberlain to Rudolph II. He was also eminent as an author. With eyes uplifted, he exclaimed, "Lord

* Ὁ διδάσκων, εἰ καὶ λαϊκὸς ᾖ, ἔμπειρος δὲ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ τὸν τρόπον σεμνὸς, διδασκέτω· ἔσονται γὰρ πάντες διδακτοὶ Θεοῦ· "He that teacheth, even if he be a layman, yet experienced in the word, and respected for his conduct, let him teach. For 'they shall all be taught of God.'"—Const. Apost., viii., 32.

Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit." The *fourth* was Gaspar, Baron Kaplirz, eighty-six years of age. He could not walk without assistance, being worn out with loss of rest. Two Clergymen supported him, that he might not fall and be exposed to the derision of his enemies. Neither could he kneel. "Raise your head," said one of the Ministers as he stood on the black cloth. He looked up, and cried, "Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit." The executioner swung his sword—the grey head fell. The *fifth* was Procopius Dworschezky. He prayed for mercy, and was instantly beheaded. The *sixth* and *seventh* were the Lords of Rzchlowicz and Komarow: the one displayed silent resignation, the other thanked the Saviour that he could die with joy. The *eighth* was Czernin, a Romanist, indeed, but suspected of heresy, and therefore numbered with the others, that it might be said that all the condemned were not Evangelicals. The *ninth* was the Lord of Spiticz, seventy years of age, and lame. The Lord of Ruwenitz followed *tenth*, long known as a man of earnest piety, devoutly cheerful. Theodore Sixtus, a respectable citizen, came next; but was reprieved through the intercession of a Canon, his son-in-law, and dismissed. The *eleventh* victim was Valentine Kochan, a citizen. He knelt on the fatal spot, and prayed, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word." After him another citizen, Tobias Steffek, declared that heaven was his prospect, where God would wipe away tears from his eyes, and where there would be no more death, nor sorrow, nor crying, nor pain, and entered into his rest.

John Jessenius, formerly Chancellor of the University of Prague, and Physician in ordinary to two Emperors, Rudolph and Matthias, a man of brilliant eloquence, and high in the practice and teaching of the healing art, came to suffer an ignominious death. He cannot be esteemed a martyr; but his death was unjust and barbarous, and, with admirable integrity, he resisted the Jesuits who strove to pervert him to Popery. A Bohemian Minister came with him to the scaffold, and there the executioner met him, and demanded his tongue. Jessenius shuddered, remembering that Princes had often hung upon its eloquence; but, with a blush of indignation, offered it to be drawn out with a pair of tongs, and cut off at the root. The horrid operation being finished, he fell on his knees, poured forth an inarticulate prayer, and the stroke of a sword severed his head from the body. The body was put into a sack, to be quartered on the spot, after the remaining executions should be finished. His peculiar offence consisted in having gone to Hungary to solicit aid against Ferdinand.

Christopher Kohr, one of the Directors of the brief commonwealth, before the election of Frederic; Schubz, chief Burgomaster of Kuttenberg; Hostialek, chief Burgomaster of Saaz, also a Director; Kutnauer, Senator of the old town of Prague, and seven other citizens, followed in their turns, each giving evidence of scriptural knowledge and of a confidence in God, sustained by faith and love more excellent than knowledge. By way of varying the scene, two of them were conveyed away to be hung in other parts of the city;

and the utmost care was taken that the Romish Clergy should not be the conspicuous, although chief, actors in that bloody business, which continued till five o'clock in the evening. The sentences of banishment and confiscation were carried into execution the next day: and, while the mass of the inhabitants murmured at the cruel and sanguinary spectacle which had been exhibited, the agents of the Papacy gloried in their conquest; and it was referred to the Consistory of Cardinals at Rome to decide by what methods the Evangelical religion should be for ever eradicated from Bohemia.

As so many of the highest nobles confessed the faith of Christ, and as the Bible was read so generally among all classes of society, it was deemed inexpedient to attempt at once the suppression of Protestantism, which might best be effected by successive measures of severity. A stroke, they thought, might be levelled at Moravia first; and when the indignation awakened by the slaughter at Prague and the excesses of the imperial army had subsided, attention might again be given to that country. The Anabaptists were therefore banished from Moravia. They had forty-five houses, or settlements, in each of which several families lived in community of goods, and possessed considerable landed property. It was said that some of them had shown civility to Frederic when he passed through Moravia after his defeat; and under this pretext, to avoid the name of religious persecution, they were all expelled,—departed in companies, in waggons laden with wealth, and found a new home in Transylvania. Vintage was near; but as the grapes were not yet ripe, the rich vineyards would soon be emptied by their enemies. Then the Court of Rome resumed their deliberations for an attack on the three confessions throughout Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia. A direct persecution still seemed unadvisable; for the Reformed were not only strong in number and in rank, but would probably be aided by the Protestant Sovereigns of Europe in resisting a crusade. A Jesuit, Paul Michna, relieved their Eminences from embarrassment by proposing that the heretics should be tormented until they surrendered their religion in despair, and thus the act of recantation would be made their own. "They must not yet be banished," he advised; "for at present they have too much to take with them. Too much money would be carried out of the country, and exile would be made too easy. They must first be fleeced, and utterly impoverished, and then all will be easily managed." And preliminary measures were resolved on for the fulfilment of this plan.

Their *churches* were to be closed, their *teachers* removed, and their *books* destroyed.

The revolt to which they had been provoked was now a sufficient pretext for any act of public severity. Most of the churches of Prague had been seized immediately on the occupation of the city by the imperial troops, and given to the Jesuits, who purified them with holy water, and whipped the pulpits and the altars, to signify a ridiculous vengeance on the places where the word of God had been faithfully preached, and the sacrament of thanksgiving duly administered. On the floor of a church previously occupied by the Bohemian

Brethren they laid gunpowder, and set fire to it, that by its explosion the pollution of heresy might be dispelled. Such buildings as were not desired for immediate occupation were closed, others were torn down, and no mode of indignity or profanation was forgotten. The graves were opened, the remains scattered, and the monuments demolished. Similar proceedings were afterwards repeated all over Bohemia.

The expatriation of the Bohemian Ministers had also begun at Prague. Prince Lichtenstein issued an edict a few weeks after his entrance into the city (December 13th, 1620), accusing them of having been the sole cause of the revolution; and he afterwards commanded them to quit Prague within three days, and the whole country and land incorporated with it within six, and never to return again, under pain of death. This was done while their chief patrons were in prison (March 10th, 1621), doomed to the slaughter above described. The Bohemian population being thus deprived of the ministry of the Gospel in the language they could best understand, now attended in the German Evangelical churches; and, although the Lutherans had not been persecuted, through fear of offending the Elector of Saxony, the Jesuits determined now to hazard the consequences of his displeasure, rather than see their intention frustrated by any Evangelical ministrations to the bereaved Bohemian flocks. There were four German Clergymen, Caspar Wagner, David Lippach, Sigismund Scherer, and Fabian Nathus. Driven from the churches, they delivered farewell sermons to their German and Bohemian congregations in open fields (October 29th, 1622), outside the city. The Prince "graciously dismissed" them under a military escort and at public expense, but with less than a week's notice, and without permitting them to administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper to their people, either in public or in private. Their churches were closed suddenly, and without their knowledge, to the unutterable grief of the long-devoted worshippers. When one, the church of the Holy Trinity, was re-opened at their request, for the sake of removing the books, a great crowd assembled at the door, and begged hard that they might be allowed to enter but once more, and call upon God, if it were only by repeating the Lord's Prayer. This they were allowed to do, and, pressing into the sacred edifice, fell on their knees, prayed fervently, and wept bitterly. Some kissed the pavement, and some the altar, and, when evening came and they were obliged to leave, they lingered around the building, blessing the beautiful house of God, and, on the following day, some devout women celebrated their churching on the outside. They laid their infants on the threshold, knelt with their friends upon the steps, united in fervent supplications, and went home again in grief and tears. On the appointed day the four Ministers departed. With difficulty they drove through the streets, crowded with people who could not suppress their tears, while spectators filled the windows. Their enemies laughed; and the Jesuits had already prepared to consummate their triumph by another crime. Three detachments of cavalry, at their instigation, marched out of the town, with a

design to pillage or to destroy the fugitives on the road. Spies haunted the party, which consisted of the four Ministers, and some Saxon merchants, who, for the sake of religion, were also returning to their native country. The cavalry came within sight, approaching the road, after having diverged from it rather too far; but they escaped by means of a peasant, who took them through an obscure pass in the mountains to a ford in the next river which the pursuers did not know, and there they crossed. The cavalry, unable to trace them, revenged themselves on a neighbouring village. The wives of those Ministers, who could not follow until some weeks afterwards, were also marked for destruction in the same manner; but they, too, providentially escaped, their horses refusing to cross a bridge which would have led them to a spot where soldiers were waiting to murder them. Thus did God give his angels charge concerning his afflicted children.

Not only by edicts of the supreme government, but by distinct acts of provincial authorities, the process of ejection was continued, but always under colour of prosecution for political offences,—offences which had seldom been committed, or, at worst, were but the consequences of intolerable oppression. Shortly after the banishment of the Evangelical Ministers from Prague, Commissioners visited the chief towns, to expel as many as could be entangled by accusation, or provoked to utter an incautious word. We read of one George Michna visiting towns of a district with a troop of horsemen. At Sclan he broke into a church where one of the Ministers, Johann Kaupilius, was reading the Gospel at the altar, and commanded him to be silent; but as the Minister continued reading, he drew his sword, and shouted, "Stupid preacher, cease to prattle," and, with the weapon, struck the Bible out of his hands. The good man, undaunted, raised his eyes and hands towards heaven, and cried, "Woe unto you who shut up the kingdom of heaven against men! Ye neither go in yourselves, and those who wish to go in ye suffer not to enter. Woe unto you, woe!" On this the dragoons seized him, and, with scornful laughter, dragged him through the church. Making no resistance, he declared himself willing to suffer that and anything else for the sake of his Master, Jesus. They construed that expression into treason, and told him that the *Emperor* was *their* master. The members of the Council offered bail for his appearance when called for; but the Commissioner would not release him, intending to send him to Prague to be tried for sedition. Some ladies of rank, however, procured his liberation, under condition that he should quit the town within three days. The inhabitants of Laun were fined heavily, because they had suffered their Minister to escape; and, after Michna had received the money, he pronounced a sentence of banishment, to prevent him from returning.

The Evangelical Clergy of Kuttenberg, the city next in importance after Prague, were ordered to depart before sunset (July 27th, 1623), and to quit the kingdom within a week. They obeyed. Several hundred citizens followed them through the gates, to whom one of the Ministers preached on the words of Christ, "They will put

you out of the synagogues;" and they parted with mutual tears and prayers. After similar banishments from some parts of Bohemia, and cruel imprisonments in others, an imperial edict (August, 1624) commanded all the Evangelical Clergy to be banished for ever out of the whole kingdom. Six weeks were allowed them for preparation; but as the edict was kept secret for four weeks by the higher authorities, and was not made known to some until the six weeks had expired, the distress of the exiles was extreme. Many found refuge in neighbouring countries. Some hid themselves in woods and caves, and endeavoured secretly to fulfil their duty to the flocks over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers. To prevent this, another edict (July, 1625) threatened with punishment all who should conceal a Clergyman, and offered a reward to any who would betray one. The execution of this edict was unequal; but the general reward for the body of a Minister being fifty dollars, several were made prisoners. A few of these, worn out with terror and starvation, professed to abjure the Gospel; but most of them endured the suffering of dungeons without wavering. Some few were liberated after long imprisonment; but not until they had signed an obligation to quit the country forthwith, and never return, under penalty of death. And even this sentence was often aggravated by additional inflictions of extortion and of contumely. One example will illustrate the severity of this persecution.

A Bohemian nobleman, George Techenitz, had begun to recruit the peasants, with the intention of joining a Danish army, which was posted in Silesia. Intelligence reached Prague, when about four hundred persons had enlisted: the peasants, it was said, were in a state of rebellion, and the Governor sent troops to put them down. A party of these soldiers met a Deacon of Czaslau, Matthäus Ulizky, in the Kaurzim forest, where Techenitz had been recruiting; and although this Deacon had nothing to do with the insurgent nobleman, but was peaceably returning to Kirchleben, his hiding-place, after visiting his sick wife in Czaslau, he was seized, and taken back a prisoner. There he was twice laid on the rack, and questioned as to the persons to whom he had administered baptism and the holy communion; and his tormentors—one blushes to write it—were apostates from Protestantism. They told him that the Emperor would grant him life, if he would do as they had done; but he said that the Lord Jesus Christ, not the Emperor, had given him his office as a Minister, and that, therefore, he could not relinquish the obligation to discharge its functions. Two days after the last examination he was led to execution in the same town where he had faithfully preached Christ, now to be his martyr. A herald went before him, proclaiming his crime to be rebellion. But he, too, proclaimed, "No,—I suffer for the truth of Christ." A young man approached to offer him a Hymn-book; but the Captain of the guard drove the youth away. Yet Ulizky sang, without book, "Make haste, O God, to deliver me; make haste to help me, O Lord." No citizen was allowed to follow him, no one was even permitted to look out at a window as he passed, the guards threatening to shoot any one who

should presume to show his face; and trumpets were blown, and drums beaten, to drown his voice; for the murderers uniformly prevented the people from hearing the confessions of martyrs. The Captain, however, heard him declare that that day his soul would be with Christ in paradise; and told him, brutishly, that it would be with the devil rather, in the bottom of hell. He warned the Captain, in reply, that he would hasten thither himself, if he was not brought to reflection; and then, falling on his knees, commended his soul to Christ, had his right hand cut off, and, bowing his head, received the final stroke. The head was placed on one pole, and, on four others, the quarters of his body. He had always taught that tears were the only weapons of the church, and disapproved of those who sought for the help of arms to defend the Gospel.

The Christian Schoolmaster is the most efficient assistant of the Christian Minister; and the restorers of Popery in Bohemia were scarcely less anxious to empty the school-room than the Reformed pulpit. Private masters, no less than Professors, were to be banished; and all parents, whether nobles or citizens, who should employ a Protestant to teach their children, were threatened with imprisonment and fine. Instead of Protestant Catechisms, the Catechism of the Jesuit Canisius was to be committed to memory; and a brood of Jesuits, under the character of tutors, were ready to perpetuate popular ignorance. The more clever of the Protestant boys were often taken by force, and prepared to communicate the rudiments of a harmless, but unprofitable, scholarship.

The Carolinum of Prague, a University founded by the Emperor Charles IV., in 1348, was entirely in the hands of the Evangelicals, and, ever since the days of Huss, had maintained an influence in Bohemia hostile to the pretensions of the Roman See. The chief imperial Commissioner, therefore, visited this learned body (March 15th, 1621), presented to the Professors a paper containing thirteen declaratory articles of religion, and demanded their subscription. One of them, Nicholas Troilus, ventured to object, on behalf of his brethren, but was instantly seized and conveyed to prison. The others withdrew in silence, two excepted,—Basilius, of Deutschenberg, Professor of Mathematics, and John Campanus, Professor of the Greek Language and Poetry, who yielded to authority, became Papists, and rose to high office. Ferdinand, losing little time in following up this blow, caused Prince Lichtenstein to expel all "non-Catholic Professors," as they were called. An order to this effect once given (April 30th, 1622), resistance was impossible: Commissioners entered the building, sealed the archives, dismissed the Professors, placed the University, if such it might then be called, in the charge of the two apostates, and they surrendered it, with all its estates, rights, and privileges, to the Jesuits of St. Clement. To complete the matter, the Pope suspended all promotions, so that no academical degrees could be taken; and for some time the chairs were vacant. And even when the machinery of education was restored, an esoteric system of teaching confined the reality of learning to the few selected Jesuits, who made use of it as an instrument for

the subversion of Evangelical religion. Learning in Bohemia soon expired.

Then followed a general destruction of books, excepting, however, such works as Amadis of Gaul, and any that would promote superstition or immorality. Commissioners, attended by trains of Jesuits, visited the towns, summoned the inhabitants by ringing of bells; and with gentle words, but great array of power, exhorted the people to bring their heretical books. Exhortation was command. Boxes and barrels full of books were brought together into the market-place, poor people flocked with single volumes, the whole were heaped up on faggots and consumed, while sentinels stood round to prevent any from being snatched out of the flames; and the Jesuits made merry at the conflagration, admiring how beautifully they flamed, and telling the owners that if they were found to have imbibed the heresy, they also should be thrown into the fire. Spanish and Walloon soldiers ransacked the houses, and detected treasures of Bibles and religious books secreted under floors or buried in cellars. Smiling Jesuits lounged in families, and bribed young children to show them their fathers' books, which they discovered, seized, and sent to the burning heap. Some who found it expedient to cast off the profession of a merely nominal Protestantism, saved the Commissioners the trouble of visitations by burning their libraries on their own premises, and made a virtue of necessity. The monasteries were expurgated: but in them some volumes were preserved for the use of controversialists, should controversy become necessary, bound in black, to signify that they were condemned, prohibited, and devilish, and kept in one place, accessible only to the privileged. In this book-execution the literature of Bohemia perished, except as exiles had carried away copies into foreign countries, where collections were afterwards made with diligence; but such collections could only be small, imperfect, and without influence on the intellectual and religious character of Bohemia. Bibles, of course, were chiefly sought after, and destroyed with the most intense fury; and the sacred volume, no longer designated by its peculiar name, was called in derision *Wyblila*, a Bohemian word, said to be equivalent with "vomit." Some zealots underwent great labour, and even faced danger, in forcing books from reluctant and conscientious owners. Once, a Jesuit, backed by a body of soldiers, so provoked the inhabitants of a town that they rose in a body, and killed him. Very religious men signalized themselves in those days by travelling from village to village to pilfer and burn good books. And their names are recorded with great applause by Romanists; but, for our part, we would rather leave those names to perish.

Having noticed the expulsion of Ministers and Schoolmasters, the suppression of the University, the burning of Bibles, and the annihilation of literature, it remains to say how Ferdinand and the Clergy dealt with the people. Cherished in the bosoms of the faithful, the incorruptible seed of truth might again spring up, and, watered by the blood of martyrs, might overspread the land. All faithful men, therefore, were to be put out of the way; and they could only hope to effect this by vast labour.

Lohelius, Archbishop of Prague, having died (November, 1622), the Chapter held many consultations on the election of a successor who would be likely to display extraordinary energy in doing this very work. Ernst Adalbert Harrach, son of an imperial Privy Councillor, at that time Chamberlain to Pope Gregory XV., and a young man twenty-four years of age, was thought to possess sufficient vigour, both of mind and body, to toil in the extirpation of heresy. He received the pallium, and entered fully into the enterprise. The Nuncio at Vienna assisted him and the Jesuits by presenting and supporting petitions to the Emperor, who, having effectually put down rebellion, could not but avow the real ground of persecution, or cease to persecute. Incited by the new Archbishop and his company, Ferdinand issued edicts in 1623 and 1624, for the expulsion of all the remaining Protestant Clergy. He then revoked the liberty of worship previously established in Bohemia; and at length formally empowered the Archbishop and Lichtenstein to extirpate all non-Catholic systems of religion, and restore the Popish ceremonies everywhere. All Protestants were to be driven out of towns. No Protestant was to be allowed to marry. The few Ministers who were said to be still concealed, were to be hunted out, and banished. The district Governors then issued a terrible edict throughout the kingdom,*

* This edict is so full an example of Romish government, that it shall be inserted here. "1. All those who are unwilling to embrace the Catholic religion, and so become of the same religion with His Majesty, are prohibited from all business, trade, commerce, &c. 2. No one shall allow sermons to be preached, or baptisms and marriages to take place in his house, under a fine of one hundred dollars, or imprisonment for six months. Also, whoever retains an Evangelical preacher in his house, shall forfeit his estates with his life. 3. The true Catholic Priest is not to accompany, with the usual ceremonies, a deceased Protestant to the burial-ground; but the church and burial fees he shall, nevertheless, receive. 4. Whoever labours, transacts business, or sells anything on holy or saints' days, shall be imprisoned, and pay a fine of ten guilders. 5. Any person found in a public-house during time of mass, shall be imprisoned and detained until he pays a fine of ten guilders; and the host shall pay double that sum. 6. Those who ridicule a Priest, his sermon, words, or gestures, and thus mock the Roman worship, and those who permit heretical worship to be celebrated in their houses, shall be banished, and their estates shall be confiscated. 7. Whoever shall eat meat on Fridays and Saturdays, without permission of the Archbishop, shall pay a fine of ten guilders. 8. As often as the father of a family shall absent himself from mass on Sundays and holidays, he shall give, if rich, four pounds, and if poor, two pounds, of wax candles to the Church. 9. A list shall be kept of the young people in all the towns and villages; and whoever has placed his sons in Protestant schools, shall withdraw them before the festival of All Souls: otherwise, the rich shall pay fifty, and the poor thirty, guilders' fine. 10. Whoever instructs the young people at home secretly, shall forfeit all his property; and he himself shall be ejected from the town by the beadle. 11. No will shall be valid, unless the testator be a Catholic: heretics shall not have liberty to make a will. 12. No young people, whether orphans or otherwise, shall henceforth be instructed in any art or trade, unless they have previously learned the Catholic Catechism (of Canisius). 13. Whoever speaks or sings indecent words of God, the Holy Virgin, and the saints, or of the Church ceremonies, and of the glorious house of Austria, the same shall, without mercy, forfeit his estates and his life. 14. Those who have, to the prejudice of the Catholic religion, any painting on or in their houses, shall immediately efface the same, or pay a fine of thirty guilders: also, if similar things be carved or painted on gates, churches, or other public places, they shall be broken down or effaced, and the crucifix, or some other ancient monument, shall be substituted. 15. If the poor in the workhouses be not converted by All Saints this year, they shall be ejected, and afterwards none but Catholics shall be admitted. Hereby will be fulfilled the unchangeable will of His Imperial Majesty."—Reformation and Anti-Reformation in Bohemia, vol. ii., p. 150.

which was executed with unsparing severity. Multitudes were tormented or burnt to death; and a broad stream of emigration flowed into neighbouring countries, and especially into Lusatia, then under the government of Prince John George of Saxony, and also into Misnia, Silesia, Brandenburg, Holland, Prussia, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, and Transylvania. Yet so large a part of the Bohemian population could not be swept away at once, and successive edicts renewed the persecution. Ferdinand told the nobility that he would have no other subjects in Bohemia than Catholics; and that all who would not be converted within six months should sell their estates to Catholics, and go elsewhere (A.D. 1627). In coercing the nobility, they did not subject their bodies to the torture, nor throw them into prison, but reduced them to apostacy or exile by other methods. They billeted large companies of soldiers on them, demanded heavy contributions, extorted gifts, and impoverished them by confiscations. Their finest mansions were demolished, or taken for Jesuit colleges or seminaries, or the materials and the site appropriated for the construction of monasteries. Houses were pulled down while the weeping tenants had scarcely time to remove their furniture. To supply the places of the banished nobles, Ferdinand raised others, whom the Clergy nominated, to the dignity of "States" of the first rank, with precedence of Barons, Earls, and Princes. And, to obviate every legal hinderance to his oppressive doings, he promulgated new laws, annulling the old ones; and by every possible contrivance proceeded to destroy the nationality, and even the language, of Bohemia.

After banishment, forced recantations, and murder had failed to destroy the religion of Christ, and many yet remained steadfast, or, having so far yielded as to obtain certificates of confession to a Priest, still continued to worship God alone in private, or in small companies; after Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Priests, and Magistrates had failed also, exhausting all their guile and violence, Prince Lichtenstein employed his dragoons to complete the restoration of Popery. These "Lichtenstein conversion-soldiers," or "Salvationists," or "Saviours," partly dragoons and cuirassiers, and partly Spanish and Bavarian infantry, principally acted under the command of a Spaniard, Martin de la Huerda, and of one Zdenko Liebsteinsky Kolowrat, a veteran persecutor. These soldiers were distributed over the kingdom, but most numerously where the vestiges of Evangelical religion were the strongest. They were billeted on suspected persons, or known Protestants, and committed almost incredible barbarities. Often when they had pillaged the house, the owners, in despair, gave up house-keeping altogether, and put the keys into their hands. When any declared that they were "Catholics," the dragoons were instantly removed. But a great number chose rather to suffer loss of all things, or even of life, than deny Christ; and then their sufferings became extreme. Mothers were tied down, and their sucking infants placed within sight, that their cries, hour after hour, and day after day, might move them to apostacy. If the mother promised to turn Papist, she was unbound, and her babe put into her arms. They would set about the conversion of others by keeping them awake

for many days and nights, until they became stupefied, and in that state accepted confession-tickets from the Priests. Some were dragged to mass by the hair of the head, or scourged until their flesh dropped under the lashes. Some were led to the gallows and threatened to be hanged, or held fast with swords and pistols pointed at their breasts, until they would apostatize; or, if not, were put to death. Sick persons were tormented as they lay in bed, until they yielded to the ruffian "Saviours." These troops not only ravaged Bohemia, but followed the exiles into Lusatia and Silesia, where, in spite of the remonstrances of the Elector of Saxony, they perpetrated the same cruelties. It was in Silesia that two officers held up a naked infant by its legs, cut it in two with a sword, and gave it back to its parents, saying, "Here you have it *sub utrâque*." But let us mark a few more examples of Christian martyrdom under this dreadful persecution.

At Kossenberg, ten only out of three hundred Protestant vassals dared confess Christ. And six of these, yielding to the pains of cold and hunger in prison, purchased release by recantation. Four stood firm. Their names were Sigismund Hrussowsky, Nicholas Szarowez, John Aksamit, and Lorenz Karlik. Five weeks passed away in solitude. No perverter came to tempt them; but they were exposed to the winter frosts of January and February without covering or fire, and still resolved to die rather than surrender. Hunger was then commissioned to try what cold could not effect, and for nine days they lay without a morsel of food. Still they would not surrender. Finding them yet alive, the jailers gave each of them a small piece of bread, but nothing to quench thirst. They ate it, and drank their own water, trusting in God for help. At last a Jesuit and the Governor of the castle came, and threatened to treat them yet more severely unless they would renounce their faith. But they would not surrender. "Rather than sin against our God," said Sigismund, "we will suffer hunger, the halter, or the stake." And as the visiters went away, he called after them, "Whatever you intend to do, do it speedily." Then came the jailers and separated them. Aksamit remained in the same place; Nicholas was thrown into a filthy pit; Sigismund shut up in the flue of a chimney; and Karlik placed in some equally wretched situation. There they remained unvisited by any friend for twenty-one weeks: a small quantity of bread and a draught of water being brought them twice a week, and now and then the offer of release repeated if they would become Catholics; but they would not surrender. They were then taken from the places of confinement; the persecutors helped themselves to fines out of their property, and banished them from Bohemia. Taking joyfully the spoiling of their goods, they departed; but Karlik died in consequence of his protracted sufferings before he could reach the frontier.

John Burjan Kochowez, a learned man, had been imprisoned by the Princess Lobkowitz, because he would not oblige her by conforming to Popery. There he lay for three years. Monks and Jesuits tormented him to death, and buried him under a gibbet at Raudnitz. In the domain of Leitomischl, three hundred vassals had succumbed to the authority of their earthly superiors, and denied their Lord; but

one stood faithful. He was imprisoned, and soon fell sick, when a Jesuit came to admonish him; but he said, "Away, tempter! To-day I must go to the heavenly sacrament of Christ." He soon escaped to paradise, and his body was buried like that of Kochowez.

The Emperor rewarded the diligence of Don Martin de la Huerda, by giving him the little town of Dobrzich. A Clerk in that place, unwilling to have any communication with the new Spanish Lord, resigned his office, and engaged himself as private tutor in the family of a miller. Don Martin, enraged, caused both the miller and his tutor to be brought in chains to the castle of Welhartiz, and thrown into the filth of the deepest dungeon. The miller was soon liberated; but the Clerk remained there a whole year, when existence could no longer be sustained. Shortly before his death, he sent word to Don Martin that both his legs had rotted, and that his body was full of worms. Don Martin would not believe it; and equally incredible must it have been to him that the martyr sang cheerful hymns as long as life endured. On the anniversary of his imprisonment he expired. The body was not allowed Christian burial, but drawn from the dungeon and thrown into the castle-ditch, whence a shepherd took it, and put it into a grave.

Compulsory recantations, as we have seen in the preceding pages, were often followed by sincere and honourable confession. So it was in Bohemia. A company of twenty-nine peasants, all of them restored confessors, were taken prisoners in the village of Zlonitz, and marched to the town of Schlan. Their faith had been renewed in fraternal communion; and they had eaten bread and drunk wine in remembrance of the death of the Lord Jesus. One of them, named Balzer, quite unlettered, but well taught of God, officiated as their Minister, and might have long continued to do so, but their landlord, having turned Papist, thought to purchase favour by delivering up Balzer and his brethren to the Town-Council of Schlan. Thither they went, singing paschal hymns on the road, and were brought into the presence of the Council. The articles of accusation being read, Balzer was called on to answer for them all. He asked for time to prepare a written answer, which was granted; and, being unable to write, he dictated his confession in Bohemian to this effect:—"I have heard the accusation pronounced against me. The first point is, that I have proved faithless to God, my Creator, and to my own conscience, by having embraced, and then again forsaken, the Catholic religion, and thus become guilty of perjury. To this I reply, that I was at that time induced to sin against God, my best Judge, only by the most severe imprisonment. I was then too weak in faith, and did not sufficiently trust in God, who is able to save his own from the hands of their enemies. I felt God's chastisement for this sin, my conscience being troubled during a whole year, so that I scarcely ventured to hope for his mercy. Then, remembering that sinners of old found mercy by repentance, I called upon God night and day, moistening my bed with tears: for I loathed myself, a sinner. And God, the true and the just, who desires not our destruction, nor the death of the sinner, but that he should turn and live, did in his own time

reveal unto me his mercy. I received what he prayed for. He sent me an angel, and my eyes saw a light brighter than the sun. At that instant I received the Holy Spirit, and felt myself newly born: I received the power of distinguishing between good and evil spirits;* and with this gift was imparted to me the commission to reprove the sins of men. I speak no untruths: for the Holy Spirit is not concealed in those to whom he is given. *He is not to announce future events to the wicked, but mercy to the repenting sinner.* For which reason I was forbidden by the Holy Ghost from exercising any works of the flesh, or worldly desires, which rebel against the righteous Judge of the living and the dead, and against his elect saints. This is also well known to the Baron Walkleun. They have hindered me these four years from proclaiming the truth; but the more they hindered me, the more did God strengthen me by his Holy Spirit. They may also remember that I came to the castle of Zlonitz to proclaim the truth, and exhort them to repentance, as the Lord Jesus commanded me by his Holy Spirit, for three days in succession. On the last of these days, I had a book with me. As my accuser says that I am a misleader of souls, I reply, and maintain, that it is certainly the will of the Lord Jesus that you also should hear me. They were not strong enough to wrest the book from me at that time," (although the possession of such a book was contrary to repeated edicts and proclamations,) "yet they refused to glorify God." The defence was continued at great length, and of so unusual a kind, that the Jesuits went to converse with him in the prison alone, and, if possible, to win him over to their Church again. But he resisted manfully. Although only a layman, as he said, and unable either to read or write, he believed that what he had preached was not of himself, but of the Holy Spirit. He acknowledged again that after his fall he had spent a year in sorrow. "But at last," said he, "the Lord Jesus had mercy on me, and showed me his wounds, through which the wounds of my conscience were instantly healed." The Jesuits persisted in disputation; but he refuted their doctrine by the words of holy writ, and predicted punishment on the persecutors, and a reunion of the flock of Jesus Christ, then dispersed by wolves. They sent him to Prague, and there he received sentence of death, and was taken to the gibbet before day-break (August 14th, 1629), that the people might not see or hear him. His head was struck off, his body quartered, and the parts were exposed on the public roads.

Precious, in those days, was the word of life. When religious meetings could not be held in towns, people would go away, even in the depth of winter, to the vast native forests, and penetrate so far that no sound could be heard, nor any trace of them perceived. Under the trees covered with snow that formed a solid roof, they laid up

* The description which this simple peasant gives of his experience must not be subjected to cold criticism. He describes, as best he can, a great change, a change of heart, and a special communication of power to confess the Saviour whom he had dishonoured, with a commission to make that confession openly, for the restoration of others. He had also grace, being recovered from his fall, to "resist even unto blood." And it may, indeed, have pleased God, in a time of severe conflict, to honour his servant with an extraordinary manifestation, just as he describes it.

their waggons and tethered the horses. With the straight branches of fir-trees they raised commodious huts, which gave their children shelter; and in the open spaces they made fires. From the rivers and lakes they drew fish to vary their repast. Daily worship was held without fear. A bell summoned the scattered families to the place of congregation, and there they sang from rare copies of the old Bohemian Hymn-book; and a Clergyman, long banished from the world, a tenant of the wilderness, set forth the lively truths of Christianity, and administered the eucharistic emblems of the Lord's death, just after the manner that John Huss had taught their fathers. The trunk of a tree, felled for the purpose, and cut smooth, served as a communion-table. Villages on the skirts of those forests were sometimes deserted, except by children, who could scarcely be trusted with the secret. If a stranger happened to ask them where their parents were, they would answer, "In the forest;" a sentence as familiar to their ear as "in the field," or "at the plough."

The Gospel, then, was not suppressed, but Bohemia was ruined. No more liberty, no free national Diet, scarcely any ancient nobility, no Bohemian literature, and the language itself half forgotten, except among the poor and in the villages; arts and manufactures almost extinct. To this state the country was reduced by the exile of thirty-six thousand families, the confiscation of estates, the slaughter and ravages of war, the tyranny of Magistrates, Priests, Jesuits, and Monks, and the invasion of Germans.

For a few months, indeed, hope dawned. The imperial army was defeated by the Saxons on the 16th of August, 1631, near Leipsic,* and the victorious host marched on Prague, whence the Archbishop and civil authorities fled in consternation. The Elector himself subsequently came to Prague, and took up his abode in the castle of Prince Lichtenstein. Many other towns surrendered to Lutheran troops, and a multitude of exiles hastened back to their former homes. When the Elector made his public entry into the capital (November 20th) more than thirty Lutheran Clergymen went to the Tein church, which had formerly belonged to the Protestants, in solemn procession, and there, with prayers and hymns, supplicated the divine mercy. Evangelical worship was performed there with great solemnity on the first Sunday in Advent. Seventy Ministers read the service before a densely-crowded congregation in the morning; and, in the afternoon, the skulls of the noblemen who had been beheaded ten years before were taken from the top of the tower where they had been exposed, placed in a coffin covered with silk, and carried to the same cathedral church, an immense crowd of people following with hymns. A Protestant Consistory was soon formed, the Jesuits were expelled, and, within a few weeks, two thousand Evangelical Christians who had not recanted were joined by five thousand who again professed adherence to the religion of their fathers. The Protestant University was restored, and, by the blessing of God on the labours of some devoted Ministers, twenty-four churches were again established in Prague, with no fewer than fifteen thousand members. A similar revival took

* This was during the Thirty Years' War.

place all over Bohemia; and the Papists lamented that, notwithstanding the banishments of the Clergy and the various persecutions which they had carried on so diligently, their labour was now lost. It was in great part lost; but when the Elector of Saxony had been nine months in possession of Prague, it was retaken by the Duke of Friedland, Saxons evacuated the garrison, the Evangelical Ministers were sent out of the country under a military escort, and Popery was again dominant.

The Jesuits returned, and, by forced conversions, imprisonments, and banishments, recovered much of the lost ground, yet were mortified to find that the hated doctrine could not be eradicated, but that a considerable part of the Bohemian population was still Protestant in heart. Eight years of their labour scarcely diminished the amount of Evangelical influence in all classes of society, and again an edict was published, declaring that "no one should be tolerated in the kingdom of Bohemia who was not a Catholic;" and so hotly did the Jesuits pursue their vocation of hunting down heretics, that people fled from their habitations at night, and (A.D. 1652) out of the domain of Friedland alone there were counted three thousand one hundred and eighty fugitives within twelve months. To disobey the most unreasonable orders was to incur the punishment of disobedience to the civil authority; and, under this colour, they imprisoned, starved, beheaded, or burnt Protestants from one end of the kingdom to the other.

Although forbidden to remain in Bohemia, they were punished if overtaken in flight towards a Protestant state, for having attempted to go to an enemy's country. Thus an aged peasant, named Peschek, attempting to escape from the village of Grusitz, was delated by some false friend, seized in his own house at night, carried to the castle of Hradek, in the domain of Wallenstein, and subjected to horrors indescribable,—to starve and rot in an inconceivably filthy dungeon. As often as they asked him if he would renounce his heresy and become a Catholic, he replied, that he could say nothing contrary to the word of God, and that it was impossible for him to die in the Papal religion. From the dungeon he was taken into the presence of a company of Jesuits, who asked him if he would embrace the Catholic religion, or if his heart was so full of the devil that he could by no means be reclaimed. "Dear men," answered he, "I have nothing to do with the devil. I cleave to my Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, who died for my sins, and rose again for my justification." They agreed that he deserved to be burnt; and the aged sufferer, hearing this, exclaimed, in an agony of horror, "O that God would take me from this world, that I might no longer hear their blasphemies! Fathers, do you really think that you would be justified in burning me?" Some of the bystanders were so affected that they could not refrain from shedding tears; but the hardened Jesuits, irritated at that expression of sympathy, had him sent back to prison, and, before thrusting him into the same dungeon, the jailer scourged him. After he had been there a full year more, they brought him forth at Easter, questioned him, and then he was tortured by the Jesuits and the Dean; but they could not extort a recantation of his belief in Christ. Being so exhausted by his torture

that he could neither raise his head, nor stand, nor even speak, they placed him in a less horrible prison, where, however, he could no longer eat or drink. After he had been there a day and night, some Jesuits came to him with a crucifix, and asked if he would acknowledge *that* as his Saviour. This roused his prostrate energies, and he answered aloud, "I know and fully believe that Christ, and not this wood, has been crucified for me. Christ, who is indeed both man and God, died for me." Astounded at this unexpected burst of life, they stood mute for a moment, and gnashed their teeth; and then, having repeated those endeavours without the least effect, declared that such a hardened heretic deserved nothing better than to be thrown on the fire, or flung to the wild beasts in the open field. "In God's name," said he, "do with me what you will. Whether you burn me, or wild beasts devour me, I am sure that my Redeemer, Jesus Christ, will take my soul to heaven. O Lord Jesus, have mercy on me!" He then began the Lord's Prayer; but, before his lips could utter the last sentence, the Lord released his happy spirit. Utterance ceased. He had fallen asleep in Christ. One of the spectators * tells us that many stood around, looking on that placid countenance with bleeding hearts, and that he often wept when remembering the scene. The tormentors had no pity, but, balked of their intent, walked sullenly away.

Here must end our sketch of the Bohemian persecutions; briefly noting that, for more than a century after the martyrdom of Peschek, the few Bohemians who dared to remain without the pale of Romanism suffered all manner of vexations, and often imprisonment and death. But great numbers complied outwardly, retaining their belief in Evangelical doctrine, secretly reading, praying, and receiving visits from foreign Ministers, who came to them in disguise and with great peril. But in the year 1773 the Jesuits were expelled, and, in 1781, the Emperor Joseph II., by his "Toleration Edict," bestowed on Protestants a sort of liberty, clogged with many unworthy and frivolous restrictions,—such a shadow of religious freedom as we are at this day allowed at Rome, where we may worship in a granary, or meeting-house, *outside the walls*, being denied even there the use of an edifice having the name or appearance of a church. Such a liberty was then granted by that remarkable Sovereign, who probably gave as much as he could venture to do, without endangering his crown. Our present condition in Bohemia depends, in great measure, on the caprice or policy of the Austrian Government from one moment to another, religion being, to their apprehension, a political matter.

The affairs of Bohemia in 1618 withdrew our attention from Poland, of which country there is not much more to be related in fulfilment of our present object. The spread of Socinianism, on the one hand, and the confusion of ecclesiastical and political questions, on the other, often render it impossible to recognise suffering Protestants as confessors of Christ. Perhaps, if it were possible to supply the defects of religious history in Poland, a Martyrology might be formed

* Holyk, a son of Protestant parents, taken to a Jesuit school by force, and made a Jesuit. He afterwards effected his escape.

by collecting names and incidents scarcely known to the historians of the seventeenth and following centuries. It is interesting, however, to observe that in Poland, as in many other lands, our own countrymen, for so the Scotch are certainly to be accounted, were not last in suffering persecution for Christ's sake. At Lublin (A.D. 1627, *circ.*), while the Evangelical nobility used their privilege for the protection of congregations assembling in their houses, the wife of William Tuck, a Scottish merchant, frequented one of those congregations. For this offence, and being a foreigner, she was summoned to answer for herself in a civil court. To the questions, Was she a Catholic? and, Did she confess? she answered, "I am a woman who believe the Gospel; and to God alone, against whom I have sinned, I confess my sins." They inquire who has perverted her. "God," she answers, "has wrought this work in my heart: wherefore I owe him eternal thanks." She must abjure, they say, or go to prison. The mother of five children, and one of them yet hanging on her breast, is to be separated from them, and perhaps leave them orphans; but she declares herself ready to leave them, if God wills it. Many persons of rank crowd the court, and intercede for the foreign lady; but in vain. She is threatened with dungeon and rack, if she will not "repent," and three days are given her for consideration. All the population of Lublin is aroused on her behalf; but the authorities, clerical and civic, threaten the inhabitants with punishment if they encourage heresy, and force them to be silent. She cannot yield. Her heart is fixed. Therefore she is taken away to prison. No Evangelical is allowed to see her; but the Jesuits, a folk that hover around the dungeons, like vultures over carcases, importune her to apostatize. But she is constant; nothing can subdue her noble spirit. By dread of consequences God reins in the fury of the persecutors, and she is restored to her husband and their children with an unspotted conscience. The Jesuits revenge themselves by a few riotous attacks on the houses of "Evangelicals;" but now they rage in vain (A.D. 1627). It would be interesting to trace the religious history of the Scotch residents in Poland; but this we cannot do, and merely observe that, a few years after the imprisonment of this lady, they were forbidden to sing psalms or hymns in their families, or to have sermons preached in their houses at Lublin, and that one of their funeral processions was attacked and a Scotchman killed (A.D. 1633). A Polish Physician, Macovius, was imprisoned at the same time, and would probably have lost his life, but the nobles ransomed him by paying thirteen thousand florins to the Monks of St. Bernard; and Macovius walked out of prison, singing the thirty-fifth Psalm: "Plead my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me," &c.

On the northmost curve of the Carpathian mountains, and extending partly into the Hungarian and partly into the Galician territory, as they are now divided, lay the Hungarian county of Zips, subject, at the period in which we begin a brief survey of the state of the persecuted Christians of Hungary, to the King of Poland. Lutherans and Helvetians (or Calvinists) had multiplied in Hungary, built churches, and, under the divine blessing, spread the knowledge of

Christianity so widely, that the greater part of the population had become Evangelical in doctrine. The Captaincy of the "Thirteen Towns" had gradually passed over to the Confession of Augsburg, and transferred their churches to Lutheran Ministers, leaving the Romish Priests few in number, and reduced to poverty. The Kings of Poland and of Hungary either had been unwilling to injure them, or, when urged by Jesuits and Priests to persecute, had been prevented by manifest interpositions of a superior Power.

At last, Martin Petheö, Bishop of Kirchdrauf, paid this district a canonical visitation, found many, perhaps most, of the churches in possession of Lutherans, and exhibited mandates from the Emperor, Rudolph II., and the King of Poland, Sigismund III., requiring them to be surrendered to "true parish Priests." These documents he produced in a meeting of the Chapter of Zips (September 11th, 1604), and issued a requisition to the Count of the Thirteen Towns, to carry the imperial and royal pleasure into execution, depicting the terrible consequences of disobedience. The Count, Martin Pilcz, replied, that the people of the Thirteen Towns were indeed bounden to obey the King; but, seeing that such a mandate was repugnant to the law of God, and could not be executed without endangering the salvation of souls, and, further, considering it to be contrary to the constitution of Poland, he thought that they should lay the case of the demanded churches before His Majesty. After long dispute, Petheö consented to appeal, and sent a Canon of the Chapter to Cracow to accuse the Evangelicals of contumacy, while Pilcz and three others went thither from the Thirteen Towns, and made their first application to the Prince Sebastian Lubomirski, whose valour in war had earned him honour and reward from Rudolph. He acknowledged that, as they pleaded, the Towns had the right of presentation to their churches, and advised them to apply to Sigismund while he himself withdrew from Cracow to avoid being drawn into further consultation; and instructed them that, even if the King persisted in his demand, they should return home, and keep possession of the churches for the present, as the law required previous knowledge and consent of the Prince to all such orders, which consent had not been had. Lubomirski withdrew from Cracow, to avoid participation in the royal counsels; and the deputies, after long delay, prevailed on the King to examine evidence that their constituents had the right of presenting Ministers to the churches. *Ministers*, he replied, they might present, but not *Pastors*, who were unknown in law; and therefore they must surrender the churches to Martin Petheö, Archbishop of Kolocza,* or pay twenty thousand florins. They wished to explain that Pastors were Ministers; but Sigismund drily answered, "With you they may be, but not with us." Finding that the King could not be prevailed on to do them justice, they made no further application to him, but, while two of them hastened back to Zips, Pilcz, as Count and guardian of the Thirteen Towns, went with the other to the Prince, in his retreat at Nowajowa, near the capital of the county, and was by him directed not to give up the churches until he should

* Recently promoted to that dignity.

have received royal order, duly countersigned. Ignorant of this arrangement, the Archbishop returned full of confidence, assembled his Chapter at Kolocza, summoned the Count thither, and required him to immediately put Priests into possession of the churches, or pay the fine of twenty thousand florins. But Pilcz withstood the demand; maintained that such a royal order would be contrary to the Evangelical religion, and to the good of souls; and that, although the authority of the King was superior to his own, it would be incomplete unless sustained by the consent of the Prince, which consent had not been given. Petheö threatened to employ force; but the Count placed guards around the churches, the congregations continued to assemble, and the Primate of Hungary was compelled to leave the Lutheran Ministers in possession of their own. After this event, Count George Thurzo, Palatine and Viceroy of Hungary, as friend of the Evangelicals, endeavoured to obtain for the churches the position of a national establishment, and the national Diet constituted the Evangelical Ministers an independent ecclesiastical order (A.D. 1608). But the negotiations eventually failed, after having betrayed some of the Pastors into an assumption of temporal state as legally appointed Prelates, and after one of them, Xylander, had reluctantly accepted a sort of archiepiscopal dignity, as Superintendent of two counties (A.D. 1614).

At this point may be dated the commencement of Hungarian persecutions. Cardinal Francis Forgats, Archbishop of Gran, (Strigonium,) used his utmost influence to put a stop to this odious promotion of Lutherans under a Popish government. He thought it insufferable that a Romish and a Lutheran Archbishop should exist together within the same territory, and did not rest until Xylander had resigned his office. After this humiliation came other troubles. Stanislaus Lubomirski, unlike his father, who had lately died, began by fining a Pastor three hundred florins for some irregularity, and threatened to expel all the Pastors from the Thirteen Towns. George Thurzo interfered on their behalf, and pleaded a privilege obtained from the Emperor Rudolph II., who constituted a Captain-General, John Ruebez, and his successors, protectors of the Pastors against vexations of Polish officers. But Lubomirski treated the plea with scorn, and threatened to take forcible possession of the churches. With that intent he came to Kirchdrauf, bringing a large train of horse and foot (April 9th, 1616); but was restrained from the execution of his purpose by the advice of more prudent men, and by letters from the King himself.

But after the death of Matthias, and the accession of Ferdinand II. to the throne of Hungary (A.D. 1619), the condition of the Evangelicals became intolerable. They were provoked to call in the aid of Bethlen Gabor, Duke of Transylvania, to endeavour to cast off the yoke of one whom all Hungary regarded as a usurper of the throne. Ferdinand, hoping to disarm this opposition, had sworn to observe the Pacification of Vienna, and allow freedom of worship according to its articles; but the oath was not kept, and Bethlen gave battle to the imperial army, won a victory, and compelled him

again to promise the Hungarians of both Confessions freedom in the exercise of their religious rights (A.D. 1621). Again the promise was broken, and again the Transylvanian compelled him to repeat it (A.D. 1624). But nothing could bind a man whom the disciples of Loyola governed, and whom they taught that faith should not be kept with heretics. He therefore contrived covertly to sanction persecution, and found a ready agent in one Pázmann, a renegade from the Evangelical religion, recently elevated to the archbishopric of Gran. With exhaustless ingenuity this man allured a multitude of the humbler classes into the toils of Romanism, together with no fewer than fifty noble families. The tide of political influence now ran strong against the Gospel. And in a few years the rising priesthood felt themselves powerful enough to claim jurisdiction over the Evangelical Ministers and their flocks, and smite them with anathema * for refusal to submit. In the town of Filka a woman long forsaken by her husband, who had left the country, applied for

* The anathema pronounced by Peter Pázmann is too copious in terms of malediction, too faithfully illustrative of the spirit of hate, to be withheld from the English reader.—"By the authority, &c., &c., &c. Amen. And with Pontius Pilate, and with those who said to the Lord, 'Depart from us, we will not have thy knowledge.' May their children be made orphans: may they be cursed in the city, cursed in the farm, in the field, in the forest, in the house: cursed in barns, in beds, in chambers: cursed at court, on the way, in the city: cursed in camp and in river: cursed in church, in graveyard: cursed in courts of justice: cursed in the court of law and in the field of battle: cursed in praying, in speaking, in keeping silence, in eating, waking, sleeping, drinking, touching, sitting, lying, standing: cursed in time of leisure, cursed in every time. May they be cursed in all their body, in all their soul, and in the five senses of the body. Cursed be the fruit of their womb; cursed be the fruit of their land; cursed be all belonging to them. Cursed be their head, face, nostrils, nose, lips, roof of the mouth, teeth, eyes, black of the eyes, brain, palate, tongue, throat, chest, heart, belly, liver, all the bowels. Cursed be their stomach, spleen, navel, bladder. Cursed be their legs, shins, feet and toes. Cursed be their neck, shoulders, sides, arms and fore-arms. Cursed be their hands and fingers. Cursed be the nails on their fingers and toes. Cursed be their ribs, their ——" (*genitura*), "their knees, their flesh, their bones. Cursed be their blood, their skin, the marrow in their bones, and whatever is within them. May they be cursed by the passion of Christ, and with the five wounds of Christ, and with the shedding of the blood of Christ, and with the milk of the Virgin Mary.

"I adjure thee, O Lucifer, and all thy servants, with the Father also, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and with the humanity and nativity of the Lord, and with the power of all saints, that thou rest not, day nor night, until thou bring them to destruction, whether they be drowned in rivers, or hung, or devoured by beasts, or burnt, or slain by enemies. Let them be hated by all living, though only their ghosts remain. And as the Lord gave power to Peter and to his successors, in whose place we act, and to us although unworthy, that whatever we bound on earth should be bound in heaven, and whatever we loosed on earth should be loosed in heaven, even so we shut heaven against them, and deny them earth for burial; but let them be buried in the fields with asses, and let the ground be cursed in which their grave is made. Let them perish in the judgment to come. Let them have no conversation with Christians, nor take the body of the Lord when in the article of death. Let them be like dust before the wind; and as Lucifer was cast out of heaven, and as Adam and Eve were driven out of Paradise, so let them be chased from the light of day. Also let them be joined with those to whom the Lord shall say, in the day of judgment, 'Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels, where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched.' And as this candle is extinguished out of my hands, thus may their bodies and their souls be quenched in the stench of hell, unless they return what they have stolen, within a certain time." Then follows a rubric. "*Let all say,* AMEN. *Then sing:* 'In the midst of life we are in death.'"—(Historia Ecclesiæ Evangelicæ August. Confess. Addict. in Hungariâ, &c. Halberstadt, 1830. In Appendice.) You may imagine that an incarnate fiend holds in his gripe a living man, and gloats over every part and member of the body that he is just going to devour.

a divorce, and, after the legal formalities had been gone through, the Pastor of Kirchdrauf, John Pilemann, consented to marry her to an inhabitant of that town. But the Dean of the Chapter of Zips, Hoszszuthóty, sent him a messenger commanding him not to perform the marriage. Pilemann, surprised at such an interference, merely said to the bearer of the interdict, "What has the Dean to do with me?" and, treating the interference with contempt, married the couple. Burning with anger, the Dean appealed to the Archbishop, by this time rewarded with a scarlet gown, and known as Cardinal Pázmann, who instituted a suit against the disobedient Minister, laid an interdict on him and his two colleagues, extorted, with royal sanction, a fine of fifty florins to placate the Dean, and amerced the Evangelicals of Kirchdrauf in a multitude of costs (A.D. 1634).

This is but one example of the injustice and violence which had now become prevalent. On the death of Ferdinand II. the worshippers of God in Hungary hoped for some amelioration of their condition; and Ferdinand III. did indeed give them fair words, but nothing more. The Priests were permitted to employ every method of deceit and violence with impunity. Pázmann raged without restraint, and the Popish nobles helped him to lay waste the church of Christ. Evangelical Pastors were dismissed on the most frivolous pretences, and mass-Priests substituted for them. With grief and indignation the Evangelical Hungarians had appealed to the new King in a Diet at Presburg (A.D. 1637), for the recall of their exiled Ministers, and for the restoration of their churches and schools; but he said that he was too busy to investigate their case until after the close of the Diet, when the promise was not kept, and, in a short time, the Evangelicals deplored the loss of about three hundred churches. Multitudes of people were compelled, by dreadful threatenings and correspondent violence, to abjure the Christian faith and profess Popery. Again and again the sufferers implored the King to protect them; but utterly in vain; and, at last, they threw themselves at the feet of George Rákoczy, Duke of Transylvania, who, like his predecessor Bethlen, responded to the call, invaded Hungary, and conquered all the country as he came, up to the gates of Presburg. Terrified by the presence of so powerful an enemy, Ferdinand III. purchased Hungary by the form of a large concession, ratified at Linz (September 16th, 1645), confirming previous decrees in favour of religious liberty, especially that of 1608. The Evangelicals of both the Augustan and Helvetian Confessions were to have possession of their churches, with use of bells and burial-grounds. The peasants were to exercise their religion freely, without hinderance by any civil authority or feudal lord. All Evangelicals, including tradesmen and mechanics, were exempted from obligation to join in Popish ceremonies. No one was to remove a "non-Catholic" Minister from his station; and those who were then in exile had permission to return, or others might be appointed in their stead. Churches taken from them were to be restored, to the number of ninety, and lands, with all the revenues. New congregations, or daughter-churches, with Ministers, might be established. They were to be allowed entire

freedom of communion and conference, and all their remaining grievances were to be examined in the next Diet. For the erection of new churches and schools they were to have assistance from the state. No Hungarian was to be called on for contribution to any other church than his own, which, however, he was required to support. The Hungarians renewed their allegiance to Ferdinand III. Rákoczy returned to Transylvania, Ferdinand went about the affairs of his empire, the Priests resumed their craft; of the ninety churches promised, few were restored, and of those few nearly all were taken from them again under various pretexts. The *third* Ferdinand emulated the glory of the *second* in the eyes of Rome for perfidy and oppression towards heretics. Civil authorities watched the nod of King and Priests, and, throwing open their tribunals to Evangelical Clergymen whom their ecclesiastical authorities had condemned, annulled the decisions,* or condemned those whom their own superiors had acquitted, so that not even spiritual discipline could be enforced.

Leopold I. next took the sceptre of Hungary, and, like others, swore at his coronation to maintain the laws under which his Evangelical subjects ought to be protected (A.D. 1655). For several years he avoided appearing in any act of persecution, and even confirmed the "pacification of Linz" (A.D. 1659), at the very moment when the Romanists were concerting a deep-laid plot for the extirpation of all true religion out of the kingdom. Their machinations were slow, but well calculated; and an accumulation of sufferings roused the Evangelical nobles to demand, in the national Diet (A.D. 1662), that the grievances of their brethren should be taken into consideration before any other business. The dominant party objected, and, by majority, resolved the contrary; and they retired in disgust. This retreat left all power in the hands of the persecutors, who did not lose the opportunity; and the destructive policy which had driven them to invite the interference of Bethlen and Rákoczy was made use of as vigorously as ever, probably in hope of driving them again to the same extremity.

The misgovernment of Leopold produced wide-spread discontent. The Hungarian nobles, in general, were incensed against him, and entered into an extensive conspiracy to deprive him of the crown. As an elected Sovereign, he reigned by virtue of a compact; and by this compact the Hungarians, like the Bohemians, were allowed to avenge any breach of the constitution, on part of the King, by an armed revolt.† And they secretly conspired in preparation for that last resource. The conspiracy was discovered to him by spies; and, instead of taking measures to appease the discontent, he poured troops into the country, and considering the "non-Catholics" whom he had chiefly wronged to be, therefore, the most dangerous, he encouraged their enemies to aggravate the persecution. At the same

* The reader will have observed that "Evangelical" was the usual denominational term in Hungary, inclusive of the two Confessions.

† It behoves the historian to relate this law without any note of censure or approval. To the Slave and Magyar it was *law*.

time the Turks, naturally hostile, occupied a part of Hungary; while the French King, being at war with him, sent emissaries into the country to fan the flame. Then fell terrific vengeance on the Evangelicals.

As no true witnesses could be found to criminate the Ministers, who had kept themselves clear of all participation in the scheme, a false witness had to be suborned. A former page of one of the insurgent Lords who had gone into Transylvania, presented himself at Vienna, and stated to the Privy Councillors that his master was in possession of treasonable letters, written from Presburg by Stephen Withnyedi, an Evangelical nobleman. They bargained to give him a thousand dollars if he would bring the originals, and advanced a hundred to enable him to fetch them. Of course he brought letters. Two letters,* written in cipher, by himself or an accomplice, were brought to Vienna, and the fellow took the price of blood. Withnyedi was made to write as if there had been an organized correspondence between the Evangelicals of Hungary and all the neighbouring countries, in order to unite with Turks and French against Leopold; and as if the Lutheran Superintendents of several places, with other Ministers, under their instructions, were taking the lead in preparing the people for an insurrection, "as the Levites went before the ark." The clumsiness of the forgery, representing as chief actors persons who had no existence, and the improbability that a discharged servant should have been privy to a grave political secret of his master, or that such an one should fail to produce papers for which he was already bribed, did not deter the persecutors from consummating their design. Even the Romish historians acquit the helpless and unoffending Ministers of all complicity; and the facts that the chief conspirators were all Romanists, and that before this pretended discovery Evangelical churches had been seized, many Ministers banished, and those of them who were so weak as to abjure, pardoned and promoted, show that the real ground of offence was religion, not conspiracy.

The proceedings of Government were not such as a real conspiracy would have called forth. First, they cited a few Ministers from Presburg, chiefly Lutherans,—the number of Calvinists having been much reduced by banishment,—to appear at Tyrnau (May, 1672). No witnesses were produced, nor was there any examination of evidence; but one of three things was demanded. 1. That the Ministers of both Confessions, there present, should sign a resignation of their ministry, within the kingdom of Hungary, under pain of death, and confiscation of goods, *to avoid the trial then imminent*. Or, 2. To subscribe an obligation to depart the kingdom within thirty days, never to return, under the like penalty. Whichever of these forms they chose, contained a declaration that they did it of their own

* These letters are given in "A Short Memorial of the most grievous Sufferings of the Ministers of the Protestant Churches in Hungary, by the Instigation of the Popish Clergy there: and of the Release of such of them as are yet alive, nineteen of them having died under the Cruelties of their Persecutors, and obtained the Crown of Martyrdom. London, 1676."

accord, and uncompelled, to avoid sentence for the crime of which they were guilty. Or, 3. To become Papists. They could not confess a crime which they had not committed, nor would they abjure their faith in Christ; but suffered sentence of death. Their number and names seem to be unknown.

After these, three Superintendents, with several Elders and Pastors of the counties of Sohl, Thurocz, and Liptau, were brought up to Presburg (September 25th, 1673), before George Szeleptsény, at the same time Archbishop of Gran, and Viceroy of Hungary. On his right hand sat George Szécsényi, Archbishop of Kolocza, six Bishops, Abbots, and other dignitaries, with two laymen in high office; on his left, eleven lay officials. The Ministers were not tried, but pronounced guilty of high treason, and required to make one of the three subscriptions. Several, perhaps intimidated by the fate of their predecessors, signed the first or second. A few, but they principal men, were lured into the meshes, and entangled themselves eternally by signing the third.

Encouraged by this triumph,—which they might have gained by summoning persons already known to waver,—the Viceroy and his assessors issued a general summons to all Ministers of both Confessions, schoolmasters, clerks, and sextons, wherever they could be found. Priests, guarded by soldiers, proclaimed the document, signed by the Archbishop-Viceroy, in every parish; and even in places under the Turkish Government, where the sword was not at the disposal of the Church, zealous Priests read the proclamation from their altars. In those places, the Visier of Buda forbade his master's subjects to obey; but from all other parts of Hungary, those who could not save themselves by flight, or who felt bound to make solemn confession, went to Presburg. The Viceroy, with a similar attendance, once more took his throne, and saw about four hundred Ministers of Christ and servants of the churches standing before him. He commanded one general accusation to be read, for the idea of personal examination was never entertained; and a Secretary proclaimed such charges as these: —Casting off the fear of God and the King, they had not paid honour to the saints. The blessed Virgin had been dishonoured by comparison with their own vile wives. The venerable body of Christ in the sacrament had been trodden under foot. They had preached sedition, and stirred up their hearers to rebellion and treason. The King's Attorney, therefore, demanded the heads and the property of the traitors; and asked that the other criminals should be condemned to lose their hands and feet, and then be burnt alive. To justify these barbarous demands, he produced a copy of the deciphered letters attributed to Withnyedi. The prisoners heard these letters with amazement. Withnyedi and Keczer, one of his alleged correspondents, were scarcely known to the Ministers even by name. The writer of the letters was evidently a Papist; for he called the Protestant Ministers "preachers," a title never used in their churches, but applied contemptuously by those who disowned their ordination. Superintendents, too, were spoken of in towns whence the Superintendents had been driven long before the date of the pretended letters.

They attempted to plead these objections to the authenticity of the only evidence produced, and claimed the benefit of a law that no one should be condemned to capital punishment on the testimony of a single witness. The Judges ignored their plea, and urged them to confess guilt, and throw themselves upon the King's mercy.* The alternative of silence or exile was then offered. Each might choose, by affixing his signature to a copy of the corresponding form; but, in either case, he would have to write himself a traitor. About one hundred submitted, to escape the penalty which they were not ready to suffer. Three hundred stood firm.

No entreaties, no threats were spared to subdue their integrity and innocence; but they would not incur guilt by a false confession, making themselves, also, parties to the spoliation and dispersion of their churches. And they even ventured to hope that some remains of justice and equity, slumbering in the bosoms of their Judges, might awake. But neither justice nor equity was there. After lying in prison for a month, they were called into court again, and the Judges pronounced sentence of death first on the Ministers (April 4th, 1674), and then on the others (April 6th). It was not now, as formerly, the policy of the Church of Rome to shed blood when her work could be done by any other means; and therefore the three hundred confessors were detained in Presburg for about six weeks longer, in hope that they might be wearied or cheated into compliance; but not one gave way. And although they were all allowed to range the city without a guard, not one attempted to escape. Four Pastors and one schoolmaster were then laden with fetters, and taken to the castle of Presburg. Yet this show of severity made no perceptible impression; and, therefore,—those of the Helvetian Confession being separated from the rest,—ninety-three of both churches were put in irons, and sent, under escort, to the castles of Leopoldstadt, Komorn, Kaposvar, Bars, and one or two others. There they were confined with the vilest criminals, made to perform the severest and most humiliating labours, such as scavenging streets and cleansing ditches, chained in gangs, and not allowed sufficient food, nor permitted to receive visits of friends, nor alms of strangers, beaten cruelly, and exposed to all extremes of hunger, thirst, cold, violence, and filth. By this means twenty-six of them were forced to profess themselves "Catholics." The remnant could not be subdued into compliance. When dragged to mass-houses, they endured the sight and hearing of idolatry in silence; and when in the dungeon or the ditch, they cheered each other with prayers and with psalms, rejoicing in tribulation by the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit.

Still unwilling to shed blood, the Priests of Hungary and Italy united in resolve to make them suffer a living death; and (March, 1675), by order of the Archbishop of Gran and the Bishop of Neustadt, thirty-five Ministers and six schoolmasters were taken from

* The King was said to be disposed to show mercy in this instance; but one of these very Judges, the Bishop of Neustadt, said, "If Cæsar were to decree anything a thousand times over in favour of the preachers, I would set aside his orders a thousand times over."—Hist. Eccles. Evang. Hungariæ, p. 35.

prison to be sent to the galleys at Naples. Brutish soldiers drove them on foot through Moravia, Austria, Styria, and Carniola, some being even laden with fetters. For many a long day they dragged their bleeding feet and weary limbs over the rugged ground, and were beaten if they lagged behind, or if they fell. From morning until night they were often without food; and sometimes reached the journey's end too late to obtain any. Two of those pilgrims escaped the lashes of their drivers. They breathed out their life on the way, and their souls entered into rest. Six, half dead, were left on the road, of whom four expired; and the two survivers were taken to the galleys. Six more died of excessive labour and ill treatment. The remaining twenty-seven were found in a state of indescribable wretchedness by the Dutch Admiral, De Ruyter, and were surrendered at his intercession, his fleet being on the coast. He took them from the oar, covered their naked bodies, dried their tears, nurtured the life remaining, saw them revive, heard them bless him, and gave them a home in Holland. Soon they went to that better country where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest; and we still write the name of their deliverer, *Admiral De Ruyter, of blessed memory.*

The Minister of the United Provinces at Vienna interceded for the remaining prisoners; but Leopold was guarded, as the Priests thought, against the possibility of being overcome by any importunity. From the Hungarian fortresses they were secretly conveyed to prisons in Trieste and Bucari, on the gulf of Venice. After grievous sufferings, they, too, were released by an imperial order, extorted by the persevering humanity of the Dutch Ambassador (May 2d, 1676). A small company of the persecuted Hungarians were at the same time in England, imploring Charles II. to join his interposition with that of the Lords of the United Provinces at the court of Vienna, that they might be examined before impartial Judges for the establishment of their innocence; and that the laws of Hungary and the freedom of religion might be observed, and the twelve hundred churches taken from them be again thrown open for the celebration of a pure worship. The King instructed his representative accordingly, but without effect.

While speaking of churches, we will not overlook an example of the manner in which the Romish dignitaries indulged their greediness. Bársony, Dean of the Chapter at Zips, had set his eye on the churches and school-houses of the Evangelicals of the Thirteen Towns, and petitioned the King of Poland (A.D. 1670) for an order to the owners to divide the use of churches, school-rooms, bells, organs, pulpits, and grave-yards with the Priests, allowing them to erect altars and say mass in the Protestant churches. The order was obtained; and, after some resistance, the Protestants were obliged to make a compromise, and for a short time the adverse rites were celebrated within the same walls, until the stronger party gained full possession, first by requiring the Evangelical Ministers to adopt Popish forms, and then expelling them for disobedience.

The Prince Stanislaus Heraclius Lubomirski (March 4th, 1675) next commanded all the inhabitants of the Thirteen Towns to receive "the Catholic religion" as true, and prepare for confession and com-

munion at Easter. He also commanded the majority of public offices to be filled by "Catholics" who understood German (December 3d). Then again (March 4th, 1676), that every person should acknowledge the Roman Catholic Church to be the true, undoubted, only apostolic and universal Church. At length (October 1st), that *all* Magistrates and other holders of civil offices should be "Catholics;" and that all the people should embrace the only "saving faith" before the coming Easter. After this he commanded all religious meetings to be suppressed, even in private. While these mandates were coming forth, and resistless persecution spent its fury on every household, the Hungarians again called in an avenger, Emeric Tököly, who came at the head of twenty thousand men, overran upper Hungary, routed the imperial forces as often as he met them, and at last brought Leopold to submission. A freedom, not quite so ample as that obtained by Rákoczy, yet invaluable, if it had been faithfully acted on, was again promised; but an artfully contrived limitation vitiated the compact. The words, "*Salvo jure dominorum terrestrium*," "Saving the right of the lords of the soil," opened a fountain of litigation (A.D. 1681). One period of persecution was closed, indeed; but another soon began. Unrighteous decrees were again issued, and again disobeyed. In the market-place of Eperies, four Christian men were beheaded (March 15th, 1687); then five others (March 22d); and after a brief interval (May 9th), a company of nine there sealed their testimony in death. Every appeal to the King was frustrated by a quibble, or else repelled with scorn. Worship could only be celebrated in a few places named in articles for the privilege, (*loca articularia,*) and scarcely even there. Podolski, a Bishop invested with power over the Thirteen Towns, raged like a demon, until even Lubomirski endeavoured to moderate his fury. But Lubomirski himself caught equal madness, and issued one decree after another of unparalleled ferocity. Death was threatened, rather than inflicted; but absentees from mass were flogged through the streets, and Christian prayer seemed to find no utterance, unless it were in groanings of anguish only audible to God.

The Emperor Joseph I., however, raised up the fallen. His humane and just reign might have healed the wounds of Hungary; but it was short (from 1705 to 1711); and the Clergy knew how to nullify almost every tolerant provision. During the reign of Maria Theresa, the civil disability of Protestantism became fully incorporated in Hungarian law. Before her coronation, a deputation of Protestants solicited the favour of an audience, to ask her to confirm their legitimate rights and privileges (A.D. 1740). But they were told that their heresy disqualified them from approaching the seat of Majesty. Pretending justice, however, she soon afterwards gave her solemn sanction to the concessions of 1681, and their confirmation in the Diet of 1687; but this apparent goodess vanished like the morning dew. Their condition continued without the least amelioration; and their supplications for redress only drew down a command to accommodate themselves to the articles of an intolerant enactment of more recent date (A.D. 1742). Then came a development of the system

of Roman policy, which is carried out, wherever practicable, even in the present day. Societies, having for patron saints St. Stephen and St. Joseph, and an association of nobility, called the Society of Kis Dömölk, the Queen being earthly patroness of all three, were simultaneously established (A.D. 1743), with the common object of extending the only saving faith, and reclaiming heretics. Tired of conversion-soldiers, who had failed to reconquer Bohemia to the Church, the Clergy raised a "Conversion Fund," whose treasurer reported the handsome sum of 108,600 florins, wherewith to bribe members of the population they had pauperized. The devout Queen created new episcopal sees in those parts of the kingdom where the Evangelicals were most numerous, and ratified a permanent system of legal cruelty, which may be compendiously represented thus :—

The right of worship everywhere allowed to non-Catholics is to be exercised in private only, except in certain places. "Preachers" may discourse in those places only. Books written against Protestantism may be read by all persons everywhere. Even lords of the land may not innovate in religion without royal licence. Sick and dying Evangelicals may only be visited in those "articulary places." Non-Catholic Ministers have no right to visit their flocks when scattered on unlicensed ground. Their dead may be buried where grave-yards are allowed, not elsewhere. Let the Superintendents keep their people quiet. Let them give account of their doings to the "Catholic" Bishops. Let the Bishops decide in all matrimonial affairs. Let apostates from the Roman faith be forthwith punished, under direction of the royal Council. Let no "preacher" visit a prisoner : the Priests or Monks must imbue him with the Catholic faith. Apostacy is to be prevented or punished by many minute enactments. All minors who desert the Roman Church, must be shut up in monasteries, and better taught. Bishops and Magistrates must help each other to make sure of the offspring of mixed marriages, and the marriage ceremony must be performed by Priests alone. Non-Catholic schoolmasters must not admit Catholic children to their schools. Schoolmasters must never preach or read sermons. Every chapel into which a foreigner enters must be forfeited. Non-Catholics may teach in lower schools, but not impart the higher elements of education. There must be no Bibles, nor other such books, in schools. Non-Catholics must keep all festivals, and, if artisans, walk in all processions. Magistrates are instructed to make them swear by the Virgin and saints. Except in the articulary places, they must obey the parish Priest, and pay him his fees. Non-Catholics must not bear civil office.

Bárkoczy, Archbishop of Gran, obtained a royal order (A.D. 1763), requiring him to report concerning the manner in which this system had been enforced. Delighted with the commission, he suggested everything which might aggravate the severity of the existing laws, or prevent escape from their execution. The Protestants, alarmed, sent a deputation to Vienna, to represent their wretched condition under the law which it was proposed to make, if possible, yet more oppressive. The Chancellor frowned on them. And the Queen, refusing to look on their petition, commanded that they should be instantly

driven from the city. We cannot trace on these pages the train of persecution which ensued, but can assure the reader that if he meditates on the abstract of law given in the preceding paragraph, and even then imagines every conceivable mode of executing such a law without restraint of humanity, not to say of honesty, he will scarcely be able to arrive at a conception of the nefarious dealings of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Hungary during the reign of Maria Theresa; nor of the sufferings that followed. Joseph II. endeavoured to reverse the policy she had encouraged, and issued an Edict of Toleration for the Empire (A.D. 1781); but it was nullified by the priesthood. From that time until now, under successive Monarchs, persecution has been more subtle, and less conspicuous, because perpetrated in comparative obscurity. The fervour of primitive piety, too, has declined; and Protestantism in Hungary, bereft of external power as well as devoid of inward life, scarcely provokes to enmity, except in periods of political discontent, when the Austrian, impelled by an hereditary consciousness of guilt, and dreading the vengeance which he imagines to be impending over his house, directs the first outbursts of cruelty against the Protestant population, and especially against the Ministers. But persecution for Christ's sake can scarcely take place now in Hungary. Out of a population of nearly twelve millions, four millions bear the name of Protestant; but their Ministers are said to be rationalist, with scarcely an exception; and the people are profoundly ignorant. They are all poor, only "Catholics" being permitted to own land: so that after all the sufferings of their fathers, the children are sunk into the lowest state of social depression and spiritual darkness.*

CHAPTER IX.

AUSTRIA.—*The Empire from the Death of Charles V. to the Emigration from Salzburg, and the Expulsion from Zillerthal in* 1837. FRANCE.—*The Edict of Nantes, with the previous Condition of the Reformed, and Sufferings consequent on the Revocation of that Edict.*

WE have surveyed the once independent kingdoms absorbed into the Austrian empire, as well as the states of Lombardy and Venice, also made subject to the house of Hapsburg. They belonged to the Italian and Slavonian chapters, and in the latter Hungary was included. It remains for us to mark the sufferings of the church of Christ in Austria Proper, and some other imperial territories. This done, a very few pages must be bestowed on the events in France which were referred to at the close of the sixth chapter, as characterizing the counter-reformation which yet awaits a more conspicuous place in history.

* The chief authorities for this chapter are, Krasinski, Reformation in Poland; Regenvolscii Historia Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum; Reformation and Anti-Reformation in Bohemia; Holmes, History of the United Brethren; Cranz, United Brethren; the Historia Eccles. Evangelicæ, &c., in Hungariâ, Halberstadt, 1830; Memorial of Sufferings, &c., in Hungary, London, 1676.

When Ferdinand received the empire from his brother, Charles V.,* he thought it prudent to refrain from extreme measures towards the Protestants where they had sufficient strength to defend themselves, although he persecuted them to death wherever he had the power. He therefore assured his Evangelical subjects in Austria, that they should receive the sacrament of the eucharist in both kinds, without hinderance; and connived, for a time, in an innovation which had but his verbal sanction, and might, without breach of *Roman* faith, be prohibited at a more convenient season. Persecution, as was to be expected, did not cease; and (A.D. 1558) they approached him at Vienna with an importunate supplication that, to put an end, once for all, to divisions on account of religion, he would give them the earnest of peace by allowing them liberty to worship in their houses, and by preventing the imprisonment and exile of innocent Ministers of the Gospel,—men who were incapable of resistance, and were refused the opportunity of defence. He received their prayer very graciously, and told them that he would so conduct himself towards them that they should have no occasion of complaint. Trusting in the word of an Emperor, they imagined themselves free to worship God under their own roofs, at least, and ventured to assemble in numerous and well-ordered congregations. Several Lords had sermons in their castles; and three of them ventured to superscribe and publish a confession of their faith, drawn up by Christopher Reuter, a Minister at Bruck in the Palatinate. Cæsar sat still, watching, and not discouraging, the priestly opposition which such a movement was sure to arouse; and the Bishops instituted an inquisitorial visitation of the churches (A.D. 1559). Following the suggestions of the Jesuits, they did not at first disturb the Evangelical congregations, but appeared to confine themselves to the single work of "reform," with a reserved intention to force the Protestants to insurrection by a rigid execution of the letter of the concessions of Augsburg,† which were only extended to the Lutherans, and even to them were scanty, by interpreting in their own favour every doubtful stipulation, and by revoking every tacit concession. Each new restriction was thus made to appear a chastisement of disobedience rather than an act of persecution. To this end the tribunals were gradually filled with Popish Judges; and the military forces of Spain in the Netherlands were kept ready to enforce decisions.

Ferdinand I., less adventurous than the Romish Clergy, still endeavoured to conceal the appearance of persecution, pressed the Pope to convoke again the Council of Trent, and even supported the demand for communion in both kinds, and marriage of Priests; and, while he failed to hold the confidence of one party, provoked the suspicion of the other. Preparations for the latter sessions of the Council of Trent were carried on with great activity; and in obedience to the will of the Pope and the counsels of the Jesuits, he resolved to stand fair with the Court of Rome by making a manifestation of zeal on their behalf, and therefore published at Prague a second edict,‡ pro-

* August 27th, 1556. See page 332 *supra*. † Page 332 *supra*
‡ See page 331 *supra*, for his first edict.

hibitory of Evangelical worship, banishing the Lutheran preachers, and requiring that their places should be filled by Priests whose orthodoxy the Ordinaries should have certified. But the execution of this edict was checked. The three Evangelical states below the Ens, by their deputies, appeared at Vienna, and successfully implored the interference of Maximilian, the Emperor's brother, King of the Romans, and then his vicegerent at the seat of government. Instead of enforcing the edict, Ferdinand was induced to exert himself to pacify the empire by obtaining concessions from the Pope; and a few days before his death, Pius IV., dreading another schism, sent a Brief, empowering the Priests to administer the holy communion in both kinds. Maximilian II. sympathized with the universal rejoicing at Vienna on the arrival of the Brief, just as he entered into his brother's place; and the twelve years of his reign were not disgraced by active persecution. Two decrees gave liberty of domestic worship to the Reformed in Upper and Lower Austria; and, excepting an order to the University of Vienna to observe Popish ceremonies at funerals, there is scarcely any trace of coercion in his government. Some degree of liberty was even granted to the press;* and by an imperial licence, representatives of the Evangelical states of Lower Austria assembled for public worship in the House of Assembly at Vienna. But this great and good man died before he could mature his plans for the peace of the empire (October 22d, 1576), a member, as some historians affirm, of the Evangelical church.

Rudolph II. next occupied the throne, and reluctantly granted a confirmation of the liberty of worship accorded by his predecessor; but the grant was very soon revoked. During his absence at Prague, the Archduke Ernest, as Imperial Stadtholder, issued a Decree of Reformation, as it was called, at Vienna, and commanded all inhabitants of cities and market-towns who had received the Evangelical religion, to give up their worship, withdraw from the Lutheran preachers, and return to the Church of Rome, or else quit His Imperial Majesty's dominions. They remonstrated against so sudden and unsparing a proscription; besought that they might still "dwell under the gentle wings of the house of Austria in peace and quietness," or be permitted, if they must go, to stay for the short period of five years to dispose of their property. But their prayer was most ungraciously rejected (January 27th, 1579). From Ernest they appealed to Rudolph; but the only answer they obtained was a sort of inquisition carried on against the chief Evangelical burghers of Vienna; and, by way of example, the Stadtholder expelled the Herr Adam Geyer, an eminent Christian, together with his preacher, from court. The booksellers' shops were visited, good books seized, and the usual orders of expurgation issued and enforced. In all that concerned religion, Melchior Clesel, Bishop of Vienna, held the reins; and the Jesuits, whose first care was to displace Protestant schoolmasters, and destroy

* A volume was printed (without name of place) with the title, "Confessio, oder: Christliche Bekandnus des Glaubens etlicher Evangelischen Prediger, in Oesterreich. Anno Christi MDLXVI." And the year after Joachimus Magdeburgius printed his "Confessio, oder Bekäntnis."

Bibles, acted in conjunction with him. Already persecution raged in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, under the government of the Archduke Charles, brother of the deceased Emperor, where the peasantry, goaded into rebellion, were put down by the Uzkokes, wild Slavonian robbers, brought for that purpose from the mountains of Dalmatia. Rudolph half relented for a moment, but his temporary lenity was of no avail. The Archduke destroyed four churches which had been spared at the remonstrance of their possessors in Grätz, Judenburg, Clagenfurt, and Laybach; and, at the same time, caused twelve thousand Bibles and Lutheran books to be thrown into the fire by the public executioner at Grätz (A.D. 1579). The Jesuits revelled in delight. One of them, Scherer, undertook to preach down Lutheranism, declaiming in the pulpits of Vienna; and a Papal commissary presented himself from Rome, with orders to search the monasteries of Austria, and cleanse them from heresy. But the Archduke Ernest would not suffer him to exercise a jurisdiction which might be prejudicial to the imperial authority (A.D. 1581).

Lutheran Ministers were gradually superseded by mass-Priests; and citizens, lured or intimidated, renounced their faith. The nobility, although suffered to have Lutheran worship at home, could not venture to step beyond the circle of their lordships, nor even to receive a Romish peasant into their service. The states, finding themselves unprotected by the Emperor, laid their complaints before the Diet of the empire (A.D. 1582); but even there, where the Protestant Princes might have contended successfully against the violation of the concessions of Augsburg, they were disarmed by the application of a maxim which they had not yet learned to reject as contrary to the spirit of the Gospel: That the vassal must follow the religion of his lord: "*Cujus regio, ejus religio.*" Romish Lords were not to tolerate Evangelical tenants or servants. Nor could Lutheran Lords obtain the services and support of members of the contrary communion to till their grounds and inhabit their villages. The Jesuits, emboldened by this victory, redoubled their efforts to change the religion of those provinces where the doctrine of the Reformation most prevailed; and the state of the law, as well as the temper of their own portion of the magistracy, enabled them to incarcerate several Ministers. But the people broke open the prisons, and set them free. Popular indignation oftentimes transgressed the bounds of law; and at Judenburg, for example, the Archduke would have been murdered, had not a Lutheran Minister saved his life (A.D. 1588). An insurrection broke out in the archbishopric of Salzburg; but the troops, stronger than the peasantry, compelled to peace.

One of those provocations to rebellion which it was the policy of the Jesuits to advise, occurred at Enzersdorf. Adam Geyern, a devoted Minister in that town, was surrounded by a numerous congregation. The work of God flourished in his hands, and the truth spread rapidly in the population. They who could suffer the existence of a dispirited and declining church, could not bear with the prosperity of the Evangelical congregation at Enzersdorf; and Geyern was accused, to the Emperor, of making proselytes. Rudolph, in his

high notion of sovereign power, undertook to seal up the fountain of life around which the inhabitants of Enzersdorf were crowding; and commanded Geyern (A.D. 1585) to limit his care of souls to himself and his family, (*angehörigen Personhnen,*) and forbade him to preach again, or administer sacraments, or inter the dead. Neither in public nor in private was he to preach Christ, or perform a single ministerial act. This reduced him to silence, and dispersed his church. The Evangelicals of Austria, however, made common cause with him. He had not broken any law; but Rudolph had set himself above law, put forth imperial prerogative, and laid the ban of his absolute authority on a defenceless Clergyman. They therefore interposed in the unequal conflict. A large number of Lords and Knights deputed the Land-Marshal, Hans Wilhelm, to present an address to the Archduke, acknowledging that, indeed, the "concessions" of the Diet had only been made to the two estates of Lords and Knighthood; but representing that they had not understood that their Pastors were bound to refuse all hearers of inferior rank, and cease from preaching if they saw artisans in their congregations. On the contrary, they had always thought that the Minister of Christ was bound by his divine Master to proclaim salvation to all, and to win souls out of every rank. They therefore prayed for liberty of worship, as before, and for a withdrawal of the inhibition on Adam Geyern. As so weighty an intercession could not yet be spurned, Rudolph permitted him to resume his functions; but exhorted both him and them to proceed circumspectly, and not give too wide an interpretation to the *letter* of the concessions, under peril of some more decisive sentence. They proceeded circumspectly, no doubt; but Hans Wilhelm atoned for having troubled the Emperor with the presentation of an ungrateful petition by turning Papist, and compelling his dependents to do the same. The church at Enzersdorf gained a brief respite, and so existed for a little longer under the imperial frown; but the entire lordship of Roggendorf was added to the Church of Rome in Austria, and the Jesuits were well pleased with the issue. The uselessness of petition was fully demonstrated by the suppression of the Lutheran church at Bruck shortly afterwards, where lived Christopher Reuter, author of the Evangelical Confession that was first published in the reign of Ferdinand I., and his associates in that act, never to be forgiven (A.D. 1586). Again the Evangelical states complained; but the answer was a command to many Ministers to be silent (A.D. 1587); and, ere long, the persecuted Evangelist of Enzersdorf was compelled to take his wandering-staff; and the Pastor of Wesensdorf was also driven into exile (A.D. 1589). Even exiles were pursued into their places of refuge, and especially at Aix-la-Chapelle, as we shall have occasion presently to notice.

The way was now open for a systematic effort to destroy the church of God. Ferdinand appointed Melchior Clesel, Provost of the Minster of Vienna,* to the new office of Reformer-General in Austria (A.D.

* Afterwards made Bishop, and eventually raised to the cardinalate. He also became Prime Minister, and exerted a commanding influence over the Emperor Matthias.

1590), and put the following instructions into his hand:—"1. That before he proceeds to any place on the business of reformation, he must provide himself, at court, with written credentials. 2. So soon as he arrives at the place, he must exhibit the written credentials, and begin reformation, according to the circumstances of the place, the time, and the quality of the men to be reformed; and be especially careful that everything be carried on in peace and unity. 3. Where one or more burghers or inhabitants refuse to render due obedience to the spiritual authorities, and to their head, His Majesty will not object to their being put under arrest, but not taken to prison, and so kept until they shall have reversed their faith, presented themselves at confession, and received the excellent sacrament. It is to be understood, however, that such arrests shall not take place until they become absolutely necessary; nor unless His Majesty's resolution thereon shall have been previously obtained. 4. When the obedient in such cities and towns have confessed and communicated, Clesel shall immediately, at the Council-House, declare that the disobedient burghers or inhabitants, being under arrest, are to be banished from His Majesty's kingdoms and hereditary lands within three months; and shall therefore intimate the Decree of Reformation to every Council in these terms. But, on the other hand, it is added, proceedings affecting their persons and property must be taken with caution, and only so far as may be found proper on a consideration of circumstances: the time of emigration may be deferred or dispensed with; and every judgment must be reported to the Emperor or to his Stadtholder. 5. But if there be hinderers of reformation, whatever rebels of the sort be found in any city, who, by words or conduct, stir up tumult among the inhabitants, it shall there be free to Clesel and his commissaries to throw such obstructors into prison without delay, and to keep them there until they shall have sent information to the Emperor or his Stadtholder, and received the imperial decision thereupon. 6. So that all that shall have been done in each city and town shall be circumstantially reported at court; and, for sake of greater authority, shall be ratified through a distinct writing at that city or town, never more to be called in question." Contrast these instructions of Cæsar with the instructions given by our Lord Jesus Christ to the seventy and to the twelve.

The operations of Clesel and his commissaries were conducted with a steady, dexterous, relentless hand; and however copious may have been their reports to the court, comparatively little has transpired in history. We only know, that for the space of three years the Inquisitorial Reformation advanced without a check; and that the progress of Clesel through the provinces was sustained by an entire restoration of Popish ceremonies and of scholasticism in the University of Vienna, where biblical exposition was prohibited, and where adversaries of the truth were again completely equipped for future action (A.D. 1594). It has always been a first point with the Roman Court to corrupt the Universities of Europe. But every act of Rudolph in Vienna was of the same kind. While the Protestant Professors were dismissed from the University, the nobles and knights who had so long enjoyed the

privilege of worshipping in the House of Assembly were threatened, and the Minister, Opitz, sentenced to silence. The sentence was not at once carried into execution, but burghers were forbidden to hear his sermons; and the congregation was transferred to a room too small to admit a numerous concourse. And when these restrictions had provoked general remonstrance, it pleased Rudolph and the Jesuits to treat the remonstrants as rebels, banish the complaining Ministers, disperse the remnant of the congregation in Vienna, and replace Opitz by a Popish Priest.

Such governors could not be equitable in their general administration; and besides acts of oppression on account of religion, their subjects would have to complain of many others. This was the case in Austria; and the despotism of Rudolph provoked an insurrection of the peasants on both sides of the Ens,—an insurrection in which the Evangelicals did not lead, and which the Ministers would gladly have prevented, but which has been laid to their charge by bigoted and coldly-liberal historians* (A.D. 1594 and 1595). The empire was thus plunged into the miseries of civil war. Evangelicals and rebels were confounded into one mass, on which the troops were commissioned to spend their fury; and while the engines of war were thus worked in the service of the Church of Rome,—for that Church made full use of the opportunity,—Rudolph waged the twofold war of despotism and persecution with redoubled fury. This drove the Evangelical states to a defensive alliance, which was formed at Frankfort (December 12th, 1598), to resist the aggressions of the Pope, to defend their civil and religious liberties, and to refuse contributions for war against the Turks, until the scourge of civil war should cease to be laid upon themselves by their own Sovereign. They sent a deputation to the Emperor with a respectful declaration of their grievances, which he handed over to the consideration of the Archduke Matthias; but it lay neglected, and there was neither truce nor pity (A.D. 1599). The imperial commissioners for the so-called reformation, the Jesuits George Scherer and John Zehender, prosecuted their work with astute perseverance, and not without success. In Linz, Wels, and Steyer, as they boasted, every trace of Evangelical Reformation was obliterated (A.D. 1600), and throughout the empire. Protestants were excluded from the magistracy, in order that the members of the Reformed communions might nowhere find redress or protection, or exercise any social influence, if that could be prevented. These measures, with another severe edict (*Religions-Patent*), far from quenching the spirit of resistance, strengthened it, and provoked new revolt. Such a revolt took place in the archbishopric of Salzburg (A.D. 1601); and here Cæsar endeavoured to put it down by milder means, exhorting the inhabitants not to meddle with politics, and telling them that he refrained from giving them commandment about religion. But as commandment was already given, and the Jesuits were everywhere occupying the churches, and the commissaries

* Such an one is Archdeacon Coxe, whose history of the House of Austria, full of chronological confusion, discovers little perception of causes and effects; and for sinister exhibition of the Protestantism of Germany, it might have been written by a Jesuit.

"reforming" the towns, the majority of that little state agreed to answer that "their bodies belonged to Cæsar, their souls to God; they would suffer no Popish emissaries, but would have Lutheran preachers, and not leave their souls to be deprived of food." The tide now turned.* It became impossible to crush state after state: the confederacy of Frankfort ripened into the more powerful alliance of Heidelberg (A.D. 1603), and eventually obtained a capitulation from the Archduke Matthias, who aspired to the empire, waiting for the decease of Rudolph, and granted free exercise of religious worship throughout Austria (A.D. 1609); but only served himself in a political exigency, without the least intention of abiding by the grant.

Bound by the necessity of his situation, Matthias, when Emperor, could not head a general persecution in Austria, but found opportunity to persecute elsewhere; and the sufferings of the Protestants in Aix-la-Chapelle and Mülheim evidenced his willingness to serve the Pope. During the Spanish persecution in the Netherlands, a multitude of Protestants, bringing considerable wealth with them, had found refuge in the free town of Aix-la-Chapelle. By this immigration the town was much enlarged, the great majority of the inhabitants were Evangelical, the commerce of the place depended on them, and the original population became comparatively small and poor. The Diet of the empire had not granted them freedom of worship; but when the government of the town had fallen into their hands, they had their own churches and Ministers, as matter of course. The Duke of Juliers, Protector of the town, rebuked them for this liberty. The Romish minority, finding that his rebuke was not heeded, appealed to the Emperor Rudolph, who sent the Duke of Juliers and the Bishop of Liege as commissaries to settle the dispute; and these demanded the removal of the Lutheran Magistrates, and *the keys of the town*. The magistracy and the population reasonably refused submission; and when the Duke and the Bishop returned with Spanish troops and besieged Aix-la-Chapelle, the inhabitants so bravely defended the place, that the soldiers of the Church could not take it, but retreated with dishonour (A.D. 1589). Their right to a good use of the freedom of the city was thus confirmed, and for some years partially exercised; for the Emperor would not hazard hostility with the Protestant states of Germany by a refusal, although he deferred to answer their petition to be recognised as an Evangelical town. Their Magistrates were, at the same time, excluded from the Town-Council, and some of them even banished as rebels. So they were gradually overpowered by help of Jesuits; and Matthias proscribed the Protestants, and (February 20th, 1614) appointed the Archduke Albert and the

* This crisis was hastened by a remarkable event. For many years the free imperial town of Donawerth, in Bavaria, had been almost wholly Protestant. There was but one Romish establishment in it, a Benedictine monastery. Processions had not been allowed. But again and again they were attempted. On those occasions the people disturbed them; and the Magistrates forbade the illegal exhibitions. But the Abbot appealed to the Aulic Council; the Council took up his cause, and the Emperor enforced the decision of the Council by turning them over to the Romish Duke of Bavaria, who took military possession of the town, seized the churches, abolished the independence of Donawerth, and proscribed the Protestant religion. The Evangelical Princes complained in the Diet of Ratisbon.

Archbishop of Cologne to execute his decision. Mülheim (now Düsseldorf) was another free town, and truly free; for it enjoyed liberty of worship, having been originally a Protestant settlement, formed by the congregation of refugees, exiles for Christ's sake, from various parts of Germany, and from the Netherlands. The colony became prosperous, the town strong. Its battlements, overlooking the Rhine, were complained of by Cologne; and Matthias ordered the inhabitants to suspend their new buildings, and the Princes possessors to demolish the fortifications within thirty days. They refused obedience; but thirty thousand Spanish soldiers settled the affair, and Mülheim ceased to be an asylum for the persecuted (A.D 1614).

Ferdinand II., the devotee of Loretto, was crowned Emperor at Frankfort (August 30th, 1619), and swore in earnest to keep his sword, already stained with Christian blood, unsheathed in the service of the Church. Gregory XV. trusted in him for an entire subjugation of the empire to the Apostolic See, and forthwith doubled the subsidy for maintaining the crusade against heretics, making it 20,000 scudi every year, and sent him a present of 200,000 scudi. He urged him to hasten the great work of restoring the "Catholic religion," and thus to prove his gratitude to the God of victory; and encouraged him to play the despot vigorously, by writing that the nations, by rebellious backslidings, had fallen under the necessity of more severe control, and should be compelled, by force, to abandon their ungodly ways. Carlo Caraffa was sent as Nuncio to the court of Ferdinand,* charged to stimulate and guide him in the work. We have seen the effect of his nunciature in Bohemia and Moravia, whence no fewer than fifteen thousand of the *Unitas Fratrum* were mercilessly driven. The instructions given by the Pope to this Ambassador (April 12th, 1621) are characterized by a purely Roman policy. Lest the Protestants should uproot the house of Austria, seize on the imperial throne, and then rush into Italy and plunder the mistress of the world, Caraffa was to devote his entire attention to some important points. These were,—The strengthening of the empire by Catholics: the establishment of the "Catholic religion," by Romanizing the Universities, occupying the schools, teaching by Catechisms, and giving the common people licence to sing Romish hymns in vernacular languages, managing the press, employing the Jesuits, establishing charitable institutions for the poor, and preventing the appointment of Protestants to civil offices: the restoration of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Clergy, who disliked the decrees of the Council of Trent: the restoration of Papal authority over the Emperors, who hindered the circulation of Bulls and excommunications: the re-adjustment of German relations with Italy: the exercise of personal influence over Ferdinand, chiefly by means of Father Beccano, his Confessor, and by the Jesuits: finally, the recovery of Church property in the countries occupied by heretics. None of these points were missed.

Caraffa, after eight years' toil, gained the honour of reconquering a

* Caraffa made sure of historic fame, by writing an account of his exploits during eight years in the court of Austria. The book is called, "Commentaria de Germania sacra restaurata."

great part of the empire; but our present field is Austria Proper. Here the anti-reformation began in greater earnest than ever. An Inquisition, more Austrian than Spanish, was established in Vienna, and all classes of persons fell under its vigilance. Did a foreigner wish permission of residence? He must be a Catholic. Did the citizens, or burghers, attempt to offer prayer in their families? They were told that only Lords and Knights were allowed that privilege. Did any one, even in private conversation, express reluctance to renounce his faith? He was advised to quit the country, and to withdraw quietly. Then came a decree of Cæsar (June, 1623), ordaining that no one thenceforth might be a burgher of the "residence-city," nor hold office there, unless he were a Catholic. Environed with Jesuits, the Emperor was not troubled with any visible manifestation of nonconformity in his "residence-city." Lutheran Ministers dared not dwell there; but with extreme caution they visited their flocks from house to house, and, dwelling outside the gates, administered the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist in their own houses, where also they assembled small congregations. But this did not continue long. David Steudlin, Minister of Hornals, a place four miles from Vienna, had been requested to visit a sick person in the city; but his visit was marked, objected to as an ecclesiastical act, and he was forbidden to repeat it. An edict, again (A.D. 1624), forbade any exercise of the Lutheran religion, public or private, in Vienna, or any other imperial city; and the chief Magistrate of Vienna commanded the guards to watch strictly at the gates, and not allow any preacher to enter under any pretext. Another edict (September 9th), addressed to all sorts of people,—for the nobility had no longer any religious privilege,—commanded that, from the day of its date, no one should go to Hornals, or elsewhere, when an *exercitium* (religious service) or a sacrament was to be celebrated. Under peril of severe punishment, the inhabitants were required to avoid intercourse with non-Catholic preachers, and to shun all visits to heretics, all celebrations of marriages and baptisms, or other unauthorized ceremonies. The Rector of the University issued a similar mandate to all Doctors of every faculty, masters, nobles, licentiates, bachelors, procurators, and students, as well as to printers, booksellers, and all others connected with the University. Two general mandates (August 30th and October 4th) warned the people of Upper Austria against collusion with enemies, and intercourse with Evangelical preachers, a folk seditious and proscribed. All members of Evangelical churches above the Ens were commanded to put away their preachers and schoolmasters within eight days, never to return. The disobedient were threatened with punishment in body and goods. Four commissaries followed up these mandates by their operations, turning out Lutheran preachers, and putting Priests in their pulpits. Petitions were sent from both Upper and Lower Austria, imploring the Emperor to stay those proceedings; but in vain. His will was not to be resisted.

If Ferdinand would have listened, he might have heard the wailings of his impoverished and exiled subjects on every hand; if he would

have seen, he might have read piteous appeals; but the Confessor, the Nuncio, and the Jesuits were careful to prepossess the avenues to his conscience, and he issued another mandate (March 20th, 1625), commanding all the non-Catholic inhabitants of Vienna to acquaint themselves with the "Catholic belief," and make themselves known as converts within four months. The reply to this summons was given at the city-gates, by a stream of emigration which soon began: house after house remained without inhabitant, and thousands more prepared to go. The chief Magistrate then ordered all Evangelical inhabitants to send their wives, servants, and children to mass; and a few women and children did appear, but their countenances bespoke terror and aversion, their presence drew forth a dangerous compassion, and Caraffa complained that "they did more harm than good." The outcasts, however, assembled in great numbers at Hornals, under the privilege of the Baron Helmhard Jogern. Twenty thousand of them braved the threatenings of the Emperor by worshipping in the open air on the Lord's day; and from week to week the number swelled, until fifty thousand, divided into several congregations, each with its own preacher, sang loudly long-forbidden hymns. Standing between life and death, they opened their hearts to welcome the word of God, and resigned their homes and fortunes into his hands. A few years earlier, before the Roman Consistory had determined not to kill, as formerly, but to impoverish, starve, banish, and exterminate by corrupt tribunals and by civil warfare, such a multitude would have been massacred on the ground. But Ferdinand did not disturb them thus. He knew that those gatherings could not long continue; and, to prevent the recurrence of any like them, he dislodged the Baron by confiscating his estates. This being done, and his domestic jurisdiction annulled, two commissaries summoned his subjects to submit to Cæsar and to the Church. The greater part of them professed to do so; and the lordship of Hornals was transferred to the Chapter of St. Stephen's. The wanderers then attempted to assemble at Inzerstorf, three quarters of a mile south of the city, but were at once routed. It only remained to supersede by Papists a few jurists and physicians in the chairs of the University, and the residence-city of Ferdinand II. was swept of heresy. Once more Rome resounded with triumph. The year 1625 was one of jubilee; prayers were offered throughout Popedom for the overthrow of the Saviour's kingdom, which they fancied to be almost effected; the young Congregation "for the Propagation of the Faith" saw a new field of glory opening before them; and the palace of that Congregation, then founded by Urban VIII., stands in the city of the Popes as a monument of the first decisive victory of Romanism in the seventeenth century.

Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, emulated the zeal of Ferdinand. The Count Von Herberstorf, his Stadtholder of Linz, represented the ducal authority over that town by giving his soldiers licence to plunder and kill all heretics on whom they could lay hands; and they fulfilled their commission to the letter. The course of destruction in Bavaria was rapid and resistless. Civil privileges, one after the other, were

withdrawn from the Lutherans. Their children were torn from their arms, and educated to be Papists. They were even deprived of power to make their will. In 1624 all known Lutherans were driven out of the country. In 1625 the ceremonial of Popery was restored with all possible magnificence. In 1626, at Easter, it was appointed that all heresy should be suppressed throughout the country. This was more than the Bavarians could suffer without resentment; but they might have refrained from violence if an act of barbarism had not roused them. Some Priests entered a church at a place called Zwiespalten, belonging to the expelled Lutherans, and were purifying the building, in their way, by fumigation, when a body of peasantry drove them out. Herberstorf was at hand, heard of the incident, marched his troops into the place, seized seventeen of the offenders, and hanged them up on the tower and under the eaves of the church. That wanton compound of murder and sacrilege was too much to be borne; and the indignant population rose together, defeated the murderer in a pitched battle at Peurbach, leaving twelve hundred of his men in the field, and himself a fugitive at Linz. But no popular force in a single state can withstand an army; and the Protestant religion expired in Bavaria with a general massacre of the insurgents, excepting a feeble remnant, who were converted to the "mother and mistress of all churches" by the horrible ministry of Jesuits and soldiers. But not only in Bavaria, in Upper and Lower Austria people of all ranks united to save their fatherland from those hated edicts. In March and April, 1626, the commissioners, stimulated to excess by an earnest hortatory epistle from Ferdinand to expedite the business of reformation, provoked rebellion, which was just what the Jesuits desired. First a company of eight thousand peasants rose in arms, and then many thousands more rallied round their standard, on which, and on their banners, was this device:—

"Weil 's gilt die seel, und auch das blut,
So geb uns, Gott, ein heldenmuth."

"While glows the life and flows the blood,
So give us, God, a courage good."

There was no lack of courage, nor of leaders; but it pleases not God that his cause should be either destroyed or won by carnal weapons. They who took the sword perished by it. Ferdinand, after suppressing the rebellion, prohibited preachers and schoolmasters in Lower Austria, where the privileges granted by Matthias had not as yet been formally abolished; but still, within the gates of strong castles, parties of devout worshippers would assemble on the Lord's day, without Ministers, to hear sermons and postils read, and offer prayer (A.D. 1627), until a mandate forbade the reading of Lutheran books, as well as marriages and baptisms. One absolute prohibition of all Protestant persons, things, and doctrines, now had force in every province of the Austrian empire. The Lords and Knights of Upper Austria emigrated. The peasantry, groaning under dire oppression, looked to Sweden and other Protestant states for help; but vain was the help of man. To all human appearance the fall of Evangelical

religion was made irreparable by an edict (A.D. 1629), which enforced the restitution of all ecclesiastical property confiscated since the treaty of Passau. By this edict, the Protestant archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, eleven bishoprics, and numberless monastic lands, were restored to the Romanists. But this was not all. The commissioners employed to carry this "Restitution-Edict" into effect, went beyond the term fixed by the treaty of Passau, and transferred a vast amount of wealth to the hands of the Emperor and his family, who did not hesitate to help themselves to Church-lands. The whole of the confiscated monastic property was given to the Jesuits.

Romanism had gained a signal conquest, but it was dearly bought. The empire was impoverished, and, excepting the spoils gathered by the Jesuits, the Ecclesiastics derived no advantage from it. The secular Clergy murmured, because overlooked in the distribution of the booty; and even the Emperor doubted the soundness of the policy he had followed. Cardinal Clesel, too, saw that the proceedings of Caraffa, although justified by the doctrine and practice of his Church, were insufficient to attain the end proposed; and after three years' reflection on the Restitution-Edict, gave it as his opinion that the mandate of emigration was injurious to the lords of the soil, who lost thereby the good-will of their subjects, the revenue of their estates, and souls. They lost good-will, because the country where people were treated like rogues or thieves was sure to be forsaken. They lost revenue, because the wealthy would go first, carrying away property, and leaving commerce to decay. And souls were lost, because non-Catholics could not be induced, by such a measure, to become Catholics, but left the country with their children; so that in other lands, and from generation to generation, error would be perpetuated. He therefore advised that, instead of compelling them to emigrate, the elder should be allowed to remain in the land, but without congregations for worship, or schools of their own; so that their children would, for want of Protestant worship and instruction, become "Catholics," and their descendants, consequently, would be in the bosom of the Church. Thus, he reasoned, money would be kept in the country, commerce would thrive, and landlords would no longer see their estates deserted. But he suggested that, whenever a non-Catholic did anything illegal, the opportunity should be taken to punish him severely, both in body and goods (A.D. 1632). Experience had suggested this counsel: a softer method of dealing with heretics was thenceforth adopted in Lower Austria. Protestants were allowed to exercise private devotion, (*privat andacht,*) but so carefully, that not a sound of worship should reach the public ear. And the new discipline was enforced so strictly, that when Johann Anthon, Prince of Eggenberg, had married the Princess Anna Maria, Margravine of Brandenburg-Culmbach, and brought home with her in the ostensible character of private Secretary a Lutheran Minister, Johann Speckern, because the singing of hymns was heard in his castle, the Minister was banished by an imperial order.

A German historian shall describe the state of the empire on the death of Ferdinand II. "On his accession to the throne, he found

Austria Lutheran, thickly peopled, and prosperous. He left her Catholic, depopulated, and impoverished. He found in Bohemia three million Hussites dwelling in flourishing cities and villages. He left merely seven hundred and eighty thousand Catholic beggars. Silesia, happy and blooming, was laid desolate: most of her little cities and villages had been burnt to the ground, her inhabitants put to the sword. Saxony, the Mere, and Pomerania had shared the same melancholy fate. Mecklenburg and the whole of Lower Saxony had been ruined by battles, sieges, and invasions. Hesse lay utterly waste. In the Palatinate, the living fed upon the dead, mothers on their babes, brethren on each other. In the Netherlands, Liege, Luxemburg, Lorraine, similar scenes of horror were of frequent occurrence. The whole of the Rhenish provinces lay desert. Swabia and Bavaria were almost entirely depopulated. The Tyrol and Switzerland had escaped the horrors of war, but were ravaged by pestilence. Such was the aspect of Europe on the death of Ferdinand II., who, like an aged hyæna, expired amidst mouldering bones and ruins."* Yet this hyæna was one of the most honoured sons of the Church; and, if ever he relented for a moment, the circumstance was attributed to Satanic influence: the Monks piously exhorted him to maintain his character by perseverance in the good work of exterminating heretics.†

So things continued until the peace of Westphalia (A.D. 1648), when the treaty provided "that, as for the Counts, Barons, and nobles *then resident* in Lower Austria, although the right of reforming the exercise of religion belonged to His Cæsarean Majesty no less than to other Kings and Princes, yet, in consideration of the intervention of His Majesty the King of Sweden, and in consideration of the intercession of the states of the Augustan Confession, he permits that such Counts, Barons, and nobles shall not be obliged, on account of that Confession, to give up their homes or property; nor shall even be forbidden to frequent places beyond their own domains in order to the exercise of their religious worship, provided that, *in other respects*, they live quietly and peaceably, and conduct themselves well towards the Sovereign Prince. But, if they choose to emigrate, they may sell their real property or not, as they please, and return freely to inspect and manage their affairs." For Lower Austria this was a sorry measure of toleration; and even this was soon limited by a distinct patent (April 3d, 1651), denouncing severe punishment on a numerous class of persons if they should attempt to share the benefit of the peace of Westphalia. The accustomed work of compulsory "reformation" went steadily forward. Ferdinand III., shortly before his death, ordered a religious census to be taken of the inhabitants of Vienna (A.D. 1657), and, had it been effected, notwithstanding the comparative liberality and justice of this Emperor, the consequences might have been disastrous.

Death brooded over Austria. From that day until now there has

* Menzel, History of Germany, chap. ccx., Mrs. Horrock's Translation.
† Ranke, History of the Popes, book vii., chap. 1.

been scarcely any stirring of spiritual life, except among a few poor mountaineers in Salzburg and the Tyrol.

In the Tefferecken thal, a valley of Salzburg, as in all the neighbouring mountain-country, multitudes of the peasantry cherished the revived Christianity of the Reformation,—Luther's German Bible was their chief book. They worshipped God in secret; and, having no ecclesiastical organization, had not been exposed to the persecution that had raged elsewhere. But vital godliness appears to have revived amongst them; their number increased; and the Priests became aware of their existence, and tried the usual methods of "conversion." These methods utterly failing, the Jesuits seized the children, in order to train them up for Popery, and expelled the parents (A.D. 1685). A second emigration took place in the next year, in which their preacher, Joseph Schaitberger, by whose means, chiefly, the Gospel had been recently spread in those valleys, was also compelled to leave. The fugitives made their way to Augsburg, where they found refuge, declared their faith, were examined by Lutheran Ministers, and cordially welcomed to the bosom of that church. Schaitberger was a miner, and, on account of his preaching, had suffered imprisonment; but even from the prison sent forth a written confession of his faith. From Nuremberg he published many writings, and especially an "Evangelical Epistle" to his brethren who remained behind,—a work full of instruction and encouragement, and which is still read with admiration in the same country.

Leopold Anthony von Firmian became Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg in 1729, having purchased the *pallium* of Benedict XIII. for 100,000 dollars. Tribute and obedience from the entire territory, four hundred square miles in extent, were his. Ardently devoted to the pleasures of the table and the chase, he left the management of affairs to a Tyrolese, known as Chancellor Räll, or—as he chose to Italianize his name, the Archbishop's court consisting chiefly of Italians—Da Rallo. During the forty-four years which had elapsed since the exile of Schaitberger and his companions, the seed of truth had been diligently sown in secret. Congregations often assembled at night in the depths of native forests, and in the recesses of the mountains. Bibles, buried in the wilderness, were taken up and read in those assemblies, and then covered with earth again, the owners not venturing to disclose the places of concealment even to their wives or children. For a time they conformed to the ceremonies of Romanism; but the reluctant conformity soon declined; and after the lapse of more than a generation, the Reformation had spread so far and sunk so deep, that it could not be hidden in the desert any longer. Firmian might not have suffered his voluptuous retreat in the archiepiscopal palace to be disturbed by cares of religion; but the Pope had given back half the price of the *pallium* to Räll, in order to engage his diligence in uprooting the Reformation. Some good men had refused compliance with the profanity and superstition of their neighbours; and this honourable singularity being taken as a mark of heresy, they were required to conform. "Praised be Jesus Christ," being the common salutation of the country, even drunkards and gamesters used it. The

Reformed would not comply with that custom, fearing to take the sacred name in vain; and some of them were flogged by order of the Archbishop, bound up awry with dislocated limbs, and exposed to hunger and cold in the depth of winter. Under every infliction the sufferers maintained their integrity, and sent messengers to the Diet of Ratisbon (January, 1730), to implore protection, according to the terms of the peace of Westphalia. But as the pious Salzburgers had never united themselves either to the Lutheran or Calvinist communions, the Baron von Zillerberg, Firmian's representative in the Diet, succeeded in defrauding them of the benefit of that treaty; and when the deputies returned, they were thrown into prison.

Firmian then applied to the Emperor Charles VI., and obtained an order to the Bailiff, the Count Von Seeau, to take a census of the inhabitants, separating the Evangelical. Accompanied by two Capuchin Monks, Von Seeau went to the salt-works at Hallstadt, to Ischel, and to Aussee, and, having convened large companies of workmen, addressed them in the name of Cæsar. Most glad, said he, should he be to find that they were all good Catholics, and that they always had been such; but he knew that some among them had dissembled. He desired to ascertain what parents had allowed their children to pass over to Lutheranism, they remaining Catholic; and what children, on the other hand, remained constant to the ancient faith, after their fathers had forsaken it. This being made known, he could easily calculate how many parents and children were united in the same faith. He earnestly exhorted them not to dissemble any longer, by appearing outwardly to be Catholics while they were Lutherans in heart; but promised that they who were not Catholics in full sincerity should not suffer any temporal damage, although he would much prefer to have Catholic workmen under his jurisdiction. Therefore he strictly commanded every one that was not Catholic, to apply to the superior authority for permission to quit the country, which he might then do without the slightest hinderance, and depart at any time with wife, children, and any little property he might possess. This announcement spread alarm throughout the country; for as the injunction came by command of the Emperor, and at the instance of their Lord the Archbishop, and as the Diet had suffered them to lose the benefit of the peace of Westphalia, they had no earthly refuge, and could only cry to God for help.

Firmian's Chancellor and the Jesuits allowed some months to pass away, imagining that fear might do its work, the fervour of devotion chill, and the number of volunteers for banishment diminish by desertions to the Church dominant. But the Lord's host was not to be struck with panic. Bräll, therefore, undertook to complete the task for which he had been paid, and, attended by two companions (July 9th), went from one chief town-council to another, took account of the names, incomes, and property of the Evangelical part of the population, and invited them to state their grievances. On hearing from all the same complaint of exclusion from the benefit of toleration—for it was but a bare toleration—enjoyed by other subjects of the empire, he advised them, if they must retain their opinions, to

keep them private, and worship God in their own way secretly, just make their appearance at church, purchase favour of their Prelate-Prince by mere outward conformity, be quiet, and peaceably submit. Thus he went from town to town, everywhere calling in the peasantry from the neighbourhood; but at each place his amazement became greater, when crowds of Protestants fearlessly avowed themselves, and showed that the dreaded Gospel had found entrance into the hearts of all classes. The clerks had collected twenty thousand six hundred and seventy-eight names of bold confessors, and among them were eight hundred and fifty wealthy families. At this his tone lowered, his proposals grew more liberal, and the Evangelicals began to fancy that they were to obtain redress, and even rise into favour. But no Priest bestowed a smile: it was the Chancellor alone who had hesitated to drive so great a multitude to despair, and the Archbishop gave no confirmation to his promises.

The illusion was instantly dispelled. Firmian spoke in a soft-worded, crafty edict, echoing, at first reading, the words of his commissioner; but when perused more closely a second time, he was clearly understood to say that nothing more had been promised than an investigation of grievances, but that troops would enforce his pleasure, and offer them princely favour at the sword's point (July 30th). They appealed to Cæsar, but could not gain a hearing. The Emperor refused to interfere between the Archbishop and his vassals. Every appearance of resistance towards a Priest, however slight, was noted, and the offender punished as a traitor. Every effort of self-protection drew down the penalty denounced on rebels. No prospect now remained but that of a general emigration. Yet they knew not how, nor whither. In this perplexity several heads of families resolved to call a general meeting, in order to determine what should be done. At the dawn of day, on Sunday, August 5th, 1731, a great multitude gathered in the valley of the Schwarzach, where already assemblages had been holden, and awaited, in solemn silence, the decision of their elders. A table was placed in the midst, and on the table a vessel filled with salt. One hundred aged men knelt round it, and remained thus for some time in prayer. Then they rose from their knees, and each plunged his right hand in the stream, dipped a wet finger in the salt, and all the hundred, raising their hands towards heaven, swore to be faithful to God, to his Gospel, and to each other, and to abide united under every trial. The salt was then poured out upon the ground.* After this ceremony they consulted how to lighten the common burden of affliction, and agreed to send messengers to Regensburg, in Bavaria, and to the Protestant Princes, to solicit admission and shelter in their dominions; and to inquire how many of the twenty thousand expected immigrants might be received in each. This was the great Council of the Salt-Bond (*Salz-Bund*).

* Numerous examples of the use of salt in covenants and bonds might easily be collected on classic testimony. It would probably be found, that in Salz-Burg, with the Salz-Amt, on the river Salza, and amidst the Salz-Bergen and Salz-Werke, the use of salt (*salz*) on such national occasions was already an established custom, and not an arbitrary ceremony, as some writers imagine. The flowing water, the native salt, the beloved soil, the ambient sky, like the oil and the stone, and the "heap of witness" of the patriarchs, were called on to attest.

When the report of this meeting reached the Archbishop, he became very lofty, and called for military help to subdue the movement which he regarded as rebellious. Priests ransacked the houses of the Protestants, seized Bibles and other books, and burnt them openly; troops were reported to be on their march towards Salzburg, a cry of horror ran through the principality, people hurried together and armed themselves, to resist the imminent invasion. A thousand imperial infantry first entered (September). Then came the dragoon regiment of Prince Eugene, the regiment of Staremberg, and another of cuirassiers from Prince Philip of Wurtemberg. Before this armament the thought of resistance was relinquished, and the people, on the first summons, peacefully submitted to be disarmed. Six thousand foreign soldiers, patrolling from town to town and village to village, watched the roads, that none might escape, took possession of the houses of Protestants, and expelled the tenants. A long flourishing domain suddenly lay waste. Incited by the Priests, most of those soldiers lost every feeling of humanity, and preyed on every householder into whose dwelling it seemed good to them to enter, even if he were not a heretic. Flight was hindered, letters broken open, every complainer charged with rebellion, the prisons crammed, age insulted, the utmost licentiousness unreined. The winter snows drove down the shepherds with their flocks from the mountains; but they trembled to find themselves amidst the violated abodes of men. At last Prince Eugene's dragoons laid down their arms in remorse and horror, weary of the barbarities they had been ordered to commit; but the Archbishop sent swift couriers to Vienna, requesting that Charles would recall them. Meanwhile the Salzburgers prudently refrained from every hostile demonstration, and their messengers applied to the Emperor for relief; but he threw them into prison at Linz, as rebels; and at the courts of the Protestant Princes the agents of both the Archbishop and Emperor, with the assistance of all the partisans that ecclesiastical influence could raise, represented their own victims as political malcontents, so that asylum was almost everywhere refused to them. Frederic William I. of Prussia was the only one who would have befriended that Christian population; but his remonstrances and intercession were not heeded. At last it was permitted them to go to the Protestant states of Germany: yet they were chased out, instead of being dismissed without further outrage. Men were seized when at work in the fields, carried to the frontiers, and never saw their families again. Upwards of a thousand selected boys were torn from their parents, and given to the Jesuits for education. The parents were then gathered into companies, driven away by soldiers, and hooted by the Romish population as they passed to the banks of the Salza, to be shipped off, or as they crossed the Bavarian frontier on foot. Already plundered and impoverished, they had not sufficient means to procure sustenance by the way; and, until they reached friendly territories, the Papists assailed them with every expression of contempt and aversion. Yet they did not murmur, nor turn back, but sang, in their Tyrolese dialect,—

"A wandering exile here I roam,
No other name is mine;
For God's truth driven from land and home,
Yet I will not repine,
Since thou, my Saviour, didst for me
The path of grief not shun:
So that I may but follow thee,
Let all thy will be done."

A small part of the wanderers had been sent away by ships; but eighteen thousand entered Bavaria, and of these three thousand perished before they could cross the country, falling overpowered by fatigue, and victims to the cruelty of the Bavarians. Most of them were welcomed in Prussia, others found homes in Wurtemberg, Nuremberg, and Hesse; and a few went to Holland and North America (A.D. 1732). The total number of exiles and fugitives could scarcely have been lower than thirty thousand.

The Prince-Archbishop had said, when told of the large number whom he was going to expatriate, that he would clear the country of heretics, although it should afterwards produce nothing but thorns and thistles. As far as human eye could search, they were now all expelled; and the Pope rewarded him with lavish praise, and the title of *Excelsus*, "LOFTY." But the Clergy could not believe that the work of expurgation was complete, as, indeed, it was not; and therefore an Inquisition was established. Missionaries went from house to house under a show of meek devotion, listened to the conversation of unsuspecting women and children, and then the families were visited with confiscation, imprisonment, and banishment. "The *Reck*, or 'Rack-Tower,' in the fortress of Werfen, was used exclusively for the torture of heretics, who were slung within its dark walls, at an immense depth, by chains. According to the assertion of a traitor, Vitus Loitscherger, no fewer than two hundred persons were, in 1743, delivered to the Inquisition. A similar persecution, though not to such an extent, befell the secret Protestants in Austria at about the same period. The mountaineers in the Salzkammergut were (A.D. 1733) first treacherously examined, under an assurance of liberty of conscience, and then carried away by the soldiery, and transported to Transylvania. The twelve hundred first sent away were, in 1736, followed by three hundred more. But when, in 1738, a great number of Protestants were discovered in the Traun district and in Kremsmünster, permission to emigrate was refused, and some hundreds of them were shut up in a wretched situation, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and miserably fed. Many of them died. In 1740 Count Von Seckau banished eight hundred men, but retained their wives and families, whom he compelled to embrace 'Catholicism.'" * The stake was generally disused, and the Austro-Roman policy of political or legal persecution became that which is now best approved in Popedom. But the stake was not altogether laid aside. In the year 1747 Jacob Schmidli, of Sulzig, in the canton of Lucerne, in Switzerland, was burnt by order of the Council, for reading the

* Menzel, chap. ccxxxiii.

Bible, and his house rased to the ground, in order to placate the Pope.

Soon after Joseph II. had become Emperor (A.D. 1780), he mortified and astounded the Romish Clergy by abolishing the orders of Mendicant Friars within his dominions, placing the others under the jurisdiction of the Bishops, instead of the Pope, and, by an edict of toleration, granting to every one the free exercise of religion. The laity, on the other hand, rejoiced in liberation from the ancient bondage. Profession of the Protestant religion revived. In Styria, whole villages suddenly declared themselves Reformed; and in Carinthia twenty-two thousand persons made a similar profession. Alarmed at the sudden revulsion of Austrian policy, Pius VI. resolved to make a pilgrimage from Rome to Vienna, in order to entreat Joseph to pursue another course. To anathematize so great a Monarch being no longer prudent, he resolved to try flattery. In due time, therefore, founding his discourse on the words of an Evangelist, "Simon Peter said to his companions, I go a-fishing," he bade farewell to the Consistory of Cardinals (February 25th, 1782), and gave them directions for their conduct during his absence. Prayers were daily recited in the churches of the Holy City for the itinerant Pope, (*pro Pontifice itinerante,*) and the line of his progress was beset by enthusiastic multitudes, who saw the father of the faithful, hastening with a small train, like some lowlier Priest, in a travelling-carriage, trusting to rescue his tottering cause in the capital of the empire.* The Imperial Reformer and his Prime Minister received their visiter with a cold respect which often passed into incivility; but the display of ecclesiastical ceremonies, the novelty and profusion of Papal benedictions, the creation of new Cardinals, and the establishment of a new nunciature in Bavaria, and the zealous co-operation of all orders of Priesthood, Monkery, and Jesuits, produced a reaction in Austria, in spite of the Sovereign, and gave rise to commotions, threats, and even attempts to assassinate Joseph II., which more than checked the birth of religious freedom.

Our notice of Austria shall close with the banishment of between four and five hundred of the inhabitants of Zillerthal, in the Tyrol, which took place so lately as the year 1837.

The Zillerthal, or valley of the Ziller, is a broad and lovely valley, occupied by a population of fifteen or sixteen thousand, chiefly farmers and herdsmen. Many of them travel for purposes of commerce to Franconia, Suabia, and the Rhine, where they mingle in the society of Protestants, receive copies of the holy Scriptures and religious books, sometimes change their opinions, and even undergo a change of heart, and so return to their country as bearers of glad tidings of good. A number of persons thus enlightened, and therefore no longer able to conceal their faith under an outward conformity to the idolatries of the only acknowledged Church, applied to their Priests, according to the provision of an existing law, for certificates of their wish to become Protestants, which, if given, the Magistrates would have acknowledged, and the transition could not have been legally prevented.

* Diario de la Memorabile Peregrinacion Apostolica de N. SS. P. Pio VI., á la Imperial Corte de Viena, en el año pasado de 1782, &c., &c. Barcelona.

But the Priests hesitated: while hesitating, they received many other applications; and after vainly endeavouring to dissuade the people from their purpose, the Priests referred the request for certification to the government at Innspruck, and thence it was sent up to the imperial court. There it lay unnoticed. In the summer of 1832, the Emperor Francis visited the Tyrol, and the "Inclinants," as they were called, sent three of their brethren, John Fleidl, Bartholomew Heim, and Christian Brucker, to Innspruck, where they were suffered to present a petition to the Emperor, praying for permission to leave the Church of Rome. He read the petition, conversed with them very graciously, promised that none should oppress or disturb them, and said that he would see what could be done. The Clergy, however, also petitioned him not to allow religious divisions, but to forbid the Inclinants the liberty which was guaranteed to them by law. The poor peasants could not prevail against the powerful interference of the Nuncio and Jesuits; and, after some brief correspondence, they were told that they should suffer no persecution, nor be in any way molested, if, persisting in their desire, they would quit their native land. The Captain of the circle (like the Lord-Lieutenant of a county) came to Zillerthal, and summoned all the petitioners for religious liberty. Upwards of four hundred came into his presence, and he told them to the effect that he appeared there, not as Captain of the circle, but as the Emperor himself, in order to declare the imperial decision of January 11th, 1837. It was thus:—

1. That they might return to the Roman Catholic Church, or leave their fatherland, as he would not tolerate any Protestant community in the Tyrol.

2. That they might have the choice, either to be translocated into Austrian provinces where there were Protestant congregations, or to emigrate into foreign parts.

3. That they were to declare, within fourteen days, which of the two they would prefer.

4. That from the date of their declaration, a term of four months should be granted, to prepare for translocation or emigration.

5. That if, in four months, they were not ready for one or for the other, their freedom of choice would be at an end, the official authorities would summon them to move, and the Emperor would locate them where he pleased.

No one would accept the first condition, and therefore they requested a general passport, which would leave them free to the wide world; but His Imperial Majesty, Ferdinand I., could not allow heretics so broad a range. Before being trusted with a passport, they were commanded to say whither they would go. They knew not whither; but Fleidl, himself a poor man, although now their spokesman and representative, wrote to some friends in Bavaria, describing the position of his brethren, and begging that some one would apply on their behalf to "the good King of Prussia," one of whose predecessors, a century before, had afforded refuge to the out-wandering Salzburgers. The Protestants in Munich pitied the confessors of the Zillerthal, and endeavoured to procure their cause a

favourable hearing at Vienna. But our own William IV. had heard of their distress, and reiterated his entreaty to the King of Prussia to interfere, that the persecuted Tyrolese might become a colony in Prussia. Afraid to expose them to the uncertainties of a diplomatic correspondence, wherein the Papal Nuncio would have meddled, Frederic William III. sent his Chaplain, Dr. Strauss,* to Vienna, who negotiated privately with Prince Metternich, and obtained a promise that such families as wished to settle in Prussia should have permission so to do. Without this timely intercession, it is impossible to say what sufferings they might not have had to undergo; for there was no apparent disposition in the Captain of the circle, nor in any other authority, either at court or in the province, to lighten the burden of the sentence which robbed them of their legal right. Immediately after the return of Dr. Strauss to Berlin, Fleidl, with some others, appeared there also. The peasant was received as cordially as if he had brought credentials from the Sovereign of a first-class power. Dr. Strauss met him and his associates in the novel embassy, and found that, although no visible church had ever been organized in the Zillerthal, they were indeed members of the holy and universal church of the Lord Jesus Christ, and entertained a pure doctrine, with a noble principle of trust and love towards the Redeemer. Fleidl was not, indeed, received to an audience by the King, but wrote an address worthy to be archived. In his own name, and in the name of four hundred and thirty or four hundred and forty companions in the faith, he "ventured a cry of distress on the magnanimity and grace of His Majesty, as the august defender of the pure Gospel." He briefly and temperately mentioned, rather than described, the vexations they had endured at home, and made reference to the past. "Already once Prussia gave to our persecuted forefathers a secure asylum: we, too, have placed all our trust in God and the good King of Prussia. We shall find help, and not be ashamed." He proffered loyalty and service, asked for "a faithful Pastor and a zealous Schoolmaster," and requested intercession at Vienna that the time of their departure might be postponed until the spring; and, in conclusion, wrote, "May God reward Your Majesty for all the kindness which Your Majesty may show to us! Faithful, honest, and thankful will we remain in Prussia, and will not lay aside the good qualities of our Tyrolese nature. We shall only increase the number of Your Majesty's brave subjects, and stand in history as a lasting monument that misfortune, when it dwells near compassion, ceases to be misfortune; and that the Gospel, when obliged to fly from the Papacy, ever finds protection from the magnanimous King of Prussia. *The Tyrolese of Zillerthal, by their spokesman, John Fleidl of Zillerthal*" (May 27th). The prayer was fully answered; the Privy Councillor Jacobi instructed the peasant-envoy in the civil institutions of the Prussian state, to which the new subjects would be required to submit; and the tidings of a refuge spread gladness—yet a mournful, solemn gladness—through the valley of the Ziller.

* Not to be confounded with the unhonoured name of the author of the *Leben Jesu*.

Preparations for departure had begun already. Houses and lands were on sale, and waggons in building. With a singular display of confidence, they refused to accept formal securities for the price unpaid, accepting the promise of "their countrymen" as a sufficient bond. The Government, with a yet more singular affectation of generosity, forgave them the emigration-tax, and furnished the poorest of them with assistance for the journey. But an act of inhumanity spoiled the glitter of this miserable bounty. Married persons, children, and other members of families, who remained behind, were compelled to swear that "they would never know anything more of those that were taking their departure." Four days before the expiration of the term, the departure began. Then, even their enemies relented, and not a few entreated them to remain in the valley, lest they should cause a scandal to the people abroad; for what would be said in the empire about the Tyrolese? Some offered their relatives great advantages if they would stay in the Church. "The family of L——, with seven children, had packed up their scanty effects upon a small cart, which, in the evening, was standing before the door, ready to depart the next morning. At this moment a female relative came and offered the husband the freehold of a rich farm, if he would consent to adhere to the Church. 'I do not sell my religion,' he calmly replied. Some Priests also performed their part, for the purpose of directing attention and sympathy to the exiles; but they did it in their own way. On the borders of the valley of Kützen, one chose for the subject of his discourse, 'The judgment of God upon the Lutherans,' in which he alleged, '*It is too bad that the people should be allowed to take so much money with them* as two hundred thousand imperial florins.'" *

Many of the scenes presented at the departure must have been equally edifying and impressive. We note one, as described by an eye-witness.—"I found in Finkenberg (one of the twenty villages of Zillerthal) Q—— and his family busily occupied in preparing for their emigration. A deeply-interesting picture! The man, with his brothers, was standing in the entrance, filling baskets for the journey. The grey-headed father was within the house, surveying with a keen eye every corner of the place still so dear to him, lest anything should be forgotten. The wife, with an infant child eight days old at her breast, was, with Christian resignation, sitting by a cradle wherein a sick boy was lying. At the door stood the sister in tears, lamenting the separation from her kindred, whom she would gladly have followed, had she not been held back by her love to her rigidly 'Catholic' husband. They invited me to their noon-day meal, the last they were to partake of in the paternal home. At table, the father of the family—of whom I may not think it evil that he could not bear this trial with the patience of his Lord †—confessed that he felt the flesh still to struggle against the spirit: 'but,' he added, 'I hope, by God's help, it will soon be overcome.' Among other ques-

* Or £20,000. They actually took into Prussia fifty thousand reichs-dollars, or about half the former sum.

† This was not *impatience*.

tions, I asked him if he was going to take his religious books with him, as the Bible, Schaitberger's Epistle, &c., or whether he had sold them. 'No,' replied he, smiling, 'I do not *sell* the word of God. That I have bestowed upon people by whom it will be duly valued, as others also have done, because many have earnestly besought us to leave them some of our little books. Besides, the good King will not fail to give us others, when we arrive in Prussia.' "

According to the will of the Austrian Government, they took their way through the imperial states, Salzburg, the archduchy, Moravia, and Bohemia. To make the transit less conspicuous, Metternich further directed them to be sent in small companies; and the first of these, consisting of a hundred and fifty persons, set out, carrying the women, the younger children, and the aged and the sick, on waggons, in the beginning of September. The men, and some of the women, went on foot. During its progress this party met with much unkindness from the Papists; but the Government prudently gave such instruction that the following companies were not molested, and even the inns were open to them. Protestants everywhere received them with great affection, gave them lodgings and refreshment, threw open the churches, there to welcome them with psalms, discourses, and prayer, and gave them provisions for the journey.

There were four companies. In succession they first trod their new fatherland in the mountain-village of Michelsdorf, in the circle of Landshut. Earnest and still the first procession moved forward, and the spectators, in sympathy, observed a deep silence. Then came a larger train, wayworn and exhausted, except the children on the waggons. "Pastor Bellman stepped into the midst of the pilgrims, who, young and old, crowded round him with tears in their eyes, endeavouring to reach his hand, and catch a glimpse of his countenance. Every eye was fixed on him, glistening with emotions of joy and gratitude. One party that was encamped near the church having procured it to be opened, some of them entered. In silence they ranged themselves before the altar, when presently one of them perceived, and drew the attention of his companions to, a portrait of the King. With a generous shout of transport they all rushed towards the picture, contemplating it with eyes beaming with tears of joy: it was, indeed, the likeness of one who, by his royal favour, had caused their gladness at that happy moment."

The town of Schmiedeberg was appointed to the immigrants as their place of abode, until a permanent settlement could be found. There they first assembled for united Evangelical worship (October 8th, 1837). In the open place before the church the Zillerthalers were all assembled on the Lord's day, and at the church-doors a body of Clergy waited to give them solemn recognition. There sang the united multitude,—

"When Christ his church defends,
All hell may rage and riot,
Nor mortal foes nor fiends
Shall give her long disquiet:
He who at God's right hand doth sit,
Shall quell all foes beneath her feet."

The doors were then thrown open, and the pilgrims found a spiritual home, under the direction of Pastor Siegert of Fischbach. The royal family of Prussia showed them a becoming attention; they were furnished with a church, with school house and master, and provided with copies of the word of God. Their permanent settlement is now at Erdmannsdorf, where they are an honest, industrious, and flourishing colony. What would they have been in Austria? *

"The Kings of the earth arose, and the Princes took counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed." As in Austria, so in France, and even more violently there, the tornado of persecution swept away the congregations of the Reformed. Instead of pursuing those mournful events which filled up the period between 1572, when the Huguenots were massacred in Paris, and 1598, date of the edict of Nantes, in the order of their occurrence, we will borrow one general statement from a document † which described it accurately, under the title of "Complaints of the Reformed Churches of France concerning the Acts of Violence which they have suffered in many Parts of the Kingdom, and on account of which they have often appealed in all Humility to His Majesty and the Gentlemen of his Council." They therein pleaded that no degree of wrong or ignominy could destroy their quality of *subjects*, and that, in a free country, every subject should find access to the ear of his King. Yet they used the privilege with sorrow: they blushed to disclose the shame of their country to the eye of strangers. Haply, King Henry IV. might deign to pity them: for he knew that they were neither Spaniards nor conspirators; but had rendered His Majesty most faithful services, even from their cradle, defending him against all enemies, and preserving the crown upon his head. They had once hoped that a remembrance of their fidelity might have sufficed as a warranty for protection, in return, against their oppressors; but such protection they had not received, not even from the Sovereign whom once they had known as the Prince of Navarre, and saluted as their own chief. During eight years the malignity of the Romanists ‡ had abated none of its rancour, nor had their own sufferings diminished. The only difference perceptible lay in a calculation on the patience of the Reformed, whom their enemies supposed willing to suffer any wrong rather than, by seeking redress or vindication, disturb the public peace. Peace they had never had, but, at best, only a deceitful truce, even worse than war; but war they dreaded. Therefore they asked for justice. They asked it of the King who had lavished favour on his enemies, now trusting that he would not utterly cast off his faithful servants, although he had been alienated from them since the

* Evangelisches Oesterreich, &c., von Bernhard Raupach, Hamburg, 1741—44, contains an ample history of the Reformation in Austria, and its suppression. Geschichte der Auswanderung der Evangelischen Salzburger im Jahre 1732, by Karl Panse, Leipzig, 1827, relates the incidents of the Salzburg emigration. The Protestant Exiles of Zillerthal, translated by John B. Saunders, from the German of Dr. Rheinwald, gives a full account of this recent persecution. These are our leading authorities.

† As it is abridged by M. Benoit, in his Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, &c., liv v., Delft, 1693.

‡ Whom they always called *Catholiques*.

time when, with the terror of a general massacre yet before him, he had been compelled to go to mass. In spite of all his promises to the members of the communion from which he had been detached, they had seen him, to their grief, take a solemn oath at his consecration, and renew the oath when invested with the order of the Holy Spirit, to exterminate heresy and heretics, the Reformed being intended, although not named; for those names were obviously meant to apply to them. Life, honour, and property being no longer sure to them, nothing remained but to rend the veil of concealment woven around their Sovereign by the hands of courtiers, that, whether they pleased or not, he might see the wrongs and sufferings of his most faithful subjects.

Few and feeble were their friends, dispirited by the mass of enmity which pressed on them from every side. Men of all orders, nobles and commons, magistrates and councillors of state, combined to ruin and destroy them; but it was chiefly the priesthood, by whose incitement all the rest were incessantly impelled. During fifty years their fathers and their brethren had been put to shameful deaths,—burnt, drowned, hung, murdered one by one, massacred in multitudes, and banished the realm by edicts. During thirty-five years seven wars of extermination had been waged against them. Never had they been allowed free exercise of their religion, except where too numerous to be deprived of it by force, and there were many places whose inhabitants could only hear a sermon by travelling ten or twelve leagues for it. There were entire provinces, as Bourgogne and Picardy, without a single congregation. In others, as Provence, there were but two, and in some, as in Bretagne, but one. Elsewhere, although very numerous, they might only worship outside the walls; for strong garrisons were kept there to disperse any worshippers who should venture to assemble within those towns. Where congregations were permitted, those who frequented them were hooted and pelted through the streets. At Pontorsen, when a gentleman attempted to take his infant child to be baptized, the Parliament of Rennes sent an armed force to prevent his passage, killed two men, and would have killed more, if the garrison of Vitré had not turned out to rescue him. A mob of thirteen hundred men had fallen on a company of one hundred helpless persons, who were about to partake of the holy communion, at the distance of a day's journey from their home, broken the doors and windows, and beaten many of them until they lay senseless on the floor; and this was but one scene out of many of the kind. Some were prosecuted for daring to offer prayer in their families. A Minister had been fined heavily for administering the sacrament of baptism to an infant; and in several places even five persons were forbidden to pray together, under the penalty of ten thousand crowns, and preachers were constantly exhorting the mob to drive the Reformed out of their towns. Madame, only sister of the King, had spies set over her household; and one of her chief servants had been imprisoned for praying in a forbidden place. In some places they were only permitted to have public prayers, without sermons; and even this service

was often hindered, as at Montagnac, where they had purchased ground whereon to build an oratory, but were not allowed to cover it; and the Constable and Parliament of Toulouse had not hesitated to silence the licensed prayers. Troops of the Dukes of Nemours and Guise had converted churches into stables, and assaulted the occupants. A long catalogue of such outrages displayed the malice of their persecutors, while their own forbearance demonstrated the power of a better spirit.

Many edicts, from the edict of January, under Charles IX., extended the privilege of worship into new places; but, despite the royal authority under which they claimed it, "Catholic Governors," so called, refused to execute orders of the kind, and many inferior courts had published others in contravention of the edicts.

During the reign of Henry III. the Reformed were allowed the exercise of their religion in the army; but after the accession of Henry IV. to the crown, that privilege had been withdrawn. Even Madame, his sister, found herself obliged to go from Rouën to another place, because the Pope's Legate did not please that she should partake of the holy communion in that city, nor did the King, who was there, interpose to shield her from the indignity. Romanist landlords had arbitrarily forbidden the celebration of worship on their estates, in open violation of treaties and engagements. Even the least acts of private devotion were hindered, and many devout persons, in various parts of the kingdom, lay in prison for no other offence than that of making prayer to God, and their Psalm-books had been publicly burnt by the hangman. At Meaux the Sergeant-Major, with his staff of office, beat a respectable citizen who had been heard to sing; and the King being then at Monceaux, only two leagues distant, some deputies went from the Assembly of Loudun and reported the outrage to His Majesty, who carelessly replied, that he "would speak to the Sergeant-Major." In many places Bibles and other books were taken from their possessors; and if any were found to have concealed them, they were fined, imprisoned, or banished. Two hundred persons had been treacherously surprised and massacred by the garrison of Rochefort. At Digne, in Provence, the Judges, who threw some one into prison for this single offence, did not blush to forbid his brethren to meet together to pray to God, (*pour prier Dieu,*) under a penalty of a hundred crowns. The Parliament of Rennes did the same, and also threatened to make a perquisition of books, and punish all who printed, sold, or owned volumes not sanctioned by themselves. Sick persons were prevented from receiving the visits of their friends, but saw their chambers filled with Monks. Honours to Popish processions were forcibly extorted from reluctant householders and passengers; and Priests, with Magistrates, went from house to house to find newly-born infants, and baptize them by force, and to ascertain who ate meat in Lent, or worked on saints' days. Various Parliaments had prevented the establishment of colleges, even where the royal patents gave authority for their erection, and many schoolmasters were forcibly ejected from their homes. "Do they wish, then," asked the

complainants, "to reduce us to ignorance and barbarism? *Could Julian have done more?*"

The poor were excluded from participation in common charity, and driven out of the towns, even where the alms of the Reformed were by far the most abundant. Priests, such as the Curate of St. Etienne de Furan, forbade their parishioners to allow heretics to rent their houses, or take them into their employ. Judges—guardians of the public peace—encouraged children to insult aged Christians in the streets, whom they then shut up in prisons, as if to keep them safe. The way to offices, however trifling, was now closed against "heretics," and those who still retained high office in Parliaments and courts were covered with contumely while endeavouring to discharge the functions. From the Judges presiding, prosecutors and clients in courts often received insolence instead of justice, and were addressed as dogs, Turks, heretics, heteroclites of the new opinion, fit only to be hunted down with fire and sword, and to be driven out of the kingdom. Seguier, one of the Advocates-General in the Parliament of Paris, speaking to a case of one Rochechalais, a gentleman of consideration among the Reformed, pleaded that those people were unworthy of the King's edicts; that the benefit of laws only belonged to Catholics; and that, if an order were granted in favour of this gentleman, the King's servants would oppose it, and take away, as from an unworthy person, the property that might be adjudged to him. The course of justice was turned aside at every tribunal. In birth, in life, in society, and even at the grave, the Reformed were covered with ignominy and oppression. In not a few places they were denied burial-ground; from others the dead had to be carried many leagues for interment, and that only on difficult conditions, as to the number of bearers and followers, and the hour of the night,—for they were not suffered to bury their dead before the sun,—and they had to pay heavy fees for this permission. Often would the Bishop, or some Priest, command the corpse interred at so great cost to be taken from the grave again, or from the ancient family-vault; and corpses, without distinction of age or sex, or any other consideration of decency or pity, were thrown up naked on the ground, frequently after the mourners had returned to distant dwellings, and left to be mangled by the dogs.

After all, the complainants declared, they had written but a part of what might have been told, and were content only to ask that they might not utterly perish, but, for the preservation of the state, which fell into ruin together with its persecuted members, might yet be suffered to exist. They had prayed for an edict of relief, and were told that the time for that act of grace was not yet come. "Not yet come!" they remonstrated, "after thirty-five years of cruel persecutions, ten years of banishment, eight of exclusion from the kingdom, four that we have been hunted down like beasts of prey!" But they well knew the Pope to be at the source of this injustice, and were threatened with even worse treatment than they were then enduring.

Then followed the prayer of the petition: "We ask an edict of Your Majesty that shall give us to enjoy what is the common right

of all your subjects: less, indeed, than you have granted to your bitterest enemies, to those who are in league against you: we ask an edict that shall not be made to compel you to govern your states otherwise than as you please, nor force you to exhaust your finances and surcharge your people. Let not avarice nor ambition mislead you. The glory of God, the freedom of our consciences, the peace of the realm, the safety of our goods and our lives,—these alone are the height of our desires, the end of our requests." *

Henry IV. had been at war with Spain, and needed the loyalty of the Huguenots. He had narrowly escaped death by the knife of Châtel, a Jesuit,—not without evidence of conspiracy; and the Jesuits, although sentenced to banishment from the kingdom, maintained their ground in the provinces, in spite of the royal mandate. He could not fail to appreciate the services of the Reformed in bearing arms for the defence of their country. Perhaps he remembered the matins of St. Bartholomew, and is said to have experienced some compunction for having renounced their communion, and even sworn at his consecration, "I will endeavour, to the utmost of my power, and in good faith, to expel from my jurisdiction, and from the lands under my dominion, all heretics denounced by my Church." It could bring no comfort to his conscience, that he had promised the Pope to make an end of heresy in France, and to admit the decrees of the Council of Trent, as conditions of receiving absolution and a blessing. He knew who were his friends; but had entangled himself in the toils of conflicting engagements too deeply to hope for peace. Policy, therefore, if not affection, now inclined him to grant the petition; and, at Nantes (April 7th, 1598), he signed the edict so well known by the name of that city, and which served to shield the Reformed from extreme oppression for a time. The edict, containing ninety-two articles, with a supplementary document of fifty-six, conferred some additional privileges of worship in an enlarged number of towns; confirmed them in occupation of the "towns of surety,"—independent municipalities, such as were numerous in France, and some of them with their own Governors and garrisons;

* The massacre of Chataigneraye, referred to in these complaints, was the deed of a lady! At Chataigneraye, a small town in Poitou, the Reformed were wont to congregate for worship from the surrounding places. The lady of the manor, a woman notorious for cruelty to her tenants on account of their religion, had observed that the men carried arms,—a precaution necessary in case of attack by the armed leaguers, who overran the country. For the sake of preserving her game, as she pretended, she ordered all who came to "preaching" on her estate to come unarmed, and accompanied the order with such severe threatenings, that the poor people obeyed perforce. As soon as she was satisfied that they habitually came without any means of defence, she managed to engage the garrison of Rochefort to march into the town while the congregation was at worship in the house of a gentleman named Vaudoré, fall on them unawares, and murder many of them on the spot. Two hundred were cut to pieces, without distinction of sex or age; an infant brought thither to receive baptism being among the number. A child, in his simplicity, offered the savage who seized him eight *sous* for his life; but the Duke of Mercœur, it seems, had forbidden ransom to be taken, the offer could not be accepted, and the child was cut down at a stroke. The Dame of La Chataigneraye made herself merry at the exploit of her leaguers, and carefully collected the names of the two hundred slain, that she might ascertain who, of those whom she hated, had fallen on that day. Five or six of the brigands were taken and hung; but sufficient justice had not been done to prevent similar atrocities.

required mutual amnesty of offences, and laid an injunction of reciprocal charity on both Romanist and "pretended Reformed," guarding the pride of the one, and, as far as they were recognised, the rights of the other. To protect the subjects of indulgence from abuse of justice, a new set of tribunals was forthwith to be established, and a sum of forty-three thousand three hundred crowns was granted from the royal treasury, and distributed, at the Synod of Montpellier, between the universities, academies, and churches. The number of churches, we may note, was then diminished to seven hundred and sixty-three. De Thou, President of the Parliament of Paris, now better known as the historian, and the Lord de Calignon, Chancellor of Navarre, a zealous Protestant, and one who resisted the offer of the chancellorship of France as a bribe to apostacy, are said to have spent three years in arranging the articles of this edict. But jealousy and mistrust in regard to the instrument itself, the delay of Parliaments in placing it on their registers, so as to give it force of law, the opposition of the Romish Clergy, and the fluctuation of politics, much diminished the benefits that appear on the face of it. And the restoration of the Jesuits to favour was alone sufficient to undermine a fabric of security thrown up as an expedient to satisfy an aggrieved party, rather than as a national defence against intolerance. As soon, therefore, as Henry IV. ceased to reign, assassinated by Ravaillac (May 14th, 1610), the Reformed again fell under the malignity of their ancient persecutors.

Formidable through number and influence in all ranks of society, not excepting the royal family, having privilege of a distinct jurisdiction, which was guaranteed by the occupation of two hundred towns and fortresses, and further acknowledged by an allotment of revenue and nomination of Governors by the crown, the Reformed could not suddenly be overpowered; nor was the Church in haste to attempt the victory by force which she hoped to gain by policy, not in France alone, but in all Europe.

First of all, then, a corrupt administration of the law, as defined by the edict of Nantes, and confirmed, with trifling variations, by registration in the Parliaments, gave rise to incessant litigation. Questions of right, which ought to have been set at rest, were raised again; and, in the mixed courts, the Romish party being generally the stronger, their policy prevailed in the decisions, to the extinction of equity, and often to the most flagrant violation of justice. While the Reformed were pouring in appeals for redress at court, the Clergy held an Assembly of their own in Paris (A.D. 1615), to agree on the amount of contributions to be rendered from the ecclesiastical revenues to the state, and on compensation to be demanded from the King in favour of the Church. They complained bitterly to Louis XIII. of the state of religion in his kingdom of Navarre; where there was such a paucity of Priests, they said, that, at Bearn, the children of the few remaining "Catholics" often grew up unbaptized. "Pretended Reformed" Ministers, they said, lived on the revenues of the Church, and the faithful were dying without the sacraments. "More tolerable," said the Bishop of Beauvais, "was the condition

of Christians under the power of Turks, than under the intolerance of these Protestants." The complaint was found to be exaggerated, and led to no immediate result; but they instituted a conversion-fund by depositing thirty thousand livres as a beginning, in order to pension deserters from the Evangelical church at Bearn, and thus obtain their agency for the corruption of the rest. Louis, also, when at Bourdeaux shortly afterwards, found occasion to gratify the Priests by disarming the Reformed part of the population, under pretence of a suspicion that they were in treasonable correspondence, or were likely so to be. In Auvergne, some of the most powerful families, secretly associated in the Romish league, spared no pains to injure the Reformed minority, whose complaints resounded in the Louvre, but were scarcely heeded. In Provence the Protestants quarrelled among themselves; and, while they spent their strength in angry debates in Synods and Assemblies, their adversaries, ever one to promote the cause of their own Church, took advantage of the schism. While Calvinists and Arminians wrangled, Popery prevailed.* At Charenton the Jesuit Arnoux provoked Du Moulin and his colleagues to enter into controversy. But a book † which they presumed to dedicate to the King in defence of Evangelical doctrine was laid before the Parliament of Paris, thence taken to the King's council-chamber, and there suppressed. In the heat of this controversy, the forbidden volume being in every one's hands, and the Reformed Synod assembled at Vitré, the Clergy met again in Paris (A.D. 1617), and, profiting by the irritation of their party, the King himself included, renewed their efforts of demolition. At the head of a numerous clerical deputation, the Bishop of Maçon harangued His Majesty. He called the Reformed "monsters," and their church, although legally established, "Hagar, the concubine," the servile rival, fit only to be driven to the desert; and confessed that his brethren only bore with her for the sake of peace. He represented, in piteous and indignant language, the persecution said to be suffered by Catholics in the cautionary towns. At Montpellier, for example, the inhabitants would not suffer a Jacobin monkery to be established within the walls, reasonably fearing to admit inmates of the kind. Neither would they give licence to a Jesuit preacher whom the Bishop had sent; for they dreaded the consequences of his political orations. But he chiefly descanted on the humiliation of his communion in the principality of Bearn. There, as in England, the churches and church-lands had been transferred to the Reformed, a change which he denounced as abominably sacrilegious. With priestly confidence he demanded one hundred parish churches to be restored to their original service; and affirmed, as roundly as if he were speaking truth, that twenty-five persons out of every thirty were addicted to the ancient superstition. And he wound up the harangue by exhort-

* Let it not be thought that the author is indifferent to this controversy, which is many ages older than Luther. But doctrinal exaggerations rankle and luxuriate as piety decays, and then the common enemies of evangelical religion triumph, *as at this day*.

† "Defense de la Confession de Foy des Eglises Reformées de France, contre les Accusations du Sieur Arnoux, Jesuïte," &c.

ing Louis to take the Cross; not to go beyond sea to chase the enemy of Christendom from the holy places of Palestine, but to deliver the churches of Bearn from the profanation of the Protestants.

The King had, twice at least, promised that the Jesuits should be excluded from the cautionary towns, unless, indeed, his answer to the petition of his subjects was a refined equivocation; * but he now declared, in an order to the Council of State, that not only might Jesuits, or any other Catholic preachers, be sent into Montpellier, but into all the other towns, at the pleasure of the Bishops, and that he had never intended otherwise. And as for Bearn, although it was an independent state, and the monarchy elective, Louis XIII. deprived it of its independence by annexing it to France, and, at the same time, granted the Assembly of Clergy an order for the restitution of ecclesiastical property and the re-establishment of "the Catholic religion" throughout the province (A.D. 1617). The King marched to Pau at the head of an army, caused mass to be said at Navarrin, just fifty years after it had been abolished in the reign of Jeanne d' Albret, and received the most emphatic praise and congratulation of the Nuncio Bentivoglio and the French Bishops (October 19th, 1619). Having made sure of Bearn, the united chiefs, temporal and spiritual, proceeded to get possession of the cautionary towns, either by treachery or force, and were not long in depriving the Reformed of most of them. In order to raise up the Papal hierarchy on the ruins of the Reformation, the King of France and his Generals marched from province to province, seized on one place after another, and treated as rebels every one who appealed to the edict of Nantes, and to his own repeated acts of confirmation. Strange, indeed, was the position of affairs. Louis and his army were sitting down before Rochelle, the chief town and fortress of Protestantism in France, and, while conducting the operations of the siege, he received letters-apostolic from the Pope, exhorting him not to lay down his arms until he had taken the city, and deprived the heretics of every place of surety. The "Prince of the Church" lavished praises on his valiant and devoted son, promised him the protection of all saints, and commended the zeal with which he had imitated the virtues of his ancestors, who had paid *no less honour to the exhortations of the Popes than to the commands of God* (July 10th, 1621). From Rochelle the King hastened to Montauban, where another division of his army pressed a siege; but he was compelled to raise it. Meanwhile, an ambulatory Synod of Priests, at Paris, at Poitiers, and at Bourdeaux, watched the course of the crusade, raised the tithe-charges on their flocks,

* The *Cahier*, or memorial of the Assembly of Saumur, in 1611, contained the following article:—"LIII. Qu'il ne soit permis aux Jesuïtes de dresser college, seminaire, ou maison d'habitation; prêcher, enseigner, confesser, n'y même faire residence en aucune des dites places, tenuës par ceux de la dite religion, et qu'il plaise à Sa M. restraindre les dites Jesuïtes par tout son royaume, aux lieux auxquels ils furent restraints par leur retablissement fait en l'an 1603." The rescript placed opposite this request reads thus: "Aucun college de Jesuïtes ne peut être établi en aucun endroit de ce royaume que par la permission de Sa Majesté, qui y saura bien pourvoir, *en sorte qu'ils n'ayent aucune occasion de se plaindre*." But even under this word of a King could lie concealed the *arrière pensée* of a Jesuit.—See Benoit, tom. ii., Recueil, &c., p. 23.

and offered the increase, "a million of gold," for the King to finish it.

The Duke of Mayenne, a popular man, fell before Ville Bourbon. His death was made the signal for revenge on the heretics. At Paris, especially, so great was the fury of the populace, that for five days the Protestants shut themselves up in their houses, every moment expecting to be massacred. Fray Domingo de Jesus Maria, an apostle of persecution in Bohemia, a saint and wonder-worker in Vienna and in Rome, adored by the populace of Spain, his native country, and by the fanatics of Germany and Italy, and once honoured with a sort of ecclesiastical ovation by the Pope and Cardinals, hurried from Italy to France, there to preach up slaughter. But failing at Paris, where his grimaces excited more disgust than veneration, he hung upon the skirts of the camp, and exhorted vast congregations to join their forces to those of the military for the extermination of image-breakers, exhibiting a disfigured picture of the Virgin, which, he said, the Lutherans had insulted; and his rhetoric, although two centuries past the time in France, was not wholly without effect. The Papists of Saumur were persuaded to massacre their fellow-townsmen; but the Governor, by vigilance, saved them from the perpetration of that crime. At Paris, however, the devotees could no longer be restrained. A woman was murdered in the street, because she would not bow down before an image of the Virgin Mary, and many houses were broken open and pillaged. A mob of zealots went to Charenton, burnt down the church, a spacious and venerable building, and destroyed the library. The Priests looked on complacently; but the civil authorities interfered, placed the Reformed under the protection of the King and of justice, and appeased the tumult.

The trickery of a counterfeited justice, and weight of arm, equally, and in alternation, served the cause of spiritual and civil despotism.

Commissaries went into the provinces, professing to investigate and redress grievances, in ostensible fulfilment of the edict of Nantes; a Romanist and a Reformed Commissioner being always united. But the representative of the oppressed, being nominated by the oppressor, dared not maintain the interests of his client; and his concurrence in robbery or persecution aggravated the wrong it was pretended to remove. The sentences of public tribunals were no less corrupt than the decisions of those mock-arbitrators. "I plead against a heretic," said the Advocate; "I have to do with a sectarian hateful to the state, with one of a religion which the King is determined to extirpate." And if the defendant murmured, he was answered, "You have the remedy in your own hands: why do you not turn Catholic?" Inquisitors collected information of unguarded sayings, uttered in the confidence of domestic life for twenty years before, and communicated them to Magistrates for their guidance in decisions on the bench.

Forced or venal conversions followed the labours of Monks and soldiers, and repaid the outlay of the conversion-fund. A few examples may serve to illustrate this method of reviving Catholicism, as Ranke would call it. The little town of Wals, in the Ardêche, surrendered to the royal troops after receiving a few cannon-shot,

and on dishonourable conditions. The Duke of Montmorency put a zealous garrison into the castle; the Consuls first asked pardon on their knees, and, although the population was so entirely Calvinist as to be called "the little Geneva," mass was forthwith established, the Jesuits began their mission, and, in a few weeks, the former religion almost disappeared. The town of Foix, capital of the old county of that name, was inhabited by some Reformed families, until the Capuchin Monk Villate, an emissary of the Bishop of Pamiers, appeared there as preacher of the Advent and Lent sermons (A.D. 1622). His seditious discourses, monkish controversies, conferences proposed to the Minister, and all enforced by the pious violence of the Governor, brought over all those families to the Church of Rome. None withstood him beside the Minister and his wife, who were permitted to quit the place, but accompanied by a trumpeter, given them under the name of escort, and who proclaimed the triumph of the Monk as he followed the two confessors through the streets of Foix, and along the road which led out of the province. The Priests of the town gave Villate a certificate that he had wrought the wonderful conversions by the power of the word of God alone; and some headlong proselytes displayed their zeal in the new cause by demolishing their former church, as no longer wanted, after depositing its furniture in the mass-houses. The share, however, taken by the King and court in effecting the conversions of Foix, was not very carefully concealed; and the Archbishop of Ambrun, addressing the King with reference to this victory, did not scruple to call him "the Apostle" whose prudence and whose arms had wrought out those conversions; plainly attributing to terror what the certificate of the Priests had attested to be the result of instruction. The Nuncio at Paris boasted that the mildness, love, patience, and good example of the Clergy had subdued the obstinacy of the heretics, while it was remarkable that their wonders were uniformly wrought in the track of a destroying army; and when it was boasted that one zealous Missionary had reclaimed eighteen hundred persons in Bearn, no one sincerely ascribed the glory to any other "Apostle" than the King.

The Marquis of Ornano, under colour of war, made a martial entry into Aubenas, a town at the foot of the Cevennes. When two Regents of the place met him to pay the usual respects to their liege Lord, he took off their caps, the mark of office, convened the council, excluded all Councillors who belonged to the Reformed Church, confided the regency to Romanists, disarmed all the Reformed, and levied a contribution on them for the maintenance of the garrison which he lodged there to superintend the conversion that should follow. For as the majority of the inhabitants professed the Evangelical religion, this array was necessary. The converters played their part so vigorously, that in three weeks, if their report was not exaggerated, two hundred and fifty families solicited admission to the bosom of the holy Roman Church; and the heads of those families signed, at the point of the bayonet, a declaration that they had embraced the only saving-faith of their own free accord, and after the anxious desire of many years. Other places followed in the train of Aubenas:

Amand, for example, where the Governor, instructed by the Archbishop of Bourges, desired the inhabitants to choose between a party of Priests to receive their abjuration, or two hundred soldiers to be let loose upon their families. They had not the spirit which sustained the Huguenots of an earlier age, and therefore chose the easier condition of the two. In short, throughout his inglorious campaign, Louis XIII. took Missionaries with his troops to convert those who did not at once surrender, and hangmen with gibbets to dispatch some of the more steadfast for the terror of the rest. Thrice he waged war on his Protestant subjects, when intolerable oppressions had provoked them to take measures of self-defence; and thrice he granted them concessions of peace as soon as their courage threatened him with shameful defeat; and all this within six years.

At length Rochelle succumbed to force of arms, after suffering the extreme horrors of famine; and then the King, changing the treaty of capitulation into the form of an edict "of grace and pardon," declared his pleasure. The preamble of that edict is the hypocritical manifesto of a bigot. The love, if it may be believed, which he bore to his subjects, the compassion which he entertained for the miseries brought upon his poor kingdom by wars and divisions for a long time afflicted, had touched him sensibly. Laying aside all consideration of his own comfort, braving inclemencies of season and perils of war, he had laboured most lovingly to bring the refractory to obedience. Great and puissant armies had seconded his arguments; and God, he said, had blessed him with success. Sweet summonses of goodness, intermingled with the battery of cannons, had failed, indeed, to subdue the hatred of the men of Privas, towards whom clemency could not any longer be extended; but other rebellious subjects, specially the Duke of Rohan and the Lord of Soubise, with the citizens of many places and occupants of many fortresses, had repented at his feet, and to them he gave a free award of mercy. Moved by his own mere compassion, he spared further effusion of blood and desolation of provinces, in hope that his aforesaid subjects, having such manifest tokens of the goodness treasured up in his heart for them, would return the more sincerely to their duty, and be inseparably united to his obedience. Waiting for that grace and mercy of God which could touch and illuminate their hearts to return unto the Catholic Church, and could dry up the fountain of such deplorable divisions; and having maturely debated the affair with his Council, and taken their advice, by his full power, special grace, and royal authority, he decreed and signed an irrevocable edict, of which the chief provisions were, that the Roman Catholic and apostolic religion should be everywhere restored; his subjects of the pretended Reformed religion suffered to exercise it peaceably, but exhorted to divest themselves of passion, so as to receive the light of heaven and be capable of restoration to the bosom of the Church in which, for eleven centuries, the Kings of France had lived without intermission or change. "For we cannot in any other or better way express unto them our fatherly affection, than by desiring that they should walk with us in the same pathway unto eternal salvation by which we ourselves are going."

An amnesty to persons named, and provisions for the future execution of the edict of Nantes, are the substance of several articles; but *one* condition of peace is most notable. *All the fortresses and cautionary towns were to be dismantled* (July, 1629). Armed resistance thus became almost impossible, and the desired conversion to Romanism might be enforced with little cost to the treasury of France for munition of war.

The conversion of the Protestants, then, became the great business of this very zealous King. A set of Missionaries were immediately intrusted with the execution of the enterprise. Turbulent and disputatious, they harangued the multitude with ludicrous effrontery, provoked riots, and not unfrequently courted street-quarrels, in order that they might prosecute for assault, and get damages. Untaught laymen, taken from the lowest regions of society, and equipped with a few polemic common-places, ran from one Consistory and Synod to another, challenging learned Ministers to disputation. On temporary platforms erected in the streets, like mountebanks, they delivered speeches and carried on mock-debates, to turn the verities of the Gospel into ridicule; thus gathered proselytes from the dregs of the populace, and afterwards received a stipulated reward for each trophy of their diligence. When they could not otherwise produce an effect, they would beguile the incautious into some expression that might pass for treason, and of which the recall might be equivalent with a renunciation of the truth. "Charlemagne and St. Louis were Catholics: are they damned? So is the reigning Sovereign a Catholic: will he be damned?" To escape the dilemma, many professed themselves willing to follow the King in his way to heaven! But the exploits of such Missionaries, and the dishonesty of the civil magistracy of France, are the chief material for domestic history through all the remainder of this reign. Yet the loyalty of the Reformed rose superior to every trial; and when Louis XIV. came to the throne in 1643, the Queen Regent published an edict in their favour in his name, and when he came of age he issued a declaration confirmatory of that edict and the edict of Nantes, and willed that the transgressors of those laws by persecution should be punished as disturbers of the public peace (May 21st, 1652).

These acts of favour had been merited by their adherence to the young King when his succession to the throne was disputed; and the politic mildness which the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin could well afford to show towards a ruined yet numerous people had conciliated the confidence of a new generation. But the confidence was vain. The Church might not have been displeased to see the heretic sect in a state of languishing humiliation, but the cordiality of royal favour towards that sect aroused an unconquerable jealousy. The fruit of this ripened after the lapse of four years in an explanatory instrument, whereby the King so limited and obscured his own concessions, that they found themselves again exposed to the malevolence of their perpetual persecutors. And it is remarkable that the Parliament of Paris, which had refused to register the former edict and declaration, received the present document (A.D. 1656) into its archives

without delay, and a storm of persecution slowly gathered over the trembling Churches. We have now to watch the course of the murky cloud until it bursts in the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

The last National Synod of the Reformed Churches was holden at Loudun, in the year 1659. The cessation of synodical action is a fact of great importance in relation to the policy of the Church of Rome for the suppression of Protestantism. Let us make a few retrospective notes, therefore, to mark the interference of the civil authority in the last six Synods.

I. *First Synod of Charenton*, or 24th National (A.D. 1623). We find this officially described as assembled "by the *authority* and permission of Louis XIII." The Seigneur Auguste Galland, First Commissary of the King, one of his Privy Councillors, and a member of the Reformed Churches, came, by authority of His Majesty, to open the Synod, and be present at all its sessions. He was mild and cautious, well chosen to be a beginner. As soon as the officers of the Synod were elected, this Commissary declared that he was there by virtue of the King's letters-patent, verified in the court of the Parliament of Paris, by which it was ordained that a Commissary should assist in *all assemblies* of the King's subjects of the pretended Reformed religion, whether Colloquies or Synods,* to take care that no matters were proposed or debated, except such as might be permitted, according to the edicts, and that a report of all proceedings should be made to the King. He then read the letters-patent, empowering his attendance, and reciting the preceding letters, which gave general permission for the holding of synodal assemblies under this new restriction. It had appeared that the deputies of the said religion were about to meet at Charenton from all the provinces of the kingdom; and Galland was instructed to watch very carefully that nothing should be treated contrary to the King's service, nor prejudicial to the public peace; to prevent every proposal or debate which did not relate exclusively to the order and discipline of the said religion, and to bring up a report to His Majesty, marking exactly every thing of importance that should have been transacted. The letters-patent having been read, M. de Montmartin, Deputy-General for the Churches to His Majesty, reported that as soon as he and his colleague, M. Maniald, had been informed of the King's intention, they had gone to him, and endeavoured by many reasons to dissuade him from making this declaration; but that His Majesty paid no regard to anything they could represent, having already caused the declaration to be verified in the Parliament of Paris. It therefore remained with the assembly to address His Majesty on the subject, as they might judge best. After long debate in the presence of the Commissary, it was resolved that, considering that Colloquies and Synods were accused, by the King's declaration, of having passed beyond the limits of their duty, notwithstanding that they had

* A Colloquy was a meeting preparatory to the Synod, like a Congregation before a session of Council. The words, "all assemblies," &c., are to be taken as inclusive of Provincial, as well as National, Synods; so that the court assumed a general oversight on all the proceedings of the Churches throughout the provinces.

observed the utmost caution to the contrary, in all their deliberations; and also considering that by this measure the benefits accorded to them by edicts were diminished, and their privileges almost entirely revoked; it was resolved to present an authentic *Placet* to His Majesty, praying that he would be pleased to maintain the Churches in their ancient liberty. But the Synod, desiring to demonstrate their obedience and fidelity to the King, admitted the said Seigneur Galland among the deputies, to be an eye and ear witness of the sincerity and honesty of their proceedings, trusting that the King would be so satisfied therewith, as to leave them in the enjoyment of their ancient liberty. A deputation from the Synod bearing a letter to the King were admitted to audience, and returned with the intelligence that thenceforth foreigners were not to be admitted as Ministers in their Churches, notwithstanding the freedom with which foreigners enjoyed lucrative benefices and high dignities in the Romish Church in France. As to the presence of a Commissary, His Majesty was inflexible. He also disapproved of their amicable correspondence with the Reformed Churches of Holland, and their reception of the Confession of Faith of the Synod of Dort; and they consented to receive no foreigners as Pastors for the future, nor to make mention of foreign Synods. Two Scotchmen, Primrose and Cameron, being obnoxious to the Jesuits, were sent out of France by royal order.

II. *Synod of Castres*, 25th National (A.D. 1626). This Synod was convened by the King himself, the letter of convocation being written in exceedingly gracious language. He promised them favour as long as they rendered him obedience, exhorted them to live peaceably with their Romish neighbours, and required them to promise that they would have no correspondence nor alliance with persons out of the kingdom. As they had been driven to seek foreign aid when the King had made war on them, this furnished a fair pretext for that requirement; but the truth was, that the clerical advisers at court desired to weaken the common cause of the Reformed by separating their Churches, and counteracting their tendency to an Evangelical and catholic union. The King commanded that no Minister should quit the kingdom without his permission previously obtained. The Synod submitted, and their isolation became almost complete.

III. *Second Synod of Charenton*, 26th National (A.D. 1631). Over this Synod the King ruled, through his Commissary Galland. He insisted on the observance of the restrictions already imposed, and required the Synod to expel some Ministers who had preached or written offensively during the civil war. The Synod yielded. They succeeded, however, in obtaining permission for the union of the churches of Bearn, or rather the wrecks of those churches, with the National Synod. The Commissary wished to prevent it; but it was shown that the union had been previously sanctioned, and the King conceded. It was a point of little consequence.

IV. *Synod of Alençon*, 27th National (A.D. 1637). Nothing could be more humiliating than the position of the Reformed Churches as represented at Alençon. At the opening of this Synod, the Marquis of Claremont, their Deputy-General, presented the royal mandate

of convocation. It suffered the assemblage, "but on condition that no other matters should be discussed than those permitted by the edicts, and that the Sieur de St. Marc, Councillor of His Majesty in his Council of State, should assist in person." St. Marc addressed the assembly to the following effect:—"Gentlemen, I am come to your Synod to inform you of the pleasure of His Majesty. You know that I have preached and taught the obedience due to the superior powers. All authority is of God; and, therefore, on this immovable foundation, you ought to obey. Besides, the goodness of His Majesty, and the care he takes of you, make obedience at once your duty and your interest. Now His Majesty commands me to say, that as long as you are faithful towards him, he will continue his affection and observe his edicts towards you. But with regard to his power, of which strangers have experienced the weight, how many proofs have we! His power seems more than human; and thereby God publishes to the whole world that he upholds our King with his own hand, and makes him terrible to all around. I shall say nothing of those fortresses and cautionary towns on which you placed too much reliance while you had them, but which are now come to nothing; whereas, since you have depended only on the favour of His Majesty, your condition is much happier and more secure. No doubt you have often reflected on the admirable providence of God, which makes his royal authority your safeguard. Here are you without support, and with your multitude of people, subject, like the sea, to perpetual agitation, and yet the King preserves you in liberty of conscience and peaceful exercise of your religion. The earth, poised in air, is a miracle, great as that of the creation; and as God sustains it by the same power which brought it into being, even so are you preserved by the power of the word of His Majesty. Therefore, gentlemen, you who are Ministers should be models of wisdom and good conduct in your churches. Among the signal effects of the King's goodness which you have received, not the least is this, that in time of war you can assemble here. All the provinces of the kingdom, like so many lines converging from the circumference, can meet peaceably in this Synod. Could you have any clearer proof of his goodness, and of his confidence in your loyalty? This alone should engage you to bow, more submissively than ever, to his royal pleasure. And I doubt not but you will conduct yourselves very wisely, in your words and actions; and that you will render His Majesty all the honour and obedience which are due to him from you." After this effusion of mingled sarcasm and contempt, the Commissary proceeded to unfold the sovereign commands. In order to enjoy the protection of the King, and to be attached to his service alone, they were forbidden to hold any sort of correspondence with foreigners, or even with ill-affected persons at home. The Provincial Synod of Nismes and M. Rousselet, a Minister, being a native of the canton of Bern, had received a letter from that country, in spite of statutes which "forbade the King's subjects to receive letters from any foreign country." Correspondence with the Swiss Republic was especially offensive to His Majesty; and neither the Synod nor M. Rousselet ought to have

presumed to break the seal of a letter brought thence, but should have delivered it, unopened, into the hands of the royal Commissary there present. Not only foreign, but domestic, correspondence was to be forthwith and for ever discontinued. *No more might Provincial Synods act collectively;* nor could there be any meeting or communication tending to a Synod, nor any transaction of business, such as the nomination of Ministers or deputies for the sake of communication from one province to another. They were not a body politic, he said; and, therefore, even when assembled there in Synod, they must not presume to correspond with any other body, touching ecclesiastical affairs. His Majesty also willed, that all Ministers should preach obedience, never resist his mandates, and, although the Government or civil magistrate should give orders which seemed contrary to liberty of conscience, they were to put the best construction on such orders, and quietly obey, suppressing every murmur or complaint of persecution. For the sake of peace, too, it was strictly forbidden to speak disrespectfully of the Pope, as if he were Antichrist; or of the sacraments, as if they were idolatrous. If the Catholics were offended, the Protestants would be put under interdict. Any incivility of theirs would cause their Ministers to be silenced, and their congregations dispersed; while the offenders would incur more grave penalties. No book treating on religion was to be sold until it had passed under censorship. Marriages, as well as books, should undergo revision; and the Churches were to admit the validity of all acts of the civil power in matters of divorce. No Minister was to quit his place of abode to preach elsewhere, not even in a church annexed to his own, but to keep the sound of his voice within the walls of that single church to which he belonged by residence. His Majesty also laid some restriction on their financial administration, and prescribed a method for levying a rate on congregations for the maintenance of Ministers. And then came an unprecedented interference with spiritual discipline. "I have yet a word more for you," said the Commissary, "and then I will finish. The Synod of Nismes has decreed, that baptism is null when administered by a person who has no vocation nor commission; and directs Pastors to baptize, without any scruple, infants on whom women or other unauthorized persons have poured water, pronouncing the usual words. His Majesty wishes this article to be corrected, for the reasons which I will give you in the words of the original order." * This order was an explicit assumption of authority

* "Because hence arises the opinion of rebaptizing. For by their doubt as to vocation, they oblige themselves to rebaptize all those who have been baptized by persons whose vocation they do not approve, and of which they constitute themselves the only judges and arbitrators; although the Catholic Church does not approve *their* vocation, and although they do not themselves make the least difficulty of saying that they have not any such, yet their baptism is acknowledged; because it is a sacrament of which the virtue and efficacy is *ex opere operato*, and not at all *ex opere operantis;*" (from the thing done, and not from the person who does it;) "so that the Synod has done what it was not its business to do, by treating as invalid this sacrament which was administered by persons who, it said, had no vocation nor commission to administer it, since the Catholic Church, in which they cannot pretend that there is any defect of vocation, has decided this point, and judged that all Christians may baptize, in case of necessity. Therefore, when the word and water have been employed, the Church will not allow this to be repeated."—Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées de France. Aymon.

over the Reformed Churches both as to doctrine and discipline, delivering them to the Priests and their agents,—the very persons who had been constantly endeavouring, by forcible or clandestine baptisms, to establish a claim for ecclesiastical control over the families of Protestants.

The members of the Synod were spirit-broken. They answered St. Marc timidly, and sent a deputation to the King, with letters professing the most profound submission to his authority, as vicegerent of God; but venturing to affirm that the decision of the Provincial Synod of Nismes in regard to baptism was justifiable, as being in accordance with an article of their general Confession of Faith which His Majesty acknowledged. Louis answered them, as "dear and good friends," in language of most lofty graciousness; but, "at the same time, gave them warning that it would be for their interest to separate as quickly as possible, lest, if they protracted their sittings in Alençon, their continuance should be regarded as a transgression of royal edicts and declarations." They sent the King a memorial of grievances, disclosing a sad catalogue of sufferings; but he refused to answer it until the Synod should have been dissolved.

V. *Third Synod of Charenton*, 28th National (A.D. 1644). Louis XIV., a child, six years of age, being on the throne, under the regency of his mother, Caumont, Lord of Boisgrellier, Commissary, opened the sessions with a panegyric on their "incomparable" King, and delivered a multitude of prohibitions. No Minister, not being a native of France, might be admitted into the assembly. No complaint might be made of infractions of edicts, since there were courts for the hearing of such complaints. No correspondence could be held with the provinces during the sittings. No books printed without previous censure. No Minister or other person excommunicated for having gone over to the Church of Rome. No foreigner thenceforth to be received as a Minister. Provincial Synods not to appoint public fasts. Mention of martyrs, persecutions, torments, or other querulous expressions, not to be heard in sermons. The Pope not to be called Antichrist, nor the Church of Rome said to be idolatrous, nor her sacraments spoken of contemptuously. No private collections to be made for the support of Ministers, nor any one prosecuted for not paying a Minister his salary. No children to be sent for education to Switzerland, Holland, or England; nor any one ordained who had studied in a foreign University. No books of devotion to be used wherein were words disrespectful to the Church of Rome. No one to preach in places not privileged. No bells to be hung in churches without licence, nor any unlicensed meetings for church-business to be holden. Parents not to be reproved for sending their children to Popish schools. The Synod was exhorted to be thankful for having received permission to assemble so near Paris; and to remember that the population of that city would be *a severe witness* of all their actions, and be circumspect. While these prohibitions delivered in the Synod indicated unmitigated severity in the Government, decrees of a similar kind extinguished every vestige of civil equality in the provinces.

VI. *The Synod of Loudun*, and the last National (A.D. 1660). The Commissary, M. de Magdelaine, assured the assembly that they

were indebted to the Cardinal Mazarin, the King's Prime Minister, for permission to meet again, after an interval of fifteen years.* He reiterated the usual restrictions, and declared that, Provincial Synods being sufficient for every purpose of discipline, a National Synod would not be again convened. He furthermore warned them that on the slightest manifestation of disobedience to any of the King's injunctions, they would be immediately dispersed, and the offenders punished. Thus, by the management of two Cardinals and their Clergy, continuously administering in Paris the policy of Rome, the Reformed Church, under a colour of legal establishment and royal protection, was reduced to the lowest state of bondage, and made ready for extinction. Its synodical action was first controlled by the King, or rather by the Jesuits, whose impulses he obeyed, and then suppressed.

Strong places, given to the defenders of Christian liberty, as a guarantee for the observance of treaties, had been taken from them by force, and dismantled. Assemblies for the management of their temporal affairs, which had been granted to them and acknowledged through successive reigns, were gradually suppressed, leaving them without any certain union of counsels for self-preservation. National Synods not only allowed, but legalized, were then controlled by their enemies, as we have just seen, and afterwards suddenly annihilated, leaving the Churches without means of mutual support and common action. Still, there was a distinct system of jurisdiction to guard their social existence; and, to the apprehension of Rome, it only remained to abolish that, in order to sweep away the last vestige of the Reformation in France. Now that the army had reconquered the towns and fortresses, and a royal Commissioner had sufficed to wear out the Synod, a perversion of justice was the means best suited to overpower the *Chambres miparties*, "Courts of the Edict," or mixed tribunals established by the edict of Nantes, in which the Reformed assisted to administer justice. These Courts were, for a time, regarded with confidence; and in them only could the persecuted hope for refuge. To suppress them at once would have been impolitic, and it, in fact, required twenty years more to bring them down; but the Court of Rome had learnt the efficacy of quiet perseverance; and successive Pontiffs rejoiced in the ever-brightening prospect of a renovated ecclesiastical fabric beyond the Alps. Domestic persecution went on simultaneously with those public wrongs.

As often as the Queen-Mother, Anne of Austria, needed the help of her Protestant subjects to guard the throne of the infant Louis XIV., she was loud in their praise, and gladly accepted the loyalty to France which not even the atrocious oppression of half a century could alienate. But when she lay on her death-bed, when all other considerations gave way before the influence of the religion in which she trusted, she obeyed the injunctions of her Confessor, and gave reiterated entreaties to her son to consecrate the energies of his manhood to the extermination of those heretics. The Clerks who crowded her

* There has been a feeble revival of the Synod of the French Reformed Churches, since the last establishment of republicanism, but *without a Confession of Faith*. It is but a shadow.

chamber and beset the throne, the masters who had moulded the young King after the fashion of his Church, applauded their pupil when he assured his dying mother that he would not fail to destroy the heresy, root and branch. A Priest who had studied the multifarious edict of Nantes with the eye of a casuist and a lawyer, and taken part in the production of numerous orders issued during the preceding ten years, compiled a new document, to be declaratory of the King's mind, and embodying the worst provisions which had been issued at various times in a code for universal application. Louis gave his sign-manual to this "declaration of fifty-nine articles" (April 2d, 1666). From day to day its effects became more and more disastrous. The King, indeed, preserved some show of dignified impartiality, and even admitted a venerable Minister, Du Bosc, to an audience, with unusual affability, and seemed, for a moment, to be influenced by his expostulations; but it was a feint. The Clergy had so instructed him, and there could be no redress.

The Ministers of Christ laboured to instruct the ignorant, and to reclaim the erring; but whenever a Romanist, or even a Jew, yielding to the power of the Gospel, approached their communion, some act of the civil power frustrated his intention, and at length it was made illegal for any one to become a Protestant. Ever since the Psalms of Marot and Beza had first resounded in the public walks of Paris, in the chambers of the Louvre, and in the prisons of the martyrs, the same strains had been heard from the lips of their children. Now this was prohibited, except in congregations lawfully assembled; and it became a crime to sing the songs of Zion. But when the officers came into their houses, demanding the fine, not a few answered by singing the first lines of the French paraphrase of the thirty-fourth Psalm:—

> "Jamais ne cesserai
> De magnifier le Seigneur:
> En ma bouche aurai son honneur
> Tant que vivant serai."

And some paid double, in anticipation of the like breach of law they intended to commit next day. But the sound of psalmody was soon silenced. The Bailiff of Rouën gave a sentence which forbade the Reformed to sing aloud, either in the town or by the way, either on land or water. In place after place the preachers were also silenced. Often the Ministers chose to obey God rather than man, and were taken from the pulpit to the jail. Sometimes, when the Ministers of the place feared to break through the prohibition, others came to preach for them. Des Loges, for example, Minister of Lusignan, supplied for Cuville at Couhé after the church had been demolished. In that hour eighteen hundred persons drank the word of life. The parish Priest, bold in a notion of authority, went among the crowd as they were assembling, and bade them disperse; but one, in mask,* answered for the rest, that preaching would not be hindered that day. Nor was it. Des Loges addressed the solemn assembly without dis-

* Persons masked themselves to avoid recognition by their persecutors; not, like the Romanists in their carnivals, to commit evil with impunity.

turbance, and then baptized several children, all their parents being persons of rank, who dedicated their offspring to God openly, with no other prospect than poverty and shame from generation to generation. Not only was Evangelical worship often prevented, but reverence was exacted to idolatrous processions; and the Protestant who refused to defile his conscience by thus worshipping the wafer, soon found himself in prison. At length it was but for the Priests to request it, and churches were placed under interdict, until Evangelical worship ceased throughout entire districts.

Tradesmen and artificers, wishing to rid themselves of competition, began to petition that "pretended Reformed" might not be allowed to follow their calling or exercise their craft; and towns were by that means decimated of their most industrious and honest inhabitants. Sempstresses and midwives, although generally persons of doubtful reputation, were not allowed to practise if they did not go to the altar and confessional; while civic and judicial honours were equally withdrawn from Nonconformists.

Manifold were the contrivances for bringing over unsound, weak, or infant Protestants to a profession of Popery. At first, children of twelve or fourteen years were declared free to quit their parents, and be affiliated to the Church. Orphans, and children dissatisfied with the unkindness of stepmothers, were decoyed from their homes, and not suffered to return again. The age at which a child became competent to choose his faith was afterwards reduced to seven years. Magistrates stole infants without regard to age; and when parents, full of anguish and indignation, appealed to Parliaments for redress, the crime, instead of being punished by the legislator, received his sanction, and outrage the most inhuman passed into the character of law. The law, with inexorable cruelty, burst open the chambers of the dying, and compelled the Christian, in his last agony, to hear the exhortations of Monks to renounce his faith, and, while yet conscious of what went on around him, to suffer the profane handling of the Priest who laid the crucifix upon his lips, anointed his rigid frame with chrism, placed the wafer in his mouth ere the last sigh told of the soul's deliverance, and after death the curate and the sexton would steal away the corpse to bury it amidst the exultations of the Church, and the wailings of the heart-broken survivers. The most worthless persons were borrowed to swell processions, and to decoy proselytes. One Jean de Versse, an Advocate of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, had plunged himself into debt by profligacy; but Louis XIV. bought him over by an order (March 24th, 1673), exempting him from the necessity to pay his debts for three years. That expedient for strengthening the cause of "Catholicism" afterwards became very common. False brethren, allured by "pieces of silver," betrayed the true; and the piety which had long languished for want of spiritual food, died at last, under shocks of perfidy and desertion.

The general history of the French Churches during this period is much occupied with notices of a scheme for alluring French Protestantism into a reunion of Churches, a resorption of the Reformed

Churches by the Church dominant. The scheme was not altogether ineffectual; but, being made fully known, it aroused the opposition of the Provincial Synods, which still lingered under the control of Commissaries; but the King forbade the excommunication, or even censure, of some unfaithful Ministers who had fallen into the snare. The effort of Rome at this day to corrupt the Church of England, and to set Protestants against each other, is more likely to succeed, because more artfully conducted. After the experience of two more centuries, she better understands the methods of seduction.

As Rome does not acknowledge any other society than her own to be a Church, she could freely employ the Kings of France to control the spiritual affairs of Protestants. The King used his assumed prerogative to prohibit the Reformed Clergy from ministering to congregations that could not maintain Pastors of their own. The force of this restriction was broken for a time by the collective efforts of the richer and poorer churches which supplied resident Clergy to the latter; but the Priests, through the King, destroyed the union of resources by forbidding one church to help another. This reduced the weaker to a state of destitution. But heavier strokes followed in the interdiction of congregations, and the demolition of churches by royal authority. Strong bodies of military kept guard round the buildings while masons pulled them to the ground; and each act of demolition was perpetrated under the sanction of a legal judgment, sentence being given on account of some infraction of an edict, or some alleged defect in the tenure of the ground on which the sanctuary stood.

Then came the suppression of the mixed tribunals. Four Reformed and four Romish Councillors had been appointed to sit together in the "Chambers of the Edict;" but it frequently happened that the former, dispirited by the means employed to nullify their influence, attended irregularly. This afforded pretext for a declaration (July 14th, 1665), empowering the Romish Councillors to act, even if their colleagues were not there in sufficient number. Another declaration (April 2d, 1666) transferred all cases of *relapse*, *apostasy*, and *blasphemy* from the "Chambers of the Edict" to the Parliaments, there to be dealt with according to the canon law. Some members of those courts in Paris and Rouën had allowed themselves to be betrayed beyond the boundary of their proper jurisdiction; and no sooner was this proved than both Chambers were abolished by a royal order (October, 1668). Then it was that Du Bosc obtained the unusual favour of an audience of the King; but all that His Majesty would give was a worthless promise that justice should be done to his brethren when brought under the jurisdiction of the Parliaments. All the other "Chambers of the Edict" were forthwith abolished (January 29th, 1669). Ten years afterwards the *Chambres miparties*, or inferior mixed Committees, were universally and finally dispersed (A.D. 1679). No barrier now remained to prevent Louis XIV. from accomplishing the pleasure of his Church.

The most eminently learned and pious of the Reformed Clergy, and even of the laity, were prosecuted, and subjected to heavy fines and imprisonment, with all imaginable indignity, for every truthful

sentence concerning Popery which they might have preached or written. Examples of Christian constancy multiplied, as the final persecution drew near; the fury of the priesthood and the meek fidelity of their victims appearing each day in more conspicuous contrast. The history of an honourable lady, the Dame Du Chail, illustrates the state of things in France, on the eve of the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

Marie Cardin, born of Romish parents, handsome, heiress to a large estate, and admired by the nobility of her neighbourhood, became the wife of M. Du Chail, a gentleman who, to obtain her hand, passed over to communion with the Church to which she belonged. But this abandonment of one nominal religion for another led him to compare the two; the effort of comparison aroused his conscience; he perceived and mourned his error, and resolved to make a public confession of it. His wife soon partook of these sentiments, and received instruction from him in the doctrine of eternal life; and they both felt an intense desire to confess the Saviour. They had several children, to whom they imparted the same truths; but the severe declarations of the King against relapsed converts long deterred M. Du Chail from making the intended confession. At length he fell sick, and sending for M. Pain, Minister of Fontenai, together with the President of the same place, he divulged the secret, and made a solemn profession of his faith (June 4th, 1673). The Minister, a man universally esteemed for an unostentatious yet earnest zeal, and sincere piety, rejoiced in the unexpected convert whom the Holy Spirit of God, not his own ministrations, had brought into the church. Twice only he had visited him, when he was arrested for having done so, and punished with an imprisonment of four months, after which he was permitted to quit the dungeon and remain in detention under the roof of a relative in Poitiers. Meanwhile, M. Du Chail was tormented with incessant vexations by the Lieutenant-criminal, and by Monks who haunted him until it pleased God to take his soul to the world where the wicked cease from troubling. The body was then carried to the palace, a legal suit instituted against it, and it was within a very little of being deprived of sepulture. Two Romish Notaries produced his last testament, wherein he had directed that his body should be interred in the cemetery of the Reformed; but the Judge insisted on executing on the corpse all the rigour of the canon law. His friends, however, adduced some provisions of the civil law, applicable in such a case; and the Judge, submitting to a compromise, ordered that the deceased relapse should neither be buried in the Protestant nor Popish cemetery. The interment, therefore, took place secretly, and with great danger of tumult, in a distant spot, unknown to the public. As soon as the authorities had known that M. Du Chail had incurred the penalties denounced on the relapsed, they had separated his wife from him, and endeavoured to prevent her from coming to his chamber, her own mother aiding them in this barbarity. But her ingenuity and persevering courage baffled all their vigilance; and although a garrison of archers were in the town, and employed to watch the avenues, she waited at his bed-side to the

last hour. Her own conversion not having been made known, they intrusted her with the care of her children, with strict injunctions to bring them up in the Roman faith, and never to abandon it herself. Both those injunctions she disregarded. Her children were diligently instructed in the holy Scriptures; she presented her abjuration secretly to a Minister of the Reformed Church, and often went to communicate at Rochelle. The light could not burn invisibly under a bushel. Her conversion became known: the children were taken from her, and placed in charge of the Jesuits; and the eldest, who also had professed the Christian faith, was watched with keenest jealousy. These Jesuits appointed a Romish guardian of their own choice; but the indefatigable mother found means to instil the precious truths of Christianity into their minds with a resistless force of maternal tenderness, that mocked the heartless lessons of their keeper. Her interference, being discovered, brought down on her incessant vexations; and on the death of her bigoted mother she found herself disinherited, and reduced to poverty, unless she would consent to remain a "Catholic." Not only did she refuse to make such a promise, but conveyed away the children, by assistance of some trusty friends, and would not disclose the place of their concealment. More than sixty thousand livres of her money fell into the hands of the Jesuits; and, foreseeing imprisonment, she endeavoured to escape. An unfaithful valet discovered her hiding-place, and they threw her into prison. By no allurement nor terror could they extort a disclosure of the place where her six children had found asylum: and, although all the property was confiscated which had fallen to her from her husband, and she was reduced to indigence, the grace of God sustained her above the power of men. They threatened to take her to Paris, and put her to the torture; but fearing the disgrace that such a procedure might bring upon the Church, or willing to allow the lady to escape for the sake of retaining the wealth that had fallen into their coffers, they left her prison open, and she escaped. Soon she found a welcome in England with five of her children, the eldest remaining in France, as he was of age, and hoped to recover something from the ruins of his house (A.D. 1681).

To go into voluntary exile, or by banishment, Ministers daily left their flocks; for a general attack of legal persecution drove away the timorous, or forced away the more eminent. The outflow of emigration now began; for the exhausted host, after the warfare of more than a century, was giving way before its conquerors. Then the Clergy of the dominant sect, elate with a victory that could be no longer doubtful, held another Assembly at Paris, and petitioned the King for new orders and declarations, which would inevitably disperse the remnant. Ruvigni, Deputy-General of the Reformed, laboured to obtain a hearing at court on their behalf, but utterly in vain. He obtained an audience of the King, represented the claims of his brethren for humanity and justice, and pointed out the evils which would befall France if that course of persecution were persisted in. Louis heard him with chilling indifference, complimented him for good intention, but said that "he considered himself so indispensably

bound to endeavour the conversion of all his subjects, and the extirpation of heresy, that if the doing it should require him with one hand to cut off the other, he would submit to that." * Far different was the reception given to the deputation from the Priests. The Coadjutor of Arles, a man whose dangerous eloquence had been employed for fifteen years against the persecuted churches, led them into the royal presence (July 10th, 1680). Laying aside the language of complaint which those churchmen had hitherto used, he launched into a profusion of thanks and eulogies. He promised himself the happiness of seeing heresy expire at the feet of the King. The later edicts, he affirmed, had been dictated by divine inspiration, those especially which excluded heretics from honours and employments. That which had destroyed the tribunals of heresy was a dispensatrix of justice; and the means employed for bringing back heretics to the bosom of the Church were "sweet and innocent, worthy of the goodness and wisdom of the King, and conformable to the intentions of the divine Shepherd." It is enough to say, that all the desires of the Priests were satisfied; that orders and declarations were issued at their pleasure.

The execution of them was inexorably rigorous. Could the Reformed have then united, they might have displayed resistance; but so subtle and so universally diffused was the spirit of oppression, that combination was impossible. The Provincial Synods were disunited: in none of them could a murmur be uttered with impunity; for a Romanist Commissioner was everywhere substituted to the officer formerly chosen from among themselves. Some members of the last Synod of Lower Languedoc, holden at Usez in 1682, therefore held private conversations, and agreed to attempt a system of secret correspondence,—such an expedient as naturally results from the grievances of despotism, but which is seldom successful, is most frequently subject to grave objections, even for purposes of political reform, and is altogether to be deprecated for any spiritual end, however good. There was great diversity of opinion when the plan was proposed. All agreed that the sufferings of their churches were scarcely to be borne, yet the judgment, the policy, and even the conscience, of many forbade any secret combination. A few persons, designated Directors, then avowed themselves to be advocates of their brethren, and addressed a memorial to the Duke of Noailles, which only served to awaken suspicion of a plot, and suggest the employment of military force, either to provoke or crush rebellion. The same Directors also held a secret meeting at Toulouse (A.D. 1683), where six persons were present, and prepared a plan "for the maintenance of liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of the Reformed religion." They entirely abstained from recommending any measure of resistance; but proposed that all the churches which had been placed under interdict in Lower Languedoc, the Cevennes, Vivarais, and Dauphiné, should simultaneously resume their public worship, and prepare for that moral demonstration by repentance,

* Burnet's History of his own Times, i., 657, folio edition, or iii., 77, Oxford.

prayer, and unity, according to the twenty-sixth article of their Confession of Faith.* They proposed preparatory meetings for deliberation, a day to be set apart for fasting and prayer, and then a general assemblage for confession of sins and sermons, not so ostentatious as to be offensive, nor yet so stealthy as to be without the appearance of publicity. But the majority of the interdicted congregations could not be so suddenly induced to re-assemble, even if there had been perfect uniformity of judgment. A few of them did meet, just enough to show that there was a secret direction; but so timidly, and at such unequal times, that the want of concert was not less evident. As soon as the Reformed of Vivarais began to assemble, the Romanists, either startled by the unexpected congregations, or pretending so to be, took up arms, and stood ready either for defence or attack. An alarm spread that a religious war was imminent; and this popular armament, encouraged by persons of rank, went on rapidly in many other places. In several baronial castles armed bands impatiently waited occasion to verify the rumour, and the Reformed themselves then found it necessary to arm in self-defence. The Deputy-General, dreading a second St. Bartholomew, when he saw Paris in a state of extreme agitation with the alarm of a Huguenot insurrection in the provinces, wrote to discountenance the attempt to recover their privilege of religious worship in the interdicted places; and the Directors, conscious that the effort was impracticable, yet full of confidence in the goodness of their cause, and the rectitude of their intention, addressed a "request" to the Marquis of Louvois, imploring him to intercede with the King for a restoration of the edict of Nantes, which, as they truly said, had been reduced to a shadow. The request was presented to His Majesty, but never answered.

The Romanist bands began to disperse the re-assembling congregations. One act of violence led to another. A sharp skirmish took place at Bourdeaux, in which the Reformed were beaten, but not until many had fallen on the other side; and the Court and Church, purposing to avoid the hazard of a civil war, published an amnesty, and by that means gained leisure to take advantage of the pretext now afforded for proceeding against heretics with increased severity. One by one almost every man who had carried arms in self-defence was charged with some act of sacrilege or word of blasphemy, and punished accordingly. Many were put to the rack, and then hung; and the Intendant of Dauphiné signalized his zeal by breaking alive on the wheel a fine young man named Chamier, whose chief sin was being grandson of an eminent Christian of the same name. Atrocities,

* "Therefore we believe that it is not lawful for any man to withdraw himself from the congregations of God's saints, and to content himself with his private devotions; but all of us jointly are bound to keep and maintain the unity of the church, submitting themselves unto the common instruction, and to the yoke of Jesus Christ, and this in all places wheresoever he shall have established the true discipline, although the edicts of earthly Magistrates be contrary thereunto: and whosoever do separate from this order, do resist the ordinance of God; and, in case they draw others aside with them, they do act very perversely, and are to be accounted as mortal plagues."—Quick's Synodicon, Preface.

not inferior to any that have been related of the crusaders amongst the Vaudois, were committed by dragoons let loose upon the people. The inhabitants of many parishes in the neighbourhood of St. Fortunat fled in panic to the mountains; but the zealots led the troops after them, and they were outraged and slaughtered without pity. Helpless women and children were singled out for the infliction of horrid cruelties. A woman, Catherine Raventel, being found in the pains of child-birth, the troopers killed her, and then cut the flesh from the face of one of her children, eight years of age, and chopped off the hand of a younger one. A wretch named St. Ruth, Captain of that band, acquired the title of "New Apostle,"—a title freely rendered him, no doubt, by the Priests whom he served. His chief exploit appears to have been the murder of two thousand persons at once, whom he surprised at worship, and surrounded by six thousand soldiers. Throughout the troubled provinces dragoons were billeted on the Protestants, and, amidst the inclemency of a hard winter, those inmates consumed their food, forced them to sell their furniture and clothing to buy more, and, when all was exhausted, began the work of compulsory conversion with horrid zeal. Torture was no longer inflicted in the chambers of Inquisitions, but in every house. Women and children were shut up in solitary apartments, bound with cords, and kept without food until life was nearly extinct, that they might consent to have their names taken by Notaries, and sign declarations that they had embraced the Catholic faith *on conviction, and without violence.* Others were laid before large fires until they became insensible. Others were swung by cords over burning straw, or suspended in chimneys. Some were hung up over cess-pools, and half suffocated in the mephitic vapour; or, lashed to chairs, they were carried to the churches to hear sermons, and then required to profess themselves converted.

When the dragoons had exhausted their store of terrors, Monks tried their skill in conferences, exhortations, and wearisome civilities. With those mingled another class of Missionaries, the "Ladies of Mercy," who strove to win converts by profuse charities. Thus a threefold mission was let loose,—of the sword, of the cowl, and of the purse.

Then took place the martyrdom of Isaac Homel, Minister of Soyon, in Vivarais. He was seized when endeavouring to escape, in company with Audoyer, another Minister, zealous even to intemperance. This man purchased life by changing religion, and giving information of M. Homel, who, he told the soldiers, would be "a good prize." To secure the "prize," they accused him of promoting rebellion; and, either by exaggeration or invention, suborned witnesses confirmed the accusation. His Judges were not convinced that he was guilty, not even of that honest resistance which persecutors count as rebellion; but, being intimidated by the prevailing fury, they condemned him to be broken on the wheel. The orders which they were required thus to execute had been prescribed by the Jesuits, to satisfy whom M. Homel, in the seventy-second year of his age, was made a public example at Tournon, where the Society had a college. The executioner

was made drunk, that he might do the work according to the pleasure of his masters; and, instead of dispatching him after ten or twelve blows of the iron bar, as usual, he made him suffer forty, with long intervals, and poured forth the most insulting language after each. Then he gave the mortal blow, after leaving his victim to linger for two days upon the scaffold. "I count myself happy," said this dying saint, "that I can die in my Master's quarrel. Did not my gracious Redeemer descend from heaven to earth, that I might be lifted up to heaven? Did not he undergo a shameful death, that I might gain a blessed life? And if, after all this, I should lose the life that is eternal, by endeavouring to prolong that which is frail and miserable, should not I be most ungrateful to my God, and an enemy to my own happiness? No, no! I am immovable. I breathe after that hour. When will that good hour come to end this present miserable life, and give me the joy of that life which is infinitely blessed? Farewell, dear wife! I know your tears hinder you from bidding me farewell. Be not troubled at the scaffold upon which I must expire. It shall be my triumphal chariot to carry me to heaven." This, and much more, he said in the presence of the Judges, who, having heard his final protestation of innocence, ordered the reeling executioner to do his office. He began by breaking his arms and legs; and, this done, they asked him whether he would die a "Catholic." "How, my Lords!" he answered: "if I had intended to change my religion, I would have done it before my bones had been thus broken. I wait only for the hour of my dissolution. Courage, O my soul! courage! Thou shalt presently enjoy the delights of heaven. And as for thee, my poor body, thou shalt be turned to dust, indeed, but soon to be raised again a spiritual body. Thou shalt see things which never entered into the heart of man, things which cannot be conceived of in this life." Then, looking on his wife, who could not leave him in his suffering, he said again: "Farewell, once more, my dearest wife! I am waiting for you. Though you see my bones broken to shivers, my soul is filled with unutterable joys." It is said that he had kissed his Judges before they left him to the executioner; that they turned from him shedding floods of tears; and that, during the two days of torment, when he had all his bones broken, he did not utter a single cry, but lay in silence, with his eyes lifted up towards heaven (October 20th, 1683). Several other Ministers were also broken on the wheel, a much larger number hung, and many deprived of all their property, and placed under perpetual interdict.

Many persecutors acquired an infamous pre-eminence. Such was the Bishop-Count of Ledeve. At one time we find him exempting masons from attending at mass on the Lord's day, that they might do "the better work" of building up the windows of a church while the Minister was preaching. Or he is in prison, endeavouring to convert a young woman, first, by persuasions, which produce no effect, then by prayers, which make no impression, and, lastly, by blows, which are equally ineffectual. When the troops had come into his neighbourhood, he assembled all the Reformed inhabitants of St. André

to propose that they should be converted; and, on their refusal, threatened them with the most brutal outrage,* and caused the threat to be fully carried into execution (February, 1684). A fit companion of the Bishop was the Countess of Marsan, proprietress of the town of Pons. Heavily laden in conscience with the remembrance of a nefarious life, she had learned from her Confessor a way of expiation. Without distinction of age or sex, she caused Protestants to be apprehended, imprisoned, beaten, and tormented, in ways unheard of, except among her kindred zealots, in order to their "conversion." But she especially delighted in kidnapping and tormenting children. After suffering in the prison of her castle during three or four weeks, many gave way; but some, and even younger children among them, kept their faith, and were discharged as impracticable. Jean Brun, a little orphan boy, twelve years of age, was stolen from his guardian, and brought into her presence. Her servants laboured hard to overcome his constancy, and, at last, succeeded by suspending him with cords in places where he was nearly suffocated,† until terror and distress overcame him. Another child, Jaques Pascalet, was shut up in a cell in the tower of her castle, and damp hay and straw burnt at the entrance until he became insensible. This failing to extort a recantation, they drove him round a table until he fainted with exhaustion; but after he had still refused, on being roused, to accept the privileges of their religion, they succeeded by a last attempt. The poor boy sank into a lethargy, from which they slightly roused him by persevering blows with the palms of their hands, and, having caused him to ejaculate or to repeat a word of abjuration while in a state of unconsciousness, took him as a convert, and nursed him into life again.

Church after church now fell with scarcely any judicial formality. Let one scene represent a multitude. The church of Marenne, consisting of united congregations, to the number of thirteen or fourteen thousand, had but one very spacious building in which to celebrate public worship. Du Vigier, a Councillor of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, formerly a Protestant, purchased favour by apostacy, of which he proved the reality by leading the persecution in that province. Having laid an interdict on the church, and an order to prevent the usual congregation on the Sunday, he was careful not to serve the notice on the Minister until the preceding night was far advanced. In the morning nearly ten thousand persons assembled outside the church; but the doors might not be opened. They had brought twenty-three infants to be baptized, and several couples were also there to receive the nuptial benediction. The multitude stood for some time in silent, unresisting grief, and then broke out into loud lamentation. Relatives and friends who, from their childhood, had gone up to the house of God in company, embraced each other, and wailed aloud. Then, when the paroxysm of grief was spent,—and there is a mingling of horror in such grief which no one can conceive

* He threatened them—the words are *his own*—"de faire venir les dragons qui saccageroient leurs maisons, et qui violeroient leurs femmes."

† Dans les latrines.

who has not felt it,*—they separated in silence, and went home, never more in this world to join in solemn assembly. Yet they dispersed but slowly. Trembling, as they stood on a spot where assemblage was declared unlawful, they stood hand in hand, gazing on their sanctuary, and lifting their eyes heavenward, in bewildering sorrow that choked the utterance of prayer. The parents walked a distance of seven leagues, carrying the babes to receive holy baptism; but it was winter, and several of them died from exposure to the cold. The pretext for closing this church was, that some *relapsed* had entered it, and the children of some persons recently *converted*. But not even this was proved.

The solicitude of parents to present their children to God in baptism, although they were perfectly free from the Romish notion of baptismal regeneration, could not be repressed. Long journeys were taken for the fulfilment of this duty, and often to the sacrifice of life. Before the interdiction of Rochelle, parents used to bring them thither by water, even in tempestuous weather; and it is related that some boat-loads of persons, bringing children for baptism, were lost in a storm between Royan and Bourdeaux. Inconceivably precious was the word of God in those days of spiritual famine. Some there were who travelled fifty or sixty leagues to hear a sermon and unite with a praying congregation; and not only young persons did this, who had strength to carry them, and rich persons, who could procure conveyance, but the poor and the aged went forth as on pilgrimage; and infirm limbs, tottering under the burden of threescore years and ten, or fourscore years, were dragged slowly to the far-distant house of prayer, that the ancient saint might there pay solemn valediction to the church beneath, preparatory to joining in those high solemnities of the church above on which no interdict shall evermore be laid.

Even then, so deeply stupefied in moral ignorance as not to perceive that their cruelties could only have produced horror of the system that so laboured to maintain its own existence, the French priesthood made another effort after a reunion of churches. They could only exhibit a few names of Reformed Clergy who were said to desire such a reconciliation; but, even then, some of the reputed postulants for peace with Rome had courage to disclaim the signatures. Amidst those scenes of suffering, Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, was heartless enough to manage that Claude should be invited to a conference with him, for the satisfaction of a young lady who wished to be convinced by the charm of a Bishop, in order to join the "Catholic Church." Claude came; and the Bishop repented of the experiment, but endeavoured to recover his credit by writing a book on the variations of Protestants. This, however, drew from the pen of Basnage the "History of the Religion of the Reformed Churches."

A succession of orders now came forth, preparatory to the revoca-

* The author has felt it, and the remembrance is indelible. He, too, received an interdict, and saw a crowded congregation dispersed, while a strong armed force, with fixed bayonets, stood by to enforce obedience. God had given him a commission to preach the Gospel; but a Popish magistracy declared that such preaching was a crime against the state. This took place in Cadiz, April 7th, 1839.

tion of the edict. Some of the leading members of the Reformed Church petitioned the King for a revival of the edict in its original form; but their petition was not even honoured with an answer. Yet the majority of them could not be persuaded to believe that the edict would ever be revoked. The simplicity of Protestantism blinded them, as it has blinded us, to the policy and projects of the Court of Rome.*

Restrictions and prohibitions without end gave occasion to factitious crimes, from which the most circumspect scarcely could be free; nor could the utmost caution save the object of legal persecution from suborned or fabricated evidence, and arbitrary judgment. Ministers were taken to prison in irons, amidst the indignities of the rabble, and shut up with felons, or confined in solitary cells, to endure hunger, cold, and iron. Before the madness of bigotry natural affection vanished, and once more children gave up parents to prison, and parents children. The Ministers of God were made the song of drunkards, and old age and piety lost their reverence. By a royal edict (January 8th, 1685), Ministers were deprived of the few exemptions they had enjoyed; and by other such acts of arbitrary power the Reformed were placed under disabilities equivalent with the horrors of an ancient excommunication; and, lest they should escape to publish those atrocities in any other country, it was enacted that no one should leave the kingdom, and any attempt to do so was made punishable as treason. Calling them Huguenot, rebel, and traitor, the King openly declared that he had nothing so much at heart as to labour, for the glory of God, to extirpate the heresy of Calvin.

How to do this most easily and effectually was now the great question; and the Romish Clergy held a meeting at Versailles (May, 1685), to take it into final deliberation. This meeting had been expected for six months previously; and the Reformed trembled when they saw the Priests journeying thither from all quarters. The more eloquent prepared the way by congratulatory harangues, containing intimations of measures which the directors of the plot would desire to see employed. They recounted the names and deeds of Princes who had aggrandized the Church in ancient times, and extolled the labours of the reigning King for the oppression of the Reformed as worthy of higher praise than any of his predecessors had merited, for he had raised up the Catholic Church, as they said, from depression, dispersion, and servitude, and restored it to prosperity and

* It was just at this time that the Bishop of the diocese contrived, by false accusation, to obtain a sentence from the Parliament of Paris that the principal church at Rochelle should be demolished. The Ministers were taken to the Bastille, and the demolition went on. The church-bell was lowered from the tower, whipped, for having served heretics, and then buried and unburied, to show that it came to life again to serve Catholics. One rich lady attended at the disinterment, as a *sage femme* does at a birth; and another accepted the office of nurse. It was interrogated. It answered. It promised not to go to preaching any more. It was made to do penance, then reconciled, then baptized, and consigned to the parish of St. Bartholomew. But when the Governor, who had sold it to the parish, demanded payment, he was told that as the bell had been a Huguenot, and was recently converted, it would have to be indulged with a delay of three years for the payment of its debt. This is Catholic piety,—to profane its own ceremonies, and then to pay its debts in wit.

glory. The Bishop of Valence and the Coadjutor of Rouën lauded the King for the means he had used to accomplish this glorious work, —means the most gentle, and most worthy of the Gospel. The Bishop declared that, *without violence and without arms*, the King had caused the pretended Reformed religion to be abandoned by all reasonable persons; and yet no one reminded him that he had himself been one of the first to apply to the court, two years before, for troops to be sent into his province to kill the Protestants, and that they had been sent accordingly. The Coadjutor * affirmed, that by winning the heart of heretics the King had subdued the obstinacy of their spirit, and by his beneficence had melted down their obduracy. "Perhaps," said he, "they would never have returned into the bosom of the Church, but by the way strewed with flowers, which was thrown open to them by the King, who has only contended with the pride of heresy by the gentleness and wisdom of his government. Laws, supported by benefits, have been his only weapons." And he testified to the joy experienced by the Church that the King had not used fire and sword for the accomplishment of this great work. Yet, besides the violences committed in Poitou, Guyenne, Perigord, Saintonge, and Aunix by the chiefs Marillac, De Muin, Carnavalet, Du Vigier, the Countess of Marsan, and many others; besides that Dauphiné, the Vivarais, and the Cevennes were, at that moment, reeking with the blood which had been shed; (while by the proscription of many families who had fled through terror of the gibbet, the wheel, and the galleys, and by the ruin of multitudes more whom pillage and taxation had reduced to beggary, many places, once populous and flourishing, were desolate;)—besides all this, the plan for subjecting the whole kingdom to the same treatment was already formed, and troops were already distributed on the places where these barbarous executions should commence. The business of that convocation, which consisted in devising measures of persecution to be effected by means of orders, each counteracting some article of the edict of Nantes, or involving the Reformed in some additional perplexity, then proceeded. Requests were forwarded to the King to issue such orders as they desired; and, after undergoing a few trifling alterations, they were published with the usual formalities.

The lamentations of the persecuted, and their reasonable complaints against the real authors of this decisive stroke, supplied the priesthood with a pretext of indignation. The whole assembly of the archbishopric of Paris marched in a body to the King (July 24th), complained bitterly that they had been slandered by the heretics, and implored him, for the honour of the Church, to put those heretics to silence. In a few days their desire was satisfied by an edict forbidding all persons to preach or write against the faith and doctrine of the Roman Church, or to impute to its members doctrines they did not entertain, or even to "speak directly or indirectly, in any manner whatever, against the Catholic religion;" and commanding Ministers to teach in their sermons the dogmas of their own religion only, and

* A Coadjutor is a person appointed by the Archbishop to assist a Bishop who is become too infirm to perform his duties. He usually succeeds to the mitre.

the rules of morality, without meddling with anything else. To make the silence complete, and that no sentence might thenceforth reach the eye any more than the ear of a Frenchman to impugn or counteract the errors of the dominant sect, the edict also suppressed every book containing passages offensive to the Church. Every Romish preacher put out his utmost strength to inflame the multitude, and the press teemed with publications in defence of the Papacy; but the Reformed were sentenced to be silent as the grave. As a sect only *tolerated*, they were commanded to make no unfavourable allusion to *the true religion*. This edict virtually, although not formally, revoked the edict of Nantes. The Archbishop of Paris had an Index prohibitory ready for publication, the fruit of many years' labour; and it was instantly given to his own province, and generally adopted throughout France. Versions of the Bible made by heretics are noted in that list, although they certainly contained no literal statements relating to the creed of Pius IV. The search followed, and the dispersion of the ecclesiastical and private libraries of the Reformed was an immediate consequence.

Louis XIV. again let loose dragoons and soldiers of all sorts on his defenceless subjects, to be the last missionaries of his Church. Lest, however, the heretics should escape from France, the roads, the seaports, the merchant-ships, and even the fishing-boats, were watched and searched, to prevent the "evasion of fugitives." The Intendant Foucaud first resumed those terrible operations at Bearn. The first thought of the persecuted was to save themselves by flight. But it was impossible to escape. Priests led soldiers into the forests to hunt them down. Every expedient short of torture was soon exhausted; and lists of converts, as they were called, attested their diligence. Yet a great part of those conversions consisted merely of the record of names which made those to whom they belonged liable to be prosecuted for relapse. At a town called Muslac, the Bishop of Lescaz officiated, forcing wafers into the mouths of men who were dragged into the church, beaten to the ground, handcuffed, and laid on the steps of the altar, there to be converted by that outrageous ministration, and, being registered as converts, were afterwards imprisoned for the sin of relapse. Foucaud instructed the newly-arrived troops in the duties of their vocation, and not only permitted, but ordered, them to perpetrate cruelties which are too vile to be described. A favourite method of conversion was to keep the obstinate awake for many days and nights. The noise of voices, roaring blasphemy, of drums beaten in the rooms, and of furniture hurled from its place and broken to pieces, was continued by relays until sound ceased to produce its usual effects. Then knives and pincers were applied. The sufferers were dragged from place to place, with tobacco burnt under their nostrils, and their limbs were bound with cords. Then again they were swung in chimneys, and half suffocated with smoke. Their treatment of women was horrible: it was not only the brutality of which a drunken soldier is often guilty, but such as fiends might have invented; for, binding them hand and foot, they applied fire to their bodies. Officers, as well as common soldiers,

laid them on hot charcoal, and thrust their heads into the mouths of heated ovens, to force them to recant. Tears, cries, and convulsive writhings provoked the mirth of those tormentors; but when the confessors of Christ had already carried his cross through long assaults, they generally endured that last ordeal without yielding up their faith, although many died under the hands of those terrible "converters." To relate the wanton destruction of property by soldiers quartered in the houses of persons of all classes, and to relate even a small part of the sufferings of the aged, the delicate, and the infirm, would be impossible.

Of all the Priests we do not hear that any one interposed his influence to mitigate those horrors. On the contrary, the whole body of them at Bearn gave proof of their destitution of both religion and humanity, by holding a festival to celebrate the capture of Pau, which was taken by their crusaders. The shaven-headed Clerks walked in procession through the town, followed by a long train of shuddering converts. At a grand mass and a *Te Deum* in their temple, the Parliament joined; and while it seemed that hell had poured forth its scouts all over town and country to inspire a barbarity and hate which this world had never seen before, except sometimes in the service of Papal Rome, they dared to challenge the vengeance of Almighty God, by singing: "We believe that thou shalt come to be our Judge. We therefore pray thee, help thy servants, whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood."

The doings of Bearn were so satisfactory to the Ecclesiastics, that the same system was followed in many other parts of the kingdom. France was at once a field of blood. Myriads of persons, overcome by fear, or, perhaps, thinking that such a concession might be justified, avoided the ultimate consequences of resistance by pronouncing the sentence, "I return," (*Je me réünis,*) or exclaiming, "Jesus, Mary!" or making a sign of the cross, and then subscribing a form of reconciliation. Rochelle, Montauban, and the other cautionary towns, having been long dismantled in readiness for this, were occupied with troops, who proceeded in like manner; and the conversion of those places was formally reported to the King. Only one ceremony remained to crown the triumph of the Church, and that was the revocation of the edict.

For some reasons of state, the King and court did not intend to publish the revocation of the edict of Nantes until the next year, after the opening of the Parliament of Paris; and in order to put the Reformed off their guard, and check the emigration which, in spite of every prevention, continued to flow through the extensive sea-board and wide frontiers of the kingdom, they endeavoured to amuse them with a false hope of better treatment by an edict (September 15th), which allowed some facilities, hitherto refused, for the celebration of marriages. Yet the dragoons continued their atrocities; and other ordinances, especially one for the expulsion of all strangers from Paris, showed that no permanent relaxation of severity was to be expected. The Chancellor Le Tellier had been for some time bending under the weight of age and disease, and feared that he should die without the

consolation of blotting out the last trace of heresy. Like Anne of Austria, he longed to commend himself to God, when on his death-bed, by persecuting his people unto death; and implored the King to allow him an opportunity for the acquisition of merit, by hastening the revocation which his official signature would render valid. The Marquis of Châteauneuf drew up the necessary document, and having obtained the cordial approval of all dignitaries concerned, brought it to the chamber of the sinking Chancellor (October 18th), who, unable to lie in his bed, was moving painfully across the room, supported on the shoulders of two servants. With a tremulous hand he affixed the signature; he saw the great seal appended; and then, exulting in the prospect of numberless imprisonments, tortures, confiscations, and deaths that would certainly ensue all over France, he recited with passionate devotion the words of Simeon, "*Nunc dimittis*," *&c.* : "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." This was his last act of office. That it might be his last, he refused to sign any other instrument; and after a few days received the sorry viaticum which is given by Rome to her doubting children for their last fatal journey, and expired.

Louis declares in the preamble that Henry the Great, his grandfather of glorious memory, wishing to prevent the peace which he had procured for his kingdom, at cost of so many wars, from being disturbed by occasion of the pretended Reformed religion, as it had been under the Kings his predecessors, gave an edict at Nantes in April, 1598. That edict would have determined the conduct to be observed towards persons of the said religion, the places where they might worship, and the extraordinary Judges that might administer justice to them, with other articles calculated to maintain tranquillity in the kingdom, and diminish the aversion of those of both religions towards each other, that he might be better able to labour, as he was resolved to do, to restore to the Church those who had so lightly left it. He then recounts the intentions and the acts of the King his father, as well as his own; and proceeds to falsify history in these terms: "Now seeing, with the just gratitude which we owe to God, that our cares have had the effect which we proposed, since the best and greatest part of our subjects of the said pretended Reformed religion have embraced the Catholic; and that, therefore, the execution of the edict of Nantes, and of all that has been ordained in favour of the said pretended Reformed religion, is now useless, we have judged that we can do nothing better, in order to efface utterly the remembrance of the troubles, confusion, and ills which the progress of this false religion has caused in our kingdom, and which gave occasion to the said edict, and so many other edicts before and after it, than to revoke entirely the said edict of Nantes, the particular articles which have been accorded since, and all that has been done in favour of the said religion."

The articles of this edict are, 1. The revocation. 2. Prohibition of meetings for worship of any kind, or under any pretext. 3. Prohibition, addressed to lords of estates, of whatever tenure, of every sort

of religious meeting of the Reformed on their lands. 4. An injunction on all the Ministers to embrace the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion, or to quit the kingdom within fifteen days, without delivering sermon or exhortation within that time, under penalty of the galleys. 5. An offer to conforming Ministers of the immunities of their former order during life, with a pension equal to their former income, and one third more, and a pension of half that amount for their widows. 6. Conforming Ministers, wishing to act as advocates, were to be exempted from preliminaries required in other cases. 7. Prohibition of schools, and all things, in general, that would mark any kind of concession in favour of that religion. 8. Forcible baptism of the children of the Reformed, under penalty of at least five hundred *livres* for each omission, and subsequent Popish education. 9. A promise of peaceable possession to any, then out of the country, who might choose to return and peaceably occupy their estates and property. 10. Absolute prohibition of all persons, of whatever age, from going out of the kingdom, under penalty of the galleys for the men, or confiscation of body and goods for the women. 11. A reiteration of the orders already in force against the relapsed. Under condition of entire submission to the second and third articles, and until it should please God to enlighten them, as others, persons of the said religion might live at peace in France. Courts of Parliament were ordered to register the edict.

Such as would entirely submit to a deprivation of every religious exercise, might live at peace, "*until it should please God to enlighten them.*" Honestly interpreted, this would mean that they should not be troubled any more. And so many thought the words were to be understood. La Reynie, Lieutenant of Police in Paris, convened the principal merchants of the proscribed religion, and told them that they might be quite at ease in their houses, fearing nothing. On receiving this assurance, many who had prepared to quit the country changed their purpose; and many who had concealed themselves, awaiting opportunity for flight, ventured to come back again. But they only came in time to receive dragoons. "Until it should please God to enlighten them" meant, when pronounced by Louis and the Jesuits, until a renewed mission of rapine and torture could undertake to enlighten them. Still many clung to the fairer exposition of the words, and some less designing Romanists hesitated to repeat the abominations of months gone by. The Duke of Noailles, for one, on receiving an order which seemed at variance with the letter of the edict, wrote to the Marquis of Louvois for explanation, which was conveyed in these words:—"I doubt not that some lodgments laid a little more heavily on the few that remain of nobility and third estate of those religionaries, will show them their mistake as to the edict which M. de Châteauneuf has drawn up for us; and His Majesty desires that you will explain yourself very severely against those who wish to be the last to profess a religion that displeases him, and of which he has forbidden the exercise throughout the kingdom." And yet, again, the same Marquis circulated a general order ending thus:—"His Majesty *wills* that those who do not choose to be of his

religion shall feel the utmost severities. And those who wish to enjoy the stupid glory of being *last*, must be pushed to the *last extremity*." All the acts that followed, both at court and in the provinces, corresponded with these announcements of the royal will.

In the many ordinances of disability which had been issued, Advocates and Councillors of the Parliament of Paris had not been included; but these last inflictions of civil degradation were immediately consummated (November 5th and 23d). Other Parliaments followed; and a noble company of confessors, rather than surrender their faith, resigned their seats. With contempt of the privilege of Ambassadors,—a privilege, however, which France was never the slowest to exact at foreign courts,—the Judge of Police at Paris published an ordinance (December 3d) forbidding the inhabitants of Paris who "still called themselves" of the Reformed religion, to attend at worship in the houses of Ambassadors and other Ministers of foreign powers. Those representatives indignantly observed, that, by a treaty with pirates, the religion of Mohammed had long been exercised at Marseilles without any such restriction of privacy as this imposed upon the religion of their masters. Nor was this all. The Dutch Consul at Nantes was openly assaulted, his beard was plucked out by the roots, and his life endangered by the mob. Yet he had no adequate redress. Many foreigners, in spite of an order published in their favour, merely to save appearances abroad, were involved in the common persecution.

Pouring fury on all that were helpless, the Ecclesiastics obtained further authorizations to enact a universal inquisition. The edict requiring all infants to be baptized by Priests, and to be educated accordingly, had not mentioned children born before the day of its date. That omission was now supplied by a supplementary order; and many thousands of children were at once seized, shut up in monasteries and convents, and never seen again by their parents. From children the brave Captains of crusade passed on to women; and ordained that the wives of their coerced proselytes, who had refused to cast away their faith, and thus shown that it was stronger in them than in their husbands, were to be deprived of maintenance, and left to beggary. Widows were included under the same discipline. Still unsated with vengeance, they fixed upon the dead, and ordered that all bodies of deceased heretics should remain unburied. But those who had no compassion for the living, shrank with horror from outraging the dead; and the laity refused, in this particular, to fulfil the pleasure of the Priests. After a short time, therefore, this order was allowed to be neglected, and a pit covered the carcase from the execration of the Church.

The army seemed to be more fully initiated than ever before in the tastes and customs of the sacrificers. Fire had always been the chosen element for purgation of heresy, and was employed more familiarly than ever. The dragoons, no doubt well instructed, observed an obedient uniformity in its application. Quartered, as usual, in the dwellings of the Reformed, they solicited conversion by stripping their hosts naked, (as they did Farinel, at Villeneuve

d'Agenois,) and making them turn spits for days and nights unceasingly before immense fires. They applied lighted candles to their arms and legs, and held them there, like Bonner, until the skin blistered and dropped off. They made them hold burning charcoal in their hands until it ceased to glow. They compelled women to hold red coals until they had pronounced the Lord's Prayer; and if the poor creatures spoke too rapidly, they forced them to receive another handful, and hold it fast until a gruff dragoon had mouthed it slowly. Some they scorched and disfigured by firing gunpowder close to their faces. Or they tied them down with the soles of their feet close to the bars of a hot fire, or burnt them with heated irons. The parish Priest of Roman amused himself by scorching a countryman named L'Ecalé, whom he had caused to be brought into the parsonage for the purpose. In his own kitchen he took the sparkling irons from the fire, and burnt the flesh from the neck and hands of the poor man, while his daughter, Louïse, hung from the ceiling by her arms, and was then again suspended by her feet. But neither for those pains, nor for fifteen days' torment afterwards in prison, would L'Ecalé and his Louïse brook the Popish creed. But the uniformity of these tortures is at once accounted for by the fact, that among the dragoons of those days were many Jesuits, who instructed their novel comrades in the pyrotechnics inquisitorial.

The nobility were not generally consigned to the insolence of soldiers, but to the sullen barbarity of jailers. A few, after extreme difficulty, were permitted to leave France, but not to carry any part of their property with them. No effort was spared to publish in foreign courts that this was not a religious persecution, but that the persons thus treated were incorrigible traitors; and when the celebrated Claude, who had been expelled with other Clergy, published in Holland a small book,* which gives "a short Account of the Complaints and cruel Persecutions of the Protestants in the Kingdom of France," † and a translation of it appeared in London, James II. commanded that diligent search should be made after both the translator and the printer, that they might be prosecuted for false and scandalous reflections on His most Christian Majesty, contained in that volume. A copy of the original work, and another of the English version, were burned by the hangman in front of the Royal Exchange to placate Innocent XI., Louis XIV., and James II.

The multitudes of persons who had professed to be converted in those days of terror were intensely miserable. As Bishop Burnet, who was then in France, not being safe in England, says, they were to be distinguished in the street by "a cloudy dejection in their looks and deportment." ‡ Intendants, Judges, and soldiers forced them to attend at mass, hear sermons, and walk in processions. The slightest expressions of reluctance exposed them to repetitions of the former barbarities, or to slavery for life in the galleys. An inhabitant of Nerac, named Guizard, seventy years of age, who had been forced to

* "Plaintes des Protestans cruellement opprimez dans le Royaume de France."
† London, Redmayne, 1707. English translation reprinted.
‡ Burnet's Own Times, vol. i., p. 660, or iii., p. 81, Oxford.

receive the host, was accused of having rejected it. He constantly denied the charge; but, as it seemed expedient to make an example of a reputed contemner of the sacrament of the altar, for the terror of thousands who also loathed it, the Judges condemned him to do public penance, and then be burnt alive. The Parliament of Guyenne confirmed the sentence, and Guizard suffered at the stake. Some others were accused of a similar expression of abhorrence, and but narrowly escaped the same condemnation.

Notwithstanding the strictness of the law, and the vigilance of the court, the "converts" deserted in every direction. Many were detected, and sent to galleys, or immured in convents and other prisons. Many taken on board ships by English and Irish Papists were carried back again to French ports, and delivered to the authorities. Not a few were conveyed to Spain, and buried in the dungeons of the Inquisition. Some were captured in the British Channel by Moorish pirates, and landed in Barbary, where the French Consuls claimed them as their master's fugitives, and sent them back in irons. But at least as many others effected their escape. Even the ships of war, stationed on the coast to prevent evasion, received them on board for handsome fares, and landed them on our island. Secretaries furnished passports at high prices, sentinels were easily bribed to let those pass who had no passports, and every imaginable form of disguise was adopted to cover their flight. All Protestant states welcomed them, rendered them hospitality, and afforded them privileges. But in France there could be no pity. Now the galleys, the jails, the monasteries, were crowded with captives, until the keepers feared that it would be soon impossible to hold so great a multitude in custody; and their apprehensions were relieved by sending recusants to the American plantations. A company of two hundred and twenty-four was first embarked at Marseilles (March 12th, 1687) in two ships, one of which was wrecked on the voyage, and thirty-seven persons were drowned. Many others died from ill-treatment. But Frenchmen could not work like Negroes, and the plan was not continued.

On the other hand, several of the banished Ministers felt it to be their duty to return to France again, revisit the remnants of their churches, and unite with numerous congregations which were said to be collected in remote forests and solitudes, especially in the Cevennes. A few of them soon ceased from the perilous labour; but some, as *Pastors of the desert*, continued in that honourable service until the close of their pilgrimage on earth. Most of the congregations were dispersed by force; but there were a few that eluded the power of the Government, and met by thousands under the open sky, far from town or cultivated land. Dispersions, however, were not made without much bloodshed. The troops had instructions to surround the congregation as soon as their spies had marked the spot, and then to advance in silence, seize them all, murder a few on the spot, and take the remainder to prison. Thirty or forty persons generally fell; and once, in the mountains of Vivarais (February, 1689), more than three hundred were deliberately killed by direction of the Intendant, who had come with the soldiers to the place. The judicial

executions which followed were not less barbarous. A young gentleman named Tommeiroles, eighteen years of age, was beheaded for the single offence of having been present at one of those meetings. Manuël of Nismes, a manufacturer, and one of his workmen, were hung. Meirieu and Salendre were put to death at Ledignan. To these might be added long lists of persons who suffered the same penalty. An inhabitant of Nismes, accused of having opened his house to a preacher, and of having been known to *pray to God*, was broken on the wheel. The preachers and exhorters * generally suffered most; and the names of many of these martyrs are still honourably treasured in the diptychs of the Reformed Churches of France. Often the Judges trembled before them when they preached Christ in their last hours; and, at the scaffolds, drums were beaten to prevent their voices from being heard by the spectators. At length the court, finding that the Gospel could not be suppressed as long as there were living persons in the country who retained its power, instead of making emigration penal, commanded all who called themselves of the Reformed religion to quit France, and actually seized and expelled many. But the foot-prints of truth were sunk so deeply in the land that no power could erase them, and persecution, sometimes violent and sometimes exhausted, yet losing strength as time advances, still lingers in that troubled country; and even there almost resigns its office to those who, by the various methods of diplomacy and legislation, and the arts of popular delusion, hope to buttress the tottering seat of Antichrist. With portentous uniformity Rome pursues these methods now, not only in France, but throughout the world, far surpassing the most skilful statesmen of Europe in steadiness of purpose and in unity of action. For our part, we have no other effectual weapon of defence than the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. Would that it were used more faithfully! †

* These, who were distinguished as *Predicants* and *Proposants*, were laymen who first preached after the banishment of their Ministers.

† Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, &c., &c.,—à Delft, chez Adrien Beman, MDCXCIII.,—is a full history of the events preceding the edict of Nantes, of those of the period which intervened until its revocation, and of the consequences of the revocation. Actes Ecclesiastiques et Civiles de tous les Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées de France, by Aymon, exhibits a complete picture of those important assemblies. These are our chief authorities.

THE END.

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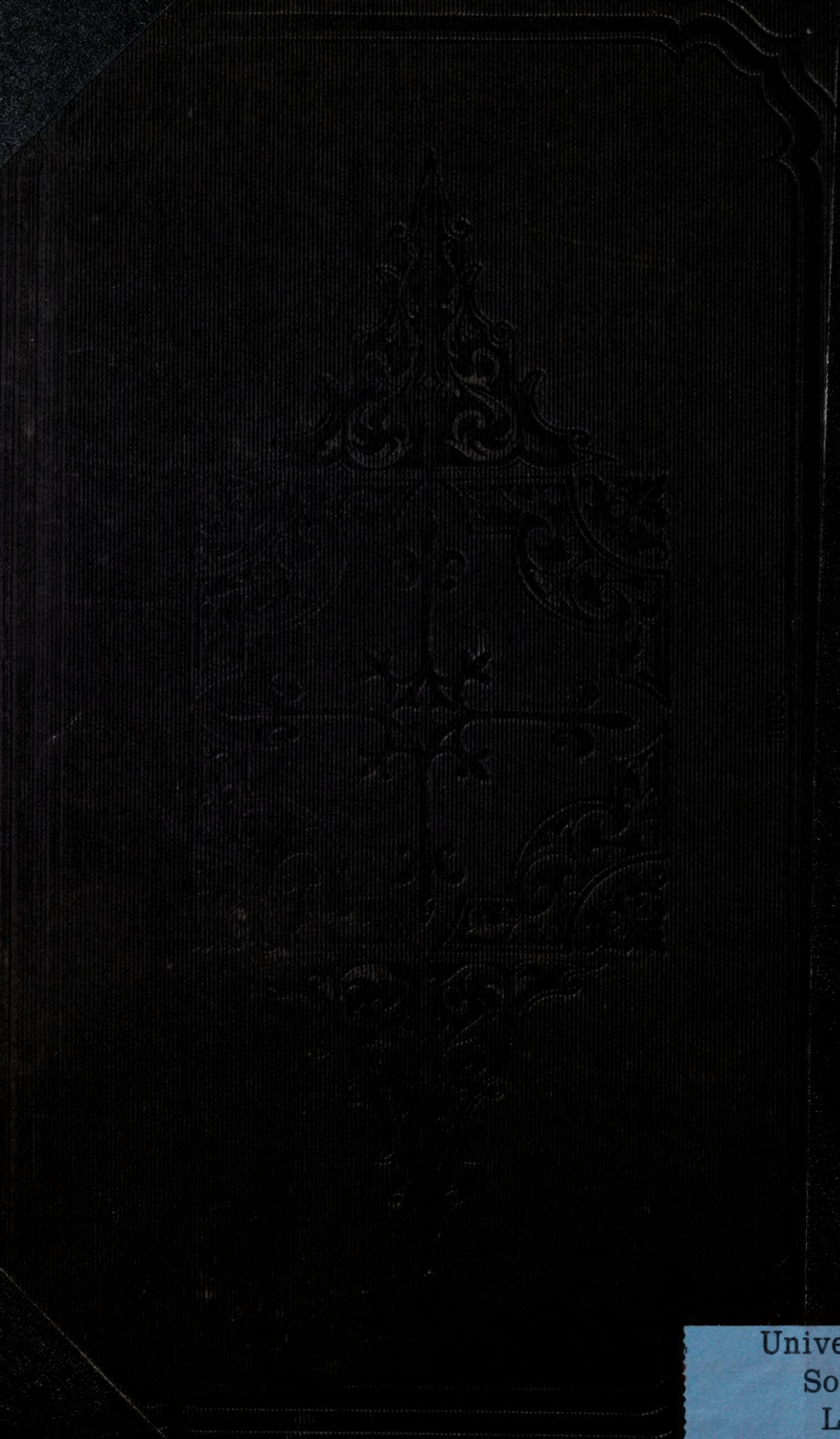
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